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NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL

HISTORY OF AMERICA

THE

English and French

In North America

1689–1763

NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL

HISTORY OF AMERICA

EDITED

By JUSTIN WINSOR

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CHAPTER VI.

THE ENGLISH COLONIZATION OF GEORGIA.

1733–1752.

BY CHARLES C. JONES, JR., LL. D.

ACTING under the orders of Admiral Coligny, Captain Ribault, before selecting a location for his fort and planting his Huguenot colony near the mouth of Port Royal, traversed what is now known as the Georgia coast, observed its harbors, and named several of the principal rivers emptying into the Atlantic Ocean.[1] "It was a fayre coast, stretchyng of a great length, couered with an infinite number of high and fayre trees." The waters "were boyling and roaring, through the multitude of all kind of fish." The inhabitants were "all naked and of a goodly stature, mightie, and as well shapen and proportioned of body as any people in ye world; very gentle, courteous, and of a good nature." Lovingly entertained were these strangers by the natives, and they were, in the delightful spring-time, charmed with all they beheld. As they viewed the country they pronounced it the "fairest, fruitfullest, and pleasantest of all the world, abounding in hony, venison, wilde foule, forests, woods of all sorts, Palm-trees, Cypresse, and Cedars, Bayes ye highest and greatest; with also the fayrest vines in all the world, with grapes according, which, without natural art and without man's helpe or trimming, will grow to toppes of Okes and other trees that be of a wonderfull greatness and height. And the sight of the faire medowes is a pleasure not able to be expressed with tongue: full of Hernes, Curlues, Bitters, Mallards, Egrepths, Wood-cocks, and all other kinds of small birds; with Harts, Hindes, Buckes, wilde Swine, and all other kindes of wilde beastes, as we perceiued well, both by their footing there, and also afterwardes in other places by their crie and roaring in the night. . . . Also there be Conies and Hares, Silk Wormes in merueilous number, a great deale fairer and better than be our silk wormes. To be short, it is a thing vnspeakable to consider the thinges that bee seene there and shal be founde more and more in this incomperable lande, which, neuer yet broken with plough yrons, bringeth forth al things according to his first nature wherewith the eternall God indued it."

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[1] [This story is told in Vol. II. chap. iv. — ED.]

Enraptured with the delights of climate, forests, and waters, and transferring to this new domain names consecrated by pleasant associations at home, Captain Ribault called the River St. Mary the *Seine*, the Satilla the *Somme*, the Alatamaha the *Loire*, the Newport the *Charante*, the Great Ogeechee the *Garonne*, and the Savannah the *Gironde*. Two years afterward, when René de Laudonnière visited Ribault's fort, he found it deserted. The stone pillar inscribed with the arms of France, which he had erected to mark the farthest confines of Charles IX.'s dominion in the Land of Flowers, was garlanded with wreaths. Offerings of maize and fruits lay at its base; and the natives, regarding the structure with awe and veneration, had elevated it into the dignity of a god.

As yet no permanent lodgment had been effected in the territory subsequently known as Georgia. The first Europeans who are known to have traversed it were Hernando de Soto and his companions, whose story has been told elsewhere.[1] The earliest grant of the lower part of the territory claimed by England under the discovery of Cabot, was made by His Majesty King Charles I., in the fifth year of his reign, to Sir Robert Heath, his attorney-general. In that patent it is called *Carolina Florida*, and the designated limits extended from the river Matheo in the thirtieth degree, to the river Passa Magna in the thirty-sixth degree of north latitude. There is good reason for the belief that actual possession was taken under this concession, and that, in the effort to colonize, considerable sums were expended by the proprietor and by those claiming under him. Whether this grant was subsequently surrendered, or whether it was vacated and declared null for *non user* or other cause, we are not definitely informed. Certain it is that King Charles II., in the exercise of his royal pleasure, issued to the Lords Proprietors of Carolina two grants of the same territory with some slight modifications of boundaries. The latter of these grants, bearing date the 30th of June in the seventeenth year of his reign, conveys to the Lords Proprietors that portion of America between the thirty-sixth and one half and the twenty-ninth degrees of north latitude. While the English were engaged in peopling a part of the coast embraced within these specified limits, the Spaniards contented themselves with confirming their settlements at St. Augustine and a few adjacent points.

Although in 1670 England and Spain entered into stipulations for composing their differences in America, — stipulations which have since been known as the *American Treaty*, — the precise line of separation between Carolina and Florida was not defined. Between these powers disputes touching this boundary were not infrequent. In view of this unsettled condition of affairs, and in order to assert a positive claim to, and retain possession of, the debatable ground which neither party was willing either to relinquish or clearly to point out, the English established and maintained a small military post on the south end of Cumberland Island, where the river St. Mary empties its waters into the Atlantic.

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[1] [Vol. II. p. 244. — Ed.]

Apprehending that either the French or Spanish forces would take possession of the Alatamaha River, King George I. ordered General Nicholson, then governor of Carolina, with a company of one hundred men, to secure that river, as being within the bounds of South Carolina; and, at some suitable point, to erect a fort with an eye to the protection of His Majesty's possessions in that quarter and the control of the navigation of that stream. That fort was placed near the confluence of the Oconee and Ocmulgee rivers, and was named Fort George.

Although by the treaty of Seville commissioners were appointed to determine the northern boundary line of Florida, which should form the southern limit of South Carolina, no definite conclusion was reached, and the question remained open and a cause of quarrel until the peace of 1763, when Spain ceded Florida to Great Britain.

In recalling the instances of temporary occupancy, by Europeans, of limited portions of the territory at a later period conveyed to the trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia, we should not omit an allusion to the mining operations conducted by the Spaniards at an early epoch among the auriferous mountains of upper Georgia. Influenced by the representations made by the returned soldiers of De Soto's expedition of the quantity of gold, silver, and pearls in the province of Cosa, Luis de Velasco dispatched his general, Tristan de Luna, to open communication with Cosa by the way of Pensacola Bay. Three hundred Spanish soldiers, equipped with mining tools, penetrated beyond the valley of the Coosa and passed the summer of 1560 in northern Georgia and the adjacent region. Juan Pardo was subsequently sent by Aviles, the first governor of Florida, to establish a fort at the foot of the mountains northwest of St. Augustine and in the province of the chief Coabá. It would seem, therefore, that the Spaniards at this early period were acquainted with, and endeavored to avail themselves of, the gold deposits in Cherokee Georgia.

By the German traveller Johannes Lederer[1] are we advised that these peoples in 1669 and 1670 were still working gold and silver mines in the Appalachian mountains; and Mr. James Moore assures us that twenty years afterward these mining operations were not wholly discontinued.

Thus, long before the advent of the English colonists, had the Spaniards sojourned, in earnest quest for precious metals, among the valleys and mountains of the Cherokees. Thus are we enabled to account for those traces of ancient mining observed and wondered at by the early settlers of upper Georgia, — operations of no mean significance, conducted by skilled hands and with metallic tools, — which can properly be referred neither to the Red Race nor to the followers of De Soto.

In June, 1717, Sir Robert Mountgomery secured from the Palatine and Lords Proprietors of the Province of Carolina a grant and release of all lands lying between the rivers Alatamaha and Savannah, with permission to form settlements south of the former stream. This territory was to be erected into a distinct province, "with proper jurisdictions, privileges, prerogatives, and franchises, independent of and in no manner subject to the laws of South Carolina." It was to be holden of the Lords Proprietors by Sir Robert, his heirs and assigns forever, under the name and title of the Margravate of Azilia. A yearly quit rent of a penny per acre for all lands "occupied, taken up, or run out," was to be paid. Such payment, however, was not to begin until three years after the arrival of the first ships transporting colonists. In addition, Sir Robert covenanted to render to the Lords Proprietors one fourth part of all the gold, silver, and royal minerals which might be found within the limits of the ceded lands. Courts of justice were to be organized, and such laws enacted by the freemen of the Margravate as might conduce to the general good and in no wise conflict with the statutes and customs of England. The navigation of the rivers was to be free to all the inhabitants of the colonies of North and South Carolina. A duty similar to that sanctioned in South Carolina was to be laid on skins, and this revenue was to be appropriated to the maintenance of clergy. In consideration of this cession, Sir Robert engaged to transport at his own cost a considerable number of families, and all necessaries requisite for the support and comfort of settlers within the specified limits. It was understood that if settlements were not formed within three years from the date of the grant, it should become void.

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[1] [See Vol. III. p. 157, and chap. v., *ante*. — Ed.]

In glowing terms did Sir Robert unfold the attractions of his future Eden "in the most delightful country of the Universe," and boldly proclaim "that Paradise with all her virgin beauties may be modestly supposed at most but equal to its native excellencies." After commending in the highest terms the woods and meadows, mines and odoriferous plants, soil and climate, fruits and game, streams and hills, flowers and agricultural capabilities, he exhibited an elaborate plan of the Margravate, in which he did not propose to satisfy himself "with building here and there a fort, — the fatal practice of America, — but so to dispose the habitations and divisions of the land that not alone our houses, but whatever we possess, will be inclosed by *military lines* impregnable against the *savages*, and which will make our whole plantation one continued fortress."

Despite all efforts to induce immigration into this favored region, at the expiration of the three years allowed by the concession Sir Robert found himself without colonists. His grant expired and became void by the terms of its own limitations. His Azilia remained unpeopled save by the red men of the forest. His scheme proved utterly Utopian. It was reserved for Oglethorpe and his companions to wrest from primeval solitude and to vitalize with the energies of civilization the lands lying between the Savannah and the Alatamaha.

Persuaded of their inability to afford suitable protection to the colony of South Carolina, and moved by the wide-spread dissatisfaction existing in that province, the Lords Proprietors, with the exception of Lord Carteret, taking advantage of the provisions of an act of Parliament, on the

25th of July in the third year of the reign of His Majesty King George II., and in consideration of the sum of £22,500, surrendered to the Crown not only their rights and interest in the government of Carolina, but also their ownership of the soil. The outstanding eighth interest owned by Lord Carteret, Baron of Hawnes, was by him, on the 28th of February, 1732, conveyed to the "Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America."

The scheme which culminated in planting a colony on the right bank of the Savannah River at Yamacraw Bluff originated with James Edward Oglethorpe, a member of the English House of Commons, and "a gentleman of unblemished character, brave, generous, and humane." He was the third son of Sir Theophilus, and the family of Oglethorpe was ancient and of high repute.[1] Although at an early age a matriculate of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, he soon quitted the benches of that venerable institution of learning for an active military life. With him a love of arms was an inheritance, for his father attained the rank of major-general in the British service, and held the office of first equerry to James II., who intrusted him with an important command in the army assembled to oppose the Prince of Orange. Entering the English army as an ensign in 1710, young Oglethorpe continued in service until peace was proclaimed in 1713. The following year he became captain-lieutenant of the first troop of the Queen's Life-Guards. Preferring active employment abroad to an idle life at home, he soon repaired to the continent that he might perfect himself in the art of war under the famous Prince Eugene of Savoy, who, upon the recommendation of John, Duke of Argyle, gave him an appointment upon his staff, at first as secretary and afterward as aid-de-camp. It was a brave school, and his alertness, fidelity, and fearlessness secured for him the good-will, the confidence, and the commendation of his illustrious commander. Upon the conclusion of the peace of 1718 Oglethorpe returned to England, versed in the principles of military science, accustomed to command, inured to the shock of arms, instructed in the orders of battle, the management of sieges and the conduct of campaigns, and possessing a reputation for manhood, executive ability, and warlike knowledge not often acquired by one of his years. His brother Theophilus dying, he succeeded to the family estate at Westbrook, and in October, 1732, was elected a member for Haslemere in the county of Surrey. This venerable borough and market-town he continued to represent, through various changes of administration, for two-and-thirty years.

While he was chairman of the committee raised by the House of Commons to visit the prisons, examine into the condition of the inmates, and suggest measures of reform, the idea had occurred to Oglethorpe, — whose "strong benevolence of soul" has been eulogized by Pope, — that not a few of

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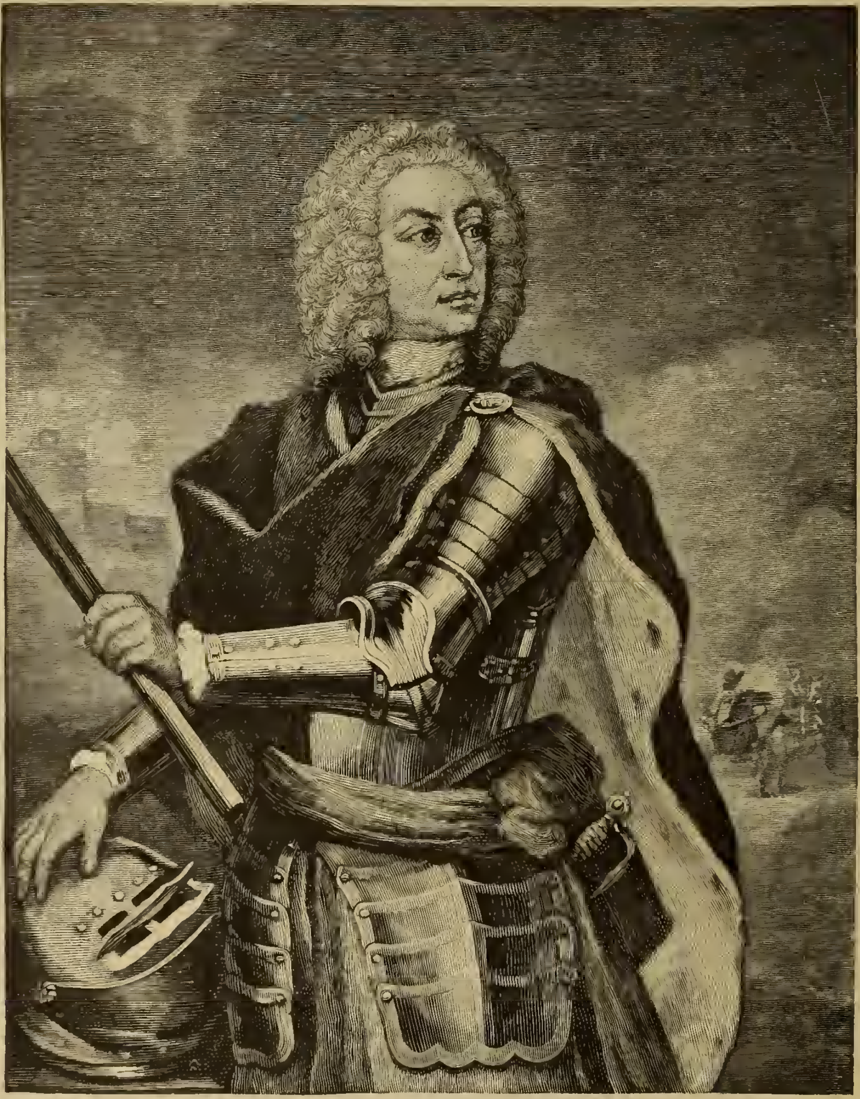
[1] [He was born in 1698; but see W. S. Bogart on "the mystery of Oglethorpe's birthday," in *Magazine of American History*, February, 1883, p. 108. There is a statement as to his family in Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, ii. 17; copied by Harris, in his *Life of Oglethorpe*.— ED.]



OGLETHORPE.

(See a Note on the Portraits of Oglethorpe on a later page.)

these unfortunate individuals confined for debt, of respectable connections, guilty of no crime, and the victims of a legal thraldom most vile and afflictive, might be greatly benefited by compromising the claims for the non-payment of which they were suffering the penalty of hopeless incarceration, upon the condition that when liberated they would become colonists in America. Thus would opportunity be afforded them of retrieving their fortunes ; thus would England be relieved of the shame and the expense of their imprisonment, and thus would her dominion in the New World be enlarged and confirmed. Not the depraved, not felons who awaited the approach of darker days when graver sentences were to be endured, not the dishonest who hoped by submitting to temporary imprisonment to exhaust the patience of creditors and emerge with fraudulently acquired gains still concealed, but the honestly unfortunate were to be the beneficiaries of this benevolent and patriotic scheme. Those also in the United Kingdom who through want of occupation and lack of means were most exposed to the penalties of poverty, were to be influenced in behalf of the contemplated colonization. It was believed that others, energetic, ambitious of preferment, and possessing some means, could be enlisted in aid of the enterprise. The anxiety of the Carolinians for the establishment of a plantation to the South which would serve as a shield against the incursions of the Spaniards, the attacks of the Indians, and the depredations of fugitive slaves was great. This scheme of colonization soon embraced within its benevolent designs not only the unfortunate of Great Britain, but also the oppressed and persecuted Protestants of Europe. Charity for, and the relief of, human distress were to be inscribed upon the foundations of the dwellings which Oglethorpe proposed to erect amid the Southern forests. Their walls were to be advanced bulwarks for the protection of the Carolina plantations, and their aspiring roofs were to proclaim the honor and the dominion of the British nation. In the whole affair there lingered no hope of personal gain, no ambition of a sordid character, no secret reservation of private benefit. The entire project was open, disinterested, charitable, loyal, and patriotic. Such was its distinguishing peculiarity. Thus was it recognized by all; and Robert Southey did but echo the general sentiment when he affirmed that no colony was ever projected or established upon principles more honorable to its founders.

As the accomplishment of his purpose demanded a larger expenditure than his means justified, and as the administration of the affairs of the plantation would involve "a broader basis of managing power" than a single individual could well maintain, Oglethorpe sought and secured the co-operation of wealthy and influential personages in the development of his beneficent enterprise.

That proper authority, ample cession, and royal sanction might be obtained, in association with Lord Percival and other noblemen and gentlemen of repute he addressed a memorial to the Privy Council, in which, among other things, it was stated that the cities of London and Westminster, and the adjacent region, abounded with indigent persons so reduced in circumstances as to become burdensome to the public, who would willingly seek a livelihood in any of His Majesty's plantations in America if they were provided with transportation and the means of settling there. In behalf of themselves and their associates the petitioners engaged, without pecuniary recompense, to take charge of the colonization, and to erect the plantation into a proprietary government, if the Crown would be pleased to grant them lands lying south of the Savannah River, empower them to receive and administer all contributions and benefactions which they might influence in encouragement of so good a design, and clothe them with authority suitable for the enforcement of law and order within the limits of the province. After the customary reference, this petition met with a favorable report, and by His Majesty's direction a charter was prepared which received the royal sanction on the 9th of June, 1732.

By this charter, Lord John, Viscount Percival, Edward Digby, George Carpenter, James Oglethorpe, George Heathcote, Thomas Tower, Robert Moor, Robert Hucks, Roger Holland, William Sloper, Francis Eyles, John Laroche, James Vernon, William Beletha, John Burton, Richard Bundy, Arthur Beaford, Samuel Smith, Adam Anderson, and Thomas Coram and their successors were constituted a body politic and corporate by the name of "The Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America." Ample were the powers with which this corporation was vested. Seven eighths "of all those lands lying and being in that part of South Carolina in America which lies from the most northern part of a stream or river there commonly called the Savannah, all along the sea-coast to the southward unto the most southern stream of a certain other great water or river called the Alatamaha, and westerly from the heads of the said rivers respectively in direct lines to the South Seas," were conveyed to the trustees for the purposes of the plantation. The province was named Georgia, and was declared separate and distinct from South Carolina. To all, save Papists, was accorded a free exercise of religious thought and worship. For a period of twenty-one years were these corporators and their successors authorized to administer the affairs of the province. At the expiration of that time it was provided that such form of government would then be adopted, and such laws promulgated for the regulation of the colony and the observance of its inhabitants, as the Crown should ordain. Thereafter the governor of the province and all its officers, civil and military, were to be nominated and commissioned by the home government.

In July, 1732, the corporators convened, accepted the charter, and perfected an organization in accordance with its provisions.[1] Commissions were issued to leading citizens and charitable corporations empowering them to solicit contributions in aid of the trust. Generously did the Trus-

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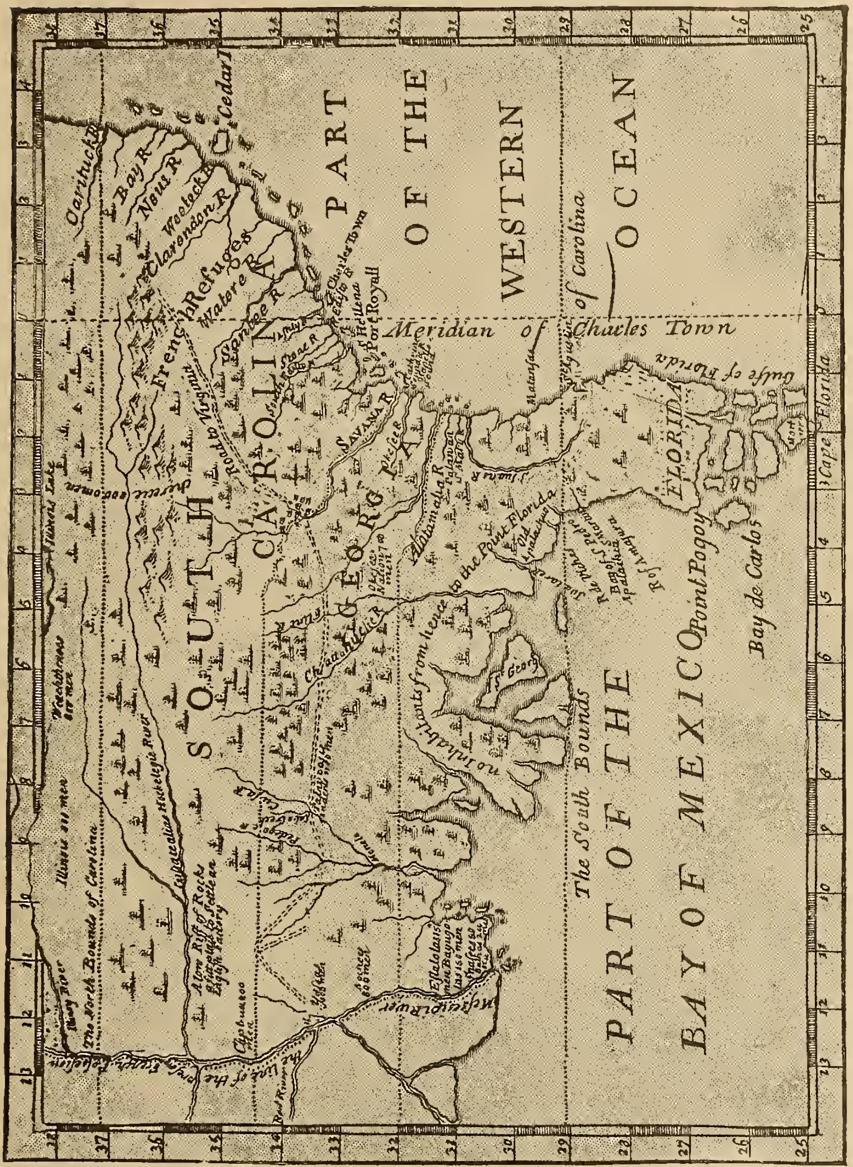
[1] The corporate seal adopted had two faces. That for the authentication of legislative acts, deeds, and commissions contained this device: two figures resting upon urns, from which flowed streams typifying the rivers forming the northern and southern boundaries of the province. In their hands were spades, suggesting agriculture as the chief employment of the settlers. Above and in the centre was seated the genius of the Colony, a spear in her right hand, the left placed upon a cornucopia, and a liberty cap upon her head. Behind, upon a gentle eminence, stood a tree, and above was engraven this legend, *Colonia Georgia Aug.* On the other face, — which formed the common seal to be affixed to grants, orders, and certificates, — were seen silk-worms in the various stages of their labor, and the appropriate motto, *Non sibi sed aliis.* This inscription not only proclaimed the disinterested motives and intentions of the trustees, but it suggested that the production of silk was to be reckoned among the most profitable employments of the colonists, — a hope not destined to be fulfilled.



MAP OF SOUTH CAROLINA AND GEORGIA, 1733.[1]

tees subscribe. To prevent any misappropriation of funds, an account was opened with the Bank of England. There a register was kept of the names of all benefactors and of the amounts of their several donations. Liberal responses were received in furtherance of the charitable scheme both from individuals and from corporations; and, as an honorable indorsement of the project and its managers, Parliament gave the sum of £10,000. Tracts commending the colonization to the favorable notice of the public were prepared, — notably by Oglethorpe, and by Benjamin Martyn, secretary to the Trustees, — and widely circulated.

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[1] [Fac-simile of a map in *Some Account of the Design of the Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America*, 1733, in Harvard College Library [Tract vol. 536]. This tract is appended to Smith's Sermon (1733). This map also appeared the same year in *Reasons*

In framing regulations for the observance of the colonists, and in maturing plans most conducive to the prosperity and permanence of the contemplated settlement, the trustees regarded each male inhabitant both as a planter and as a soldier. Hence, provision was made for supplying him with arms and with agricultural tools. Towns, in their inception, were reckoned as garrisons. Consequently the lands allotted for tillage were to be in their immediate neighborhood, so that in seasons of alarm the inhabitants might speedily betake themselves thither for safety and mutual protection. Fifty acres were adjudged sufficient for the support of a planter and his family. Grants in tail-male were declared preferable to any other tenure. The introduction and use of spirituous liquors were forbidden. Unless sanctioned by special license, traffic with the natives was prohibited. The trustees saw fit also to forbid the importation, ownership, and use of negro slaves within the limits of the province of Georgia. Provision was made for the cultivation of the mulberry tree and the breeding of silkworms.

Keeping in view the benevolent objects of the association and the character of the settlement to be formed, it was manifest that only fit persons should be selected for colonization, and that due care should be exercised in the choice of emigrants. Preference was accordingly given to applicants who came well recommended by the ministers, church-wardens, and overseers of their respective parishes. That the Trustees might not be deceived in the characters and antecedents of those who signified a desire to avail themselves of the benefits of the charity, a committee was appointed to visit the prisons and examine the applicants there confined. If they were found to be worthy, compromises were effected with their creditors and consents procured for their discharge. Another committee sat at the office of the corporation to inquire into the circumstances and qualifications of such as there presented themselves. It has been idly charged that in the beginning Georgia colonists were impecunious, lawless, depraved, and abandoned; that the settlement at Savannah was a sort of Botany Bay, and that Yamacraw Bluff was peopled by runagates from justice. The suggestion is without foundation. The truth is that no applicant was admitted to the privilege of enrolment as an emigrant until he had been subjected to a preliminary examination, and had furnished satisfactory evidence that he was fairly entitled to the benefits of the charity. Other American colonies were founded and augmented by individuals coming at will, without question for personal gain, and furnishing no certificate of

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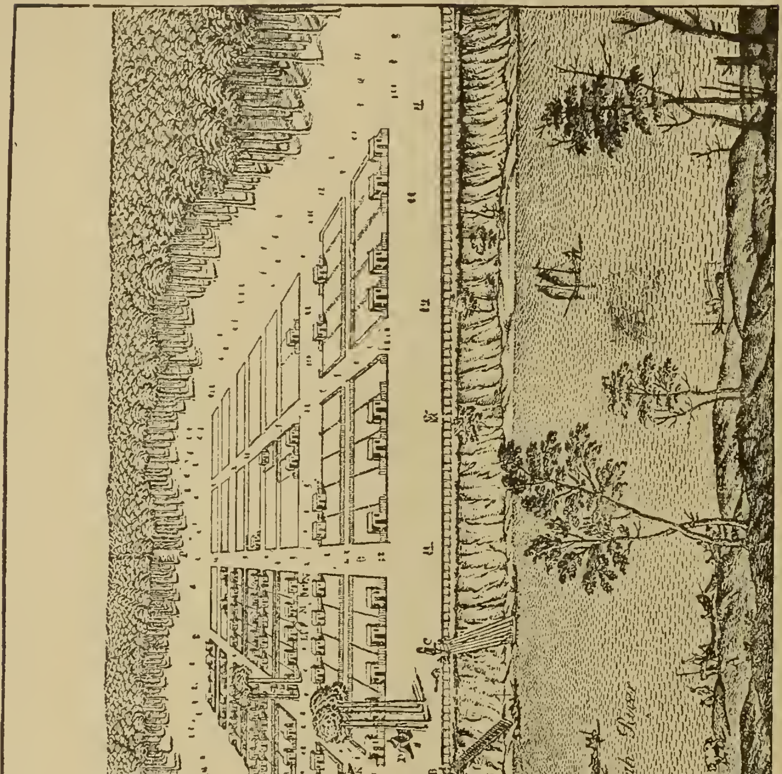
for Establishing the Colony of Georgia, etc. Cf. also the "New Map of Georgia" in the French version of Martyn's tracts published in the *Recueil de Voyages au Nord*, Amsterdam, 1737; Harvard College Library, shelf-no. 3621, 9, vol. ix. — Ed.]

either past or present good conduct. Georgia, on the contrary, exhibits the spectacle, at once unique and admirable, of permitting no one to enter her borders who was not, by competent authority, adjudged worthy the rights of citizenship. Even those colonists who proposed to come at their own charge, and who brought servants with them, were required, as a condition precedent to their embarkation, to prove that they had obtained permission from the committee selected by the Trustees to pass upon the qualification of applicants. Upon receiving the approbation of the committee, and until the time fixed for sailing, adult male emigrants passing under the bounty of the Trust were drilled each day by the sergeants of the Royal Guards.

By the 3d of October, 1732, one hundred and fourteen individuals — comprising men, women, and children — had been enrolled for the first embarkation. The "Anne," a galley of some two hundred tons burden, commanded by Captain Thomas, was chartered to convey them to Georgia. She was furnished not only with necessaries for the voyage, but also with arms, agricultural implements, tools, munitions, and stores for the use and support of the colonists after their arrival in America. At his own request, Oglethorpe was selected to conduct the colonists and establish them in Georgia. He volunteered to bear his own expenses, and to devote his entire time and attention to the consummation of the important enterprise. Himself the originator and the most zealous advocate of the scheme, — this offer on his part placed the seal of consecration upon his self-denial, patriotism, and enlarged philanthropy. Most fortunate were the Trustees in securing the services of such a representative. To no one could the power to exercise the functions of a colonial governor have been more appropriately confided.

On the 17th of November, 1732, the "Anne" departed from England, having on board about one hundred and thirty persons. Thirty-five families were represented. Among them were carpenters, brick-layers, farmers, and mechanics, all able-bodied and of good repute. Shaping her course for the island of Madeira, the vessel there touched and took on board five tuns of wine. After a protracted voyage the "Anne" dropped anchor off Charlestown bar on the 13th of January, 1733. Two delicate children had died at sea. With this exception, no sorrow darkened the passage, and the colonists were well and happy.

Oglethorpe was warmly welcomed and hospitably entreated by the governor and council of South Carolina. The King's pilot was detailed to conduct the "Anne" into Port Royal harbor. Thence the colonists were conveyed in small craft to Beaufort-town, where they landed and refreshed themselves; while their leader, accompanied by Colonel William Bull, proceeded to the Savannah River and made choice of a spot for the settlement. Ascending that stream as far as Yamacraw Bluff, and deeming it an eligible situation, he went on shore and marked out the site of a town which, from the river flowing by, he named Savannah. This bluff, rising



EARLY SAVANNAH.[1]

some forty feet above the level of the river, and presenting a bold frontage on the water of nearly a mile, — quite ample for the riparian uses of a settlement of considerable magnitude, — was the first high ground abutting upon the stream encountered by him in its ascent. To the south a high and dry plain, overshadowed by pines interspersed with live-oaks and magnolias, stretched away for a mile or more. On the east and west were small creeks and swamps affording convenient drainage for the intermediate territory. The river in front was capable of floating ships of ordinary tonnage, and they could lie so near the shore that their cargoes might with facility be discharged. Northwardly, in the direction of Carolina, lay the rich delta of the river, with its islands and lowlands crowned with a dense growth of cypress, sweet-gum, tupelo, and other trees, many of them vine-covered and draped in long gray moss swaying gracefully in the ambient air. The yellow jessamine was already mingling its delicious perfume with the breath of the pine, and the forest was vocal with the voices of singing birds. Everything in this semi-tropical region was quickening into life and beauty under the influences of returning spring. In its primeval repose it seemed a goodly land. The temperate rays of the sun gave no token of the heat of summer. There was no promise of the tornado and the thunder-storm in the gentle winds. In the balmy air lurked no suspicion of malarial fevers. Its proximity to the mouth of the river rendered this spot suitable alike for commercial purposes and for maintaining easy communication with the Carolina settlements.

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[1] This print, published in London, 1741, is called "A View of the Town of Savannah in the Colony of Georgia, in South Carolina, humbly inscribed to his Excellency General Oglethorpe." References: *A*. Part of an island called Hutchinson's Island. *B*. The stairs and land

Near by was an Indian village peopled by the Yamacraws, whose chief, or mico, was the venerable Tomo-chi-chi. Having, through the intervention of Mary Musgrove, — a half-breed, and the wife of a Carolina trader who had there established a post, — persuaded the natives of the friendly intentions of the English and secured from them an informal cession of the desired lands, Oglethorpe returned to Beaufort. Thence, on the 30th of January, 1733, the colonists, conveyed in a sloop of seventy tons and in five periaguas, set sail for Yamacraw Bluff, where, on the afternoon of the second day afterward, they arrived in safety and passed their first night upon the soil of Georgia. The ocean had been crossed, and the germ of a new colony was planted in America. Sharing the privations and the labors of his companions, Oglethorpe was present planning, supervising, and encouraging. In marking out the squares, lots, and streets of

ing-place from the river to the town. *C.* A crane and bell to draw up any goods from boats and to land them. *D.* A tent pitched near the landing for General Oglethorpe. *E.* A guard-house with a battery of cannon lying before it. *F.* The parsonage house. *G.* A plot of ground to build a church. *H.* A fort or lookout to the woodside. *I.* The House for all stores. *K.* The court house and chapel. *L.* The mill-house for the public. *M.* A house for all strangers to reside in. *N.* The common bake-house. *O.* A draw-well for water. *P.* The wood covering the back and sides of the town with several vistas cut into it.

It is reproduced in Jones's *History of Georgia*, i. 121; and a small cut of it is given in Gay's *Popular History of the United States*, iii. 140, and in Cassell's *United States*, i. 487. There is also a print (15¾ × 21¾ inches) dedicated to the Trustees by Peter Gordon, which is inscribed "A view of Savanah [*sic*] as it stood the 29th of March, 1734. P. Gordon, inv., P. Fourdrinier, sculp," of which there is a copy in the Boston Public Library [B. H. 6270, 52, no. 38]. Impressions may also be found in the British Museum, in the Mayor's office in Savannah, and in the library of Dr. C. C. Jones, Jr., in Augusta, Ga.

Savannah, he was materially assisted by Colonel William Bull. Early and acceptable aid was extended by the authorities of Carolina, and this was generously supplemented by private benefactions. Well knowing that the planting of this colony would essentially promote the security of Carolina, shielding that province from the direct assaults and machinations of the Spaniards in Florida, preventing the ready escape of fugitive slaves, guarding her southern borders from the incursions of Indians, increasing commercial relations, and enhancing the value of lands, the South Carolinians were eager to further the prosperity of Georgia. Sensible of the courtesies and assistance extended, Oglethorpe repaired at an early day to Charlestown to return thanks in behalf of the colony and to interest the public still more in the development of the plantation. In this mission he was eminently successful. He was cheered also by congratulations and proffers of aid from other American colonies.

In nothing were the prudence, wisdom, skill, and ability of the founder of the colony of Georgia more conspicuous than in his conduct toward and treatment of the Indians. The ascendency he acquired over them, the respect they entertained for him, and the manly, generous, and just policy he ever maintained in his intercourse with the native tribes of the region are remarkable. Their favor at the outset was essential to the repose of the settlement; their friendship, necessary to its existence. As claimants of the soil by virtue of prior occupancy, it was important that the title they asserted to these their hunting grounds should at an early moment be peaceably and formally extinguished. Ascertaining from Tomo-chi-chi the names and abodes of the most influential chiefs dwelling within the territory ceded by the charter, Oglethorpe enlisted the good offices of this mico in calling a convention of them at Savannah. In May, 1733, the Indians assembled, and on the 21st of that month a treaty was solemnized, by which the Creeks ceded to the Trustees all lands lying between the Savannah and the Alatamaha rivers, from the ocean to the head of tide-water. In this cession were also embraced the islands on the coast from Tybee to St. Simon inclusive, with the exception of Ossabau, Sapelo, and St. Catharine, which were reserved for the purposes of hunting, fishing, and bathing. A tract of land between Pipe-maker's Bluffs and Pally-Chuckola Creek was also retained as a place of encampment whenever it should please the natives to visit their white friends at Savannah. Stipulations were entered into regulating the price of goods, the value of peltry, and the privileges of traders. It was further agreed that criminal offences should be tried and punished in accordance with the laws of England In due course the provisions of this treaty were formally ratified by the Trustees.

Thus happily, in the very infancy of the colony, was the title of the Aborigines to the lands south of the Savannah amicably extinguished. This treaty compassed the pacification of the Lower Creeks, the Uchees, the Yamacraws, and of other tribes constituting the Muskhogee confederacy. Nor did the influences of this convocation rest with them only. They were recognized by the Upper Creeks; and at a later date similar stipulations were sanctioned by the Cherokees. For years were they preserved inviolate; and the colony of Georgia, thus protected, extended its settlements up the Savannah River and along the coast, experiencing neither opposition nor molestation, but receiving on every hand valuable assurance of the good-will of the children of the forest. Probably the early history of no plantation in America affords so few instances of hostility on the part of the natives, or so many acts of kindness extended by the red men. Potent was the influence of Tomo-chi-chi in consummating this primal treaty of amity and commerce. Had this chief, turning a deaf ear to the advances of Oglethorpe, refused his friendship, denied his request, and, inclining his authority to hostile account, instigated a combined and determined opposition on the part of the Yamacraws, the Uchees, and the Lower Creeks, the perpetuation of this English settlement

TOMO-CHI-CHI MICO.[1]

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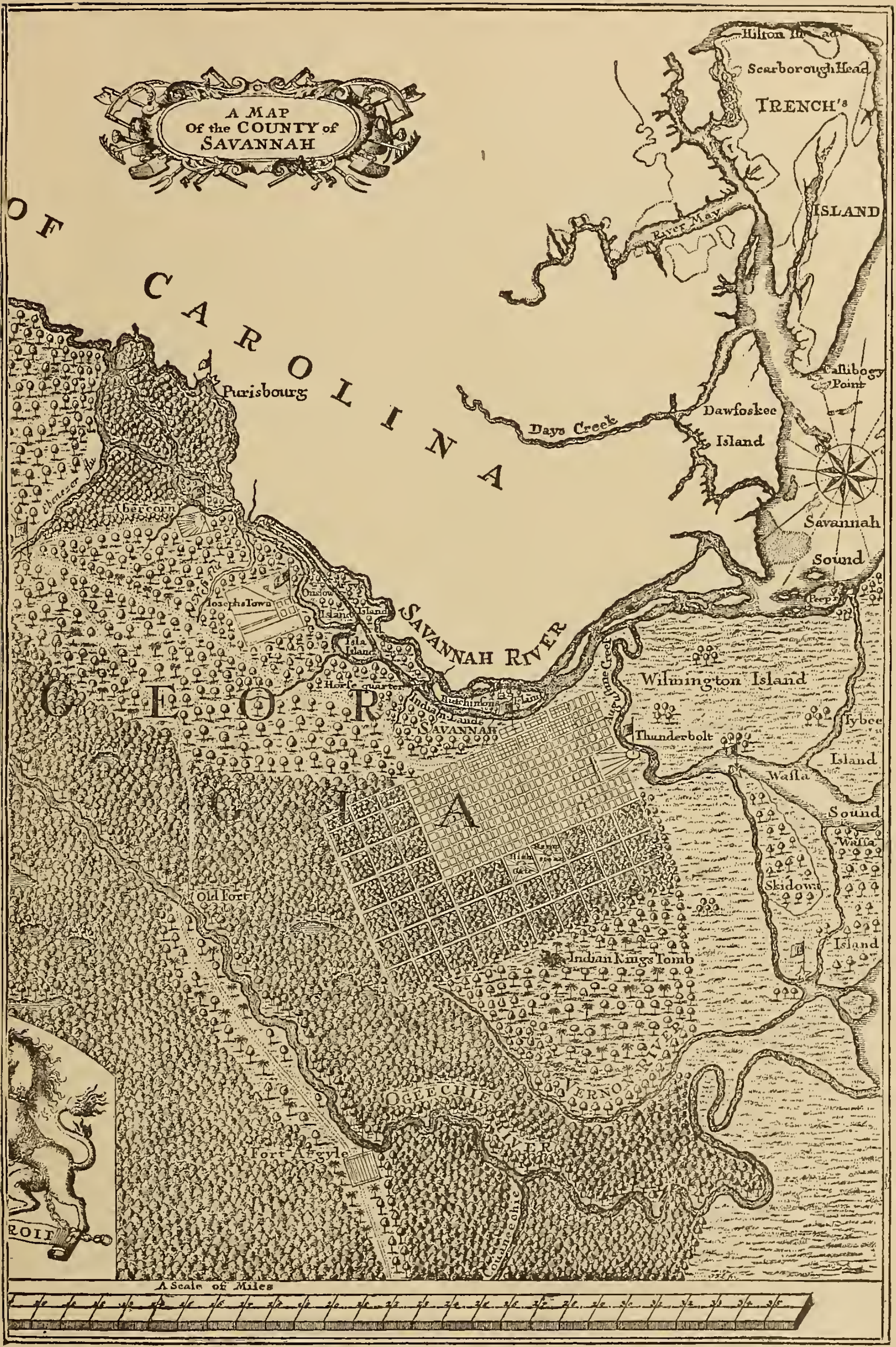
[1] [This head is taken from a German print, engraved at Augsburg, purporting to follow an original issued in London. The full print also represents Tooanahowi, his brother's son, a lad, holding an eagle as he stands beside his uncle. The entire print on a smaller scale is reproduced in Jones's *History of Georgia;* in Gay's *Popular History of the United States,* iii. 147; and in Dr. Eggleston's papers on "Life in the English Colonies" in the *Century Magazine.* — ED.]

would have been either most seriously imperilled or abruptly terminated amid smoke and carnage. When therefore we recur to the memories of this period, and as often as the leading events in the early history of the colony of Georgia are narrated, so often should the favors experienced at the hands of this mico be gratefully acknowledged. If Oglethorpe's proudest claim to the honor and respect of succeeding generations rests upon the fact that he was the founder of the colony of Georgia, let it not be forgotten that in the hour of supreme doubt and danger the right arm of this son of the forest, his active intervention, and his unswerving friendship were among the surest guarantees of the safety and the very existence of that province. Tomo-chi-chi will be remembered as the firm ally of the white man, the guide and protector of the colonist, the constant companion and faithful confederate of Oglethorpe.

Accessions occurred as rapidly as the means of the Trust would allow. Among some of the early comers were Italians from Piedmont, who were engaged to develop the silk industry, from the pursuit of which considerable gain was anticipated. As the immigrants multiplied, and the defences at Savannah were strengthened, Fort Argyle was built on the Great Ogeechee River, the villages of Highgate and Hampstead were laid out, Thunderbolt and Skidoway Island were occupied, Joseph's Town and Abercorn were peopled, and plantations formed on Augustine Creek, on the Little Ogeechee, and as far south as the Great Ogeechee River. On the 7th of July, 1733, occurred a general allotment of town lots, garden lots, and farms among the inhabitants of Savannah; and this was confirmed by deed executed on the 21st of the following December. The town lot contained sixty feet in front and ninety feet in depth; the garden lot embraced five acres. Forty-four acres and one hundred and forty-one poles constituted the farm; so that the grant aggregated fifty acres, — thus conforming to the instructions of the Trustees, and furnishing land sufficient for the support of the colonist who came at the charge of the Trust and brought no servants. The conveyance was in tail-male. Of the moneys realized from the sale of lands in the island of St. Christopher, the sum of £10,000 was, in pursuance of a resolution of the House of Commons, paid over to the "Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America," to be by them applied "towards defraying the charges of carrying over and settling foreign and other Protestants in said colony." This timely relief enabled the Trustees to accomplish a purpose from the execution of which they had been prevented by a want of funds. In the administration of the Trust preference had been accorded to English Protestants seeking homes in the New World. Now, however, they were justified in enlarging the scope of their charity, because the resolution in obedience to which this liberal benefaction was made, contemplated in terms the colonization of foreign Protestants.

As the first fruits of this expanded charity, on *Reminiscere Sunday*, according to the Lutheran Calendar, in March, 1734, the ship "Puris-



COUNTY OF SAVANNAH.[1]

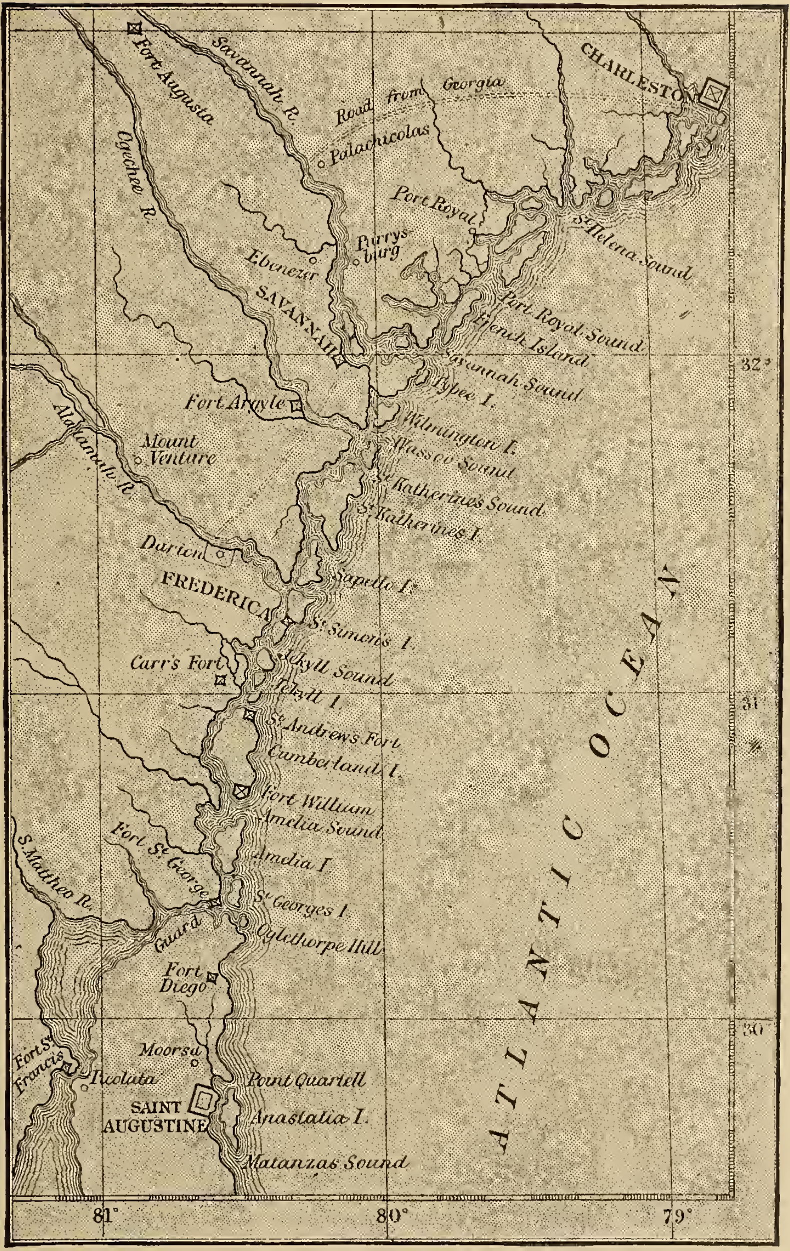
[1] This is a portion of a map in the Urlsperger Tracts, the whole of which is reproduced in Jones's *History of Georgia*, i. 148.

burg" entered the Savannah River having on board seventy-eight Salzburgers under the conduct of Baron von Reck, and accompanied by their spiritual advisers the Rev. John Martin Bolzius and the Rev. Israel Christian Gronau. They came from the town of Berchtolsgaden and its vicinity, had taken the oath of loyalty to the British Crown, and were conveyed at the charge of the Trust. "Lying in fine and calm weather under the Shore of our beloved *Georgia*, where we heard the Birds sing melodiously, every Body in the Ship was joyful," — so wrote the Rev. Mr. Bolzius, the faithful attendant and religious teacher of this Protestant band. He tells us that when the ship arrived at the wharf, "almost all the inhabitants of the Town of Savannah were gather'd together; they fired off some Cannons and cried Huzzah! . . . Some of us were immediately fetch'd on shore in a Boat, and carried about the City, into the woods, and the new Garden belonging to the Trustees. In the mean time a very good Dinner was prepared for us." The inhabitants "shewing them a great deal of kindness, and the Country pleasing them," the newcomers "were full of Joy and praised God for it."

By the 7th of April all these Salzburgers had been conducted to the spot designated as their future home. Although sterile and unattractive, and situated in the midst of a pine barren, to these peoples, tired of the sea and weary of persecutions, the locality appeared blessed, redolent of sweet hope, teeming with bright promise, and offering charming repose. The little town which they built in what is now Effingham County, they called Ebenezer. Early in the following year this settlement was reinforced by fifty-seven Salzburgers sent over by the Trustees in the ship "Prince of Wales." Accessions occurred from time to time; and thus was introduced into the colony a population inured to labor, sober, of strong religious convictions, conservative in thought and conduct, obedient to rulers, and characterized by intelligent industry. Disappointed in their anticipations with regard to the fertility of the soil and the convenience of their location, these peoples, with the consent of Oglethorpe, in a few years abandoned their abodes and formed a new settlement on the Savannah River near the confluence of Ebenezer Creek with that stream.

And now the Moravians, accompanied by the Rev. Gottlieb Spangenberg, sought freedom of religious thought and worship in the province of Georgia. To them were assigned lands along the line of the Savannah River between the Salzburgers and the town of Savannah. With the Salzburgers they associated on terms of the closest friendship. In subduing the forests, in erecting comfortable dwellings, and in cultivating the soil, they exhibited a most commendable zeal.

Encouraged by the development of the plantation, desiring a personal conference with the Trustees, and rightly judging that the advantage and security of the province would be materially promoted by taking with him to England some of the most intelligent of his Indian neighbors, that they might by personal observation acquire a definite conception of the greatness



COAST SETTLEMENTS BEFORE 1743.[1]

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[1] [This is the map given by Robert Wright in his *Memoir of General James Oglethorpe*, London, 1867. There is a similar map in Harris's *Oglethorpe.* Cf. Gay's *Popular History of the United States,* iii. 156. — Ed.]

and the resources of the British empire, and, moved by the kindnesses and attentions which he was quite sure would be extended to them on every hand, imbibe memories that would tend to cement the alliances and perpetuate the amicable relations which had been so auspiciously inaugurated, — Oglethorpe, in March, 1734, persuaded Tomo-chi-chi with a selected retinue to accompany him to London. The reception accorded to these Indians in the English capital and its environs was cordial and appropriate. This visit of Tomo-chi-chi and his companions, and the interest awakened by their presence in London, materially assisted Oglethorpe and the Trustees in enlisting the renewed and earnest sympathies of the public, not only in behalf of the colonists, but also in aid of the education and religious instruction of the natives. Widely disseminated among the Indian nations was the knowledge of this sojourn of the mico of the Yamacraws and his companions in the home of the white man. The novel and beautiful presents which the Indians brought back with them afforded ocular proof of the liberality of the English, and produced a profound impression upon the natives, who, grateful for the kindness shown to members of their race, were encouraged in the perpetuation of the amicable relations existing between themselves and the colonists.

Through the influence of Oglethorpe the regulations of the Trustees prohibiting the importation and sale of rum, brandy, and other distilled liquors within the limits of Georgia, and forbidding the introduction and use of negro slaves in the province, received the sanction of Parliament. Commenting upon this legislation, Edmund Burke remarked that while these restrictions were designed to bring about wholesome results, they were promulgated without a sufficient appreciation of the nature of the country and the disposition of the people to be affected by them. Long and earnestly did many of the colonists petition for the removal of these prohibitions, which placed the province at a disadvantage when its privileges were contrasted with those of sister plantations, and beyond doubt, so far at least as the employment of slave-labor was concerned, retarded its material development.

The peopling and fortification of the southern confines of Georgia engaged the earnest thought of the Trustees. The Spaniards regarded with a jealous eye the confirmation of this new English colony upon the borders of Florida. Moved by urgent memorials on the subject, Parliament granted £26,000 for "the settling, fortifying, and defending" Georgia. Their treasury being thus replenished, and anxious to enlist colonists of acknowledged strength and valor, the Trustees, through Lieutenant Hugh Mackay, recruited among the Highlands of Scotland one hundred and thirty men, with fifty women and children. They were all of excellent character, and were carefully selected for their military qualities. Accompanied by a clergyman of their own choice, — the Rev. John McLeod, of the Isle of Skye, — this hardy company was conveyed to Georgia and assigned to the left bank of the Alatamaha, about sixteen miles above the island of St. Simon. Here these Highlanders landed, erected a fort, mounted four pieces of cannon, built a guard-house, a store, and a chapel, and constructed huts for temporary accommodation preparatory to putting up more substantial structures. To their little town they gave the name of New Inverness, and the district which they were to hold and cultivate they called Darien. These Scots were brave and hardy; just the men to occupy this advanced post. In their plaids, and with their broadswords, targets, and fire-arms, they presented a most manly appearance. Previous to their departure from Savannah in periaguas, some Carolinians endeavored to dissuade them from going to the south by telling them that the Spaniards from the houses in their fort would shoot them upon the spot selected by the Trustees for their abode. Nothing daunted, these doughty countrymen of Bruce and Wallace responded, "Why, then, we will beat them out of their fort, and shall have houses ready built to live in." This valiant spirit found subsequent expression in the efficient military service rendered by these Highlanders during the wars between the colonists and the Spaniards, and by their descendants in the American Revolution. Augmented at intervals by fresh arrivals from Scotland, this settlement, although placed in a malarial region, steadily increased in wealth and influence.

At an early date a road was constructed to connect New Inverness with Savannah.

On the morning of Feb. 5, 1736, the "Symond" and the "London Merchant," with the first of the flood, passed over the bar and came to anchor within Tybee Roads. On board were two hundred and two persons conveyed on the Trust's account. Among them were English people, German Lutherans under the conduct of Baron von Reck and Captain Hermsdorf, and twenty-five Moravians with their bishop the Rev. David Nitschman. Oglethorpe was present, accompanied by the brothers John and Charles Wesley, the Rev. Mr. Ingham, and by Charles Delamotte, the son of a London merchant and a friend of the Wesleys. Coming at their own charge were Sir Francis Bathurst, with family and servants, and some relatives of planters already settled in the province. Ample stores of provisions, small arms, cannon, ammunition, and tools were transported in these vessels. The declared object of this large accession of colonists was the population of the southern confines of the province and the building of a military town on the island of St. Simon, to be called Frederica.

It was not until the 2d of March that the fleet of periaguas and boats, with the newly arrived on board, set out from Tybee Roads for the mouth of the Alatamaha. The voyage to the southward was accomplished in five days. So diligently did the colonists labor, and so materially were they assisted by workmen drawn from other parts of the province and from Carolina, that by the 23d of the month Frederica had been laid out, a battery of cannon commanding the river had been mounted, and a fort almost completed. Its ditches had been dug, although not to the required depth or width, and a rampart raised and covered with sod. A store-house, having a front of sixty feet, and designed to be three stories in height, was finished as to its cellar and first story. The main street which "went from the Front into the Country was 25 yards wide. Each Freeholder had 60 Feet in Front by 90 Feet in depth upon the high Street for their House and Garden; but those which fronted the River had but 30 Feet in Front by 60 Feet in Depth. Each Family had a Bower of Palmetto Leaves finished upon the back Street in their own Lands. The Side towards the front Street was set out for their Houses. These Palmetto Bowers were very convenient shelters, being tight in the hardest Rains; they were about 20 Feet long and 14 Feet wide, and in regular Rows looked very pretty, the Palmetto Leaves lying smooth and handsome, and of a good Colour. The whole appeared something like a Camp; for the Bowers looked like Tents, only being larger and covered with Palmetto Leaves instead of Canvas. There were 3 large Tents, two belonging to Mr. Oglethorpe and one to Mr. Horton, pitched upon the Parade near the River." Such is the description of Frederica in its infancy as furnished by Mr. Moore, whose *Voyage to Georgia* is perhaps the most interesting and valuable tract we possess descriptive of the colonization of the southern portion of Georgia. That there might be no confusion in their labors, Oglethorpe divided the colonists into working parties. To some was assigned the duty of cutting forks, poles, and laths for building the bowers; others set them up; others still gathered palmetto leaves; while "a fourth gang," under the superintendence of a Jew workman, bred in Brazil and skilled in the matter, thatched the roofs "nimbly and in a neat manner."

Men accustomed to agriculture instructed the colonists in hoeing and preparing the soil. Potatoes, Indian corn, flax, hemp-seed, barley, turnips, lucern-grass, pumpkins, and water-melons were planted. Labor was common, and inured to the general benefit of the community. As it was rather too late in the season to till the ground fully and sow a crop to yield sufficient to subsist the settlement for the current year, many of the men were put upon pay and set to work upon the fortifications and the public buildings.

Frederica, situated on the west side of St. Simon's Island, on a bold bluff confronting a bay formed by one of the mouths of the Alatamaha River, was planned as a military town, and constructed with a view to breasting the shock of hostile assaults. Its houses were to be substantially built, not of wood as in Savannah, but of tabby. At an early period its streets by their names proclaimed the presence of men-at-arms, while its esplanade and parade-ground characterized it as a permanent camp.[1] Including the camp on the north, the parade on the east, and a small wood on the

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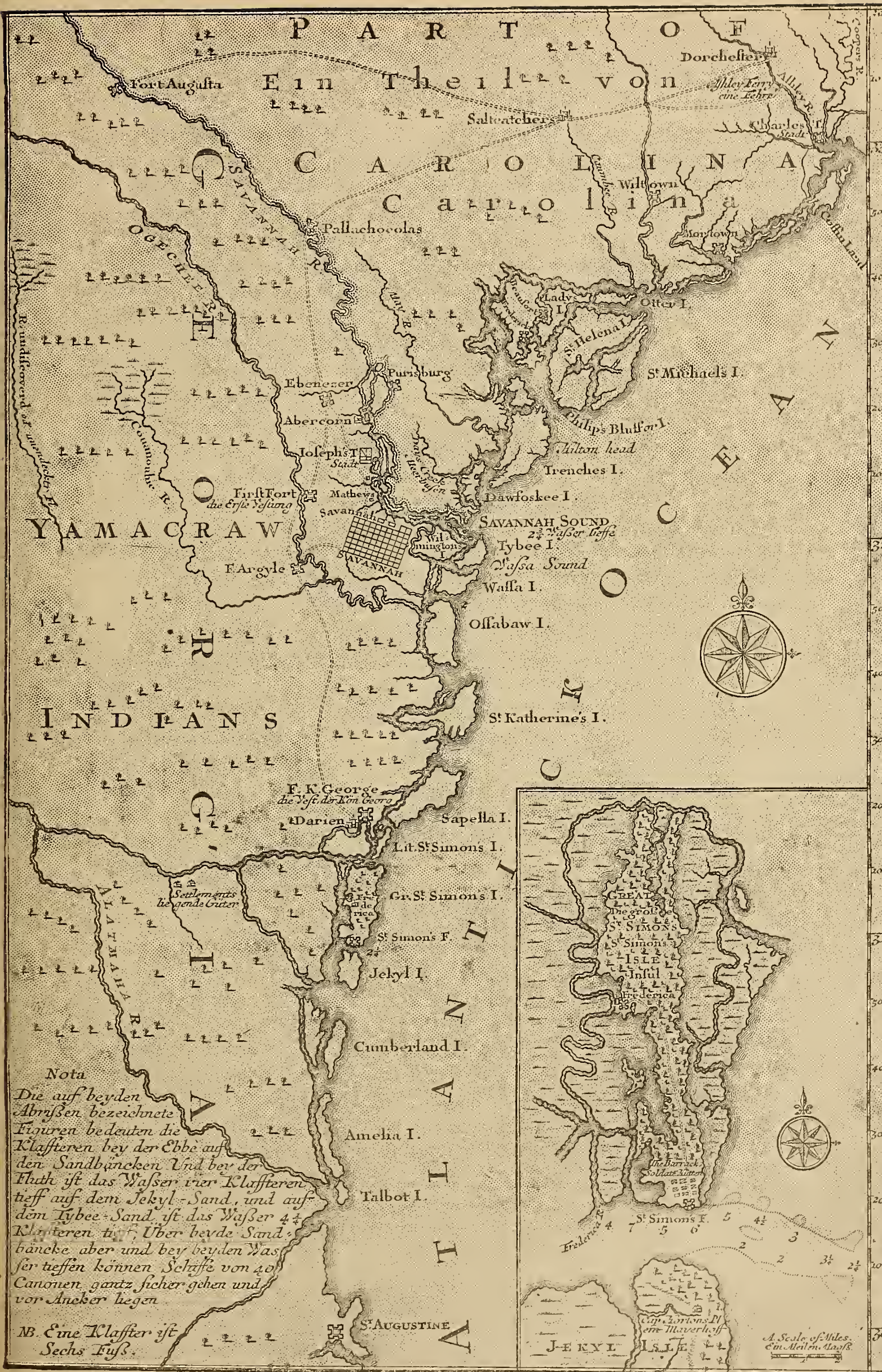
[1] There is in Lossing's *Field Book of the Revolution*, ii. 722, a sketch of the remains of the barracks as they appeared in 1851.

NOTE. — The map opposite, showing the coast from St. Augustine to Charlestown (S. C.), is copied from one in vol. v. of the *Urlsperger Tracts*. There is another plan of St. Simon's Island in W. B. Stevens's *Georgia*, i. 186.



Nota

Die auf beyden Abrißen bezeichnete Figuren bedeuten die Klaffteren bey der Ebbe auf den Sandbäncken Und bey der Fluth iſt das Waſser vier Klaffteren tieff auf dem Jekyl-Sand, und auf dem Tybee-Sand iſt das Waßer 4¼ Klaffteren tieff, Über beyde Sand-bäncke aber und bey beyden Waſser tieffen können Schiffe von 40 Canonen gantz ſicher gehen und vor Ancker liegen

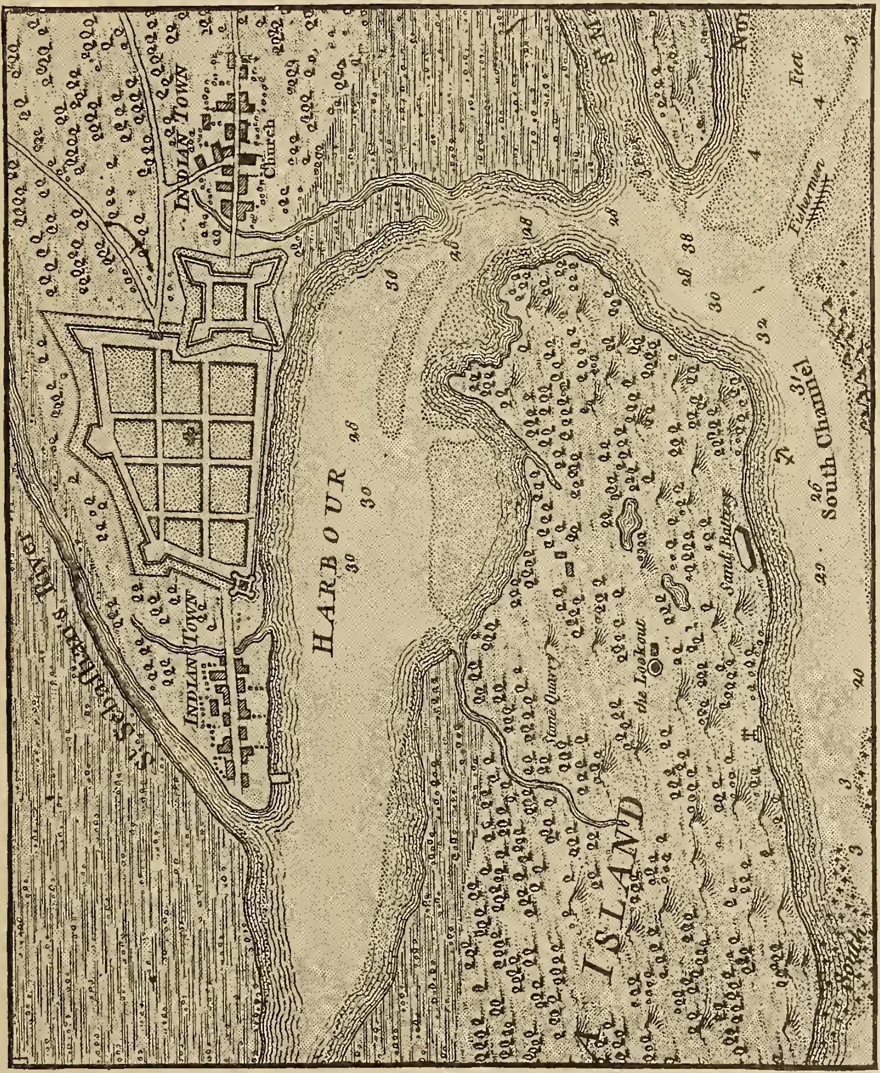
NB. Eine Klaffter iſt Sechs Fuß.

south which was to serve as a blind in the event of an attack from ships coming up the river, the settlement was about a mile and a half in circumference. The town proper was to be protected by embankment and ditch, and places for two gates, called respectively the Town and Water posts, were indicated. The citadel was to be made of tabby, and formidably armed. In front, a water battery, mounting several eighteen-pounder guns, was designed to command the river. It was contemplated to guard the town on the land side by a formidable intrenchment, the exterior ditch of which could be filled with water. As Savannah was intended as the commercial metropolis of the province, so was Frederica to constitute its southern outpost and strong defence. It soon became the Thermopylæ of the southern Anglo-American Colonies, the headquarters of Oglethorpe's regiment, the depot of military supplies for the dependent forts built at the south, and the strong rallying point for British colonization in the direction of Florida. In the history of the colony there is no brighter chapter, and in the eventful life of Oglethorpe no more illustrious epoch, than that which commemorates the protracted and successful struggle with the Spaniards for the retention of the charming island of St. Simon. In 1737 Oglethorpe kissed His Majesty's hand on receiving his commission as colonel. He was also appointed general and commander-in-chief of all His Majesty's forces in South Carolina and Georgia, that he might the more readily wield the military power of the two provinces in their common defence.

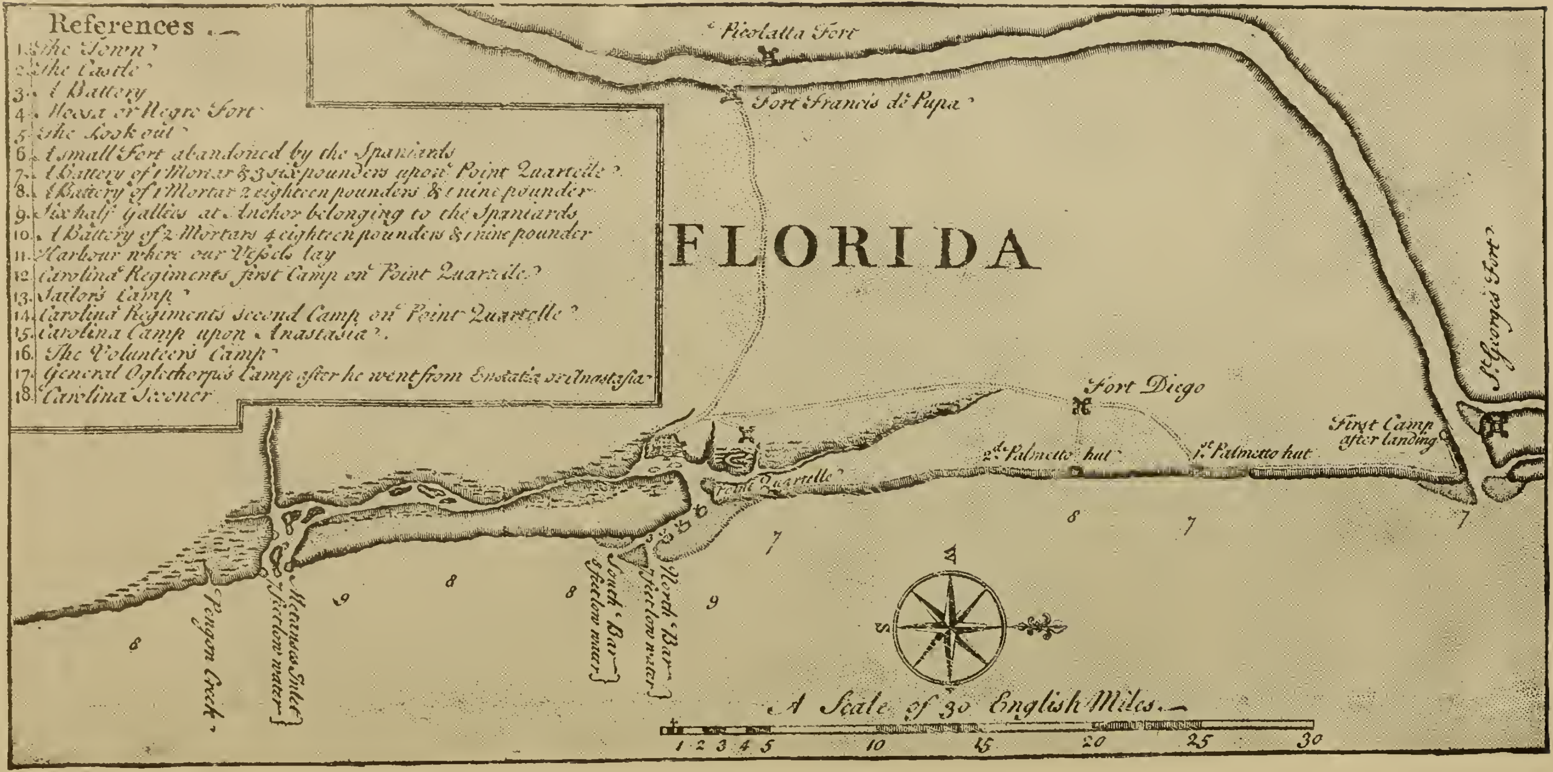
The finances of the Trust were now in a depressed condition, and the General was compelled to draw largely upon his private fortune and to pledge his individual credit in conducting the operations necessary for the security of the southern frontier, and in provisioning the settlers. Matters were further complicated by the defalcation of Thomas Causton, the first Magistrate of Savannah and Keeper of the public stores. Silk culture, from which so much was anticipated, proved a positive expense. There was no profit in the vine. Enfeebled by the hot suns of summer, and afflicted with fevers and fluxes engendered by malarial exhalations from the marish grounds, many of the inhabitants lost heart and cried aloud for the introduction of African slavery. Disappointed in their plans for the religious instruction of the colonists and the conversion of the natives, the brothers John and Charles Wesley had quitted the province. In the consummation of his benevolent and educational scheme, the Rev. George Whitefield was compelled to rely upon foreign aid. With the exception of the Highlanders at Darien, the Salzburgers at Ebenezer, and the Indian traders at Augusta, Georgia could not boast that her inhabitants were either contented or prosperous. There was general clamor for fee-simple title to lands, and permission to buy slaves was constantly urged. The disaffected hesitated not to malign the authorities, to disquiet the settlers, and to exaggerate the unpleasantness of the situation. Fortunately the Indian nations remained peaceful ; and in general convention held at

Coweta-town in August, 1739, in the presence of Oglethorpe, they renewed their fealty to the King of Great Britain, and in terms most explicit confirmed their previous grants of territory.

And now the Spanish war-cloud which had so long threatened the southern confines of the province, seemed about to descend in wrath and power. Acting under the discretionary powers confided to him, General Oglethorpe resolved to anticipate the event by an invasion of Florida and the reduction of St. Augustine, — the stronghold of Spanish dominion in that province. Collecting his regiment, summoning to his assistance forces from South Carolina, and calling in his Indian allies, in



[Fac-simile of a plan of St. Augustine in Roberts's *Account of Florida*, London, 1763. — Ed.]


References
1 The Town
2 the Castle
3 A Battery
4 Moosa or Negro Fort
5 the Look out
6 A small Fort abandoned by the Spaniards
7 A Battery of 1 Mortar & 3 six pounders upon Point Quartelle
8 A Battery of 1 Mortar 2 eighteen pounders & 1 nine pounder
9 Six half gallies at Anchor belonging to the Spaniards
10 A Battery of 2 Mortars 4 eighteen pounders & 1 nine pounder
11 Harbour where our Vessels lay
12 Carolina Regiments first Camp on Point Quartelle
13 Sailors Camp
14 Carolina Regiments second Camp on Point Quartelle
15 Carolina Camp upon Anastasia
16 The Volunteers Camp
17 General Oglethorpe's Camp after he went from Eustatia or Anastasia
18 Carolina Scooner
Picolatta Fort
Fort Francis de Papa
FLORIDA
St Georges Fort
Fort Diego
First Camp after landing
2d Palmetto hut
1st Palmetto hut
Point Quartelle
North Bar 7 feet low water
South Bar 8 feet low water
Metansas Inlet 7 feet low water
Pengon Creek
W
S
A Scale of 30 English Miles
1 2 3 4 5
10
15
20
25
30

COAST OF FLORIDA.[1]

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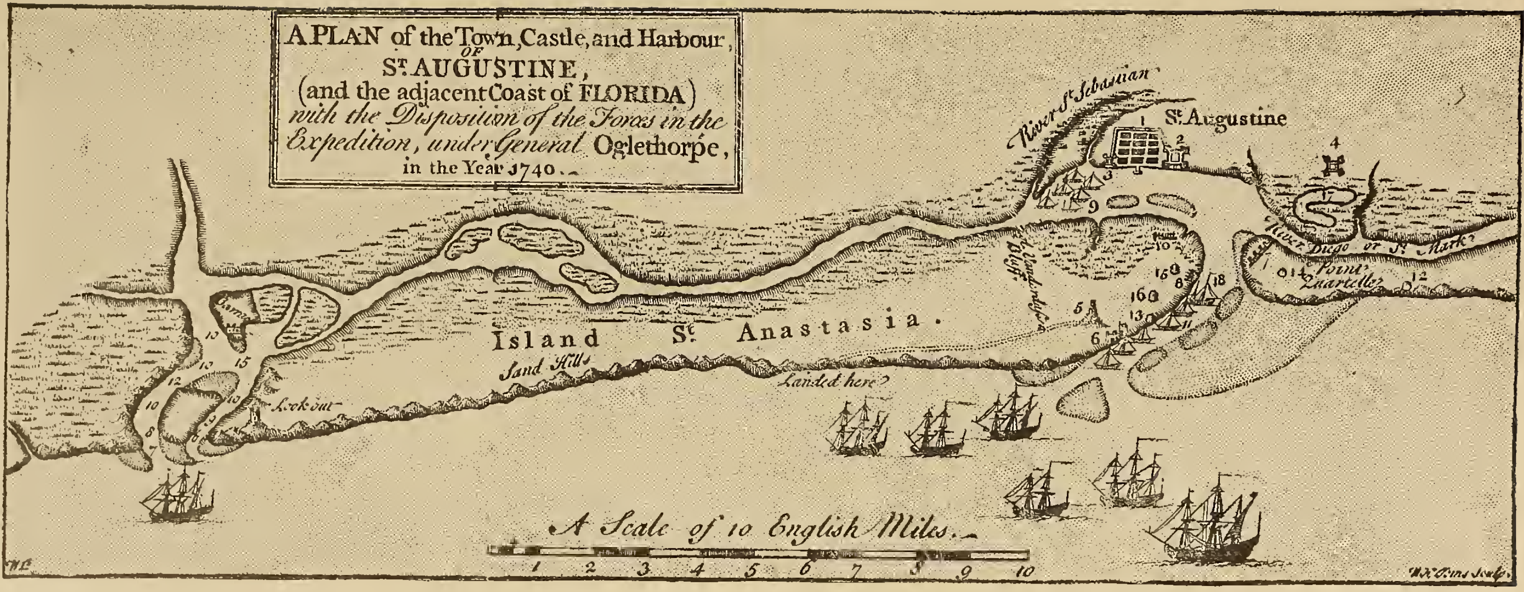
[1] Fac-simile of the plan in *An Impartial Account of the late Expedition againts St. Augustine under General Oglethorpe.* London, 1742.


A PLAN of the Town, Castle, and Harbour, OF St. AUGUSTINE, (and the adjacent Coast of FLORIDA) with the Disposition of the Forces in the Expedition, under General Oglethorpe, in the Year 1740.
St. Augustine
River St. Sebastian
River Diego or St. Mark's
Point Quartelles
Island St. Anastasia.
Sand Hills
Landed here?
Look out
A Scale of 10 English Miles.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

HARBOR AND TOWN OF ST. AUGUSTINE.[1]

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[1] [Fac-simile of part of the map in *An Impartial Account of the late Expedition against St. Augustine under General Oglethorpe, occasioned by the suppression of the Report of the General Assembly of South Carolina, with an exact plan of St. Augustine and the adjacent coast of Florida, showing the disposition of our Forces.* London, 1742. — Ed.]

May, 1740, with a mixed army of rather more than two thousand men, he moved upon the capital of Florida. In this expedition Sir Yelverton Peyton, with the British vessels of war, — the "Flamborough," the "Phœnix," the "Squirrel," the "Tartar," the "Spence," and the "Wolf," — was to participate. The castle of St. Augustine consisted of a fort built of soft stone. Its curtain was sixty yards in length, its parapet nine feet thick, and its rampart twenty feet high, "casemated underneath for lodgings, and arched over and newly made bombproof." Its armament consisted of fifty cannon, sixteen of brass, and among them some twenty-four pounders. For some time had the garrison been working upon a covered way, but this was still in an unfinished condition. The town was protected by a line of intrenchments, with ten salient angles, in each of which field-pieces were mounted. In January, 1740, the Spanish forces in Florida, exclusive of Indians and one company of militia, were estimated at nine hundred and sixty-five men of all arms. As foreshadowed in his dispatch of the 27th of March, 1740, it was the intention of General Oglethorpe to advance directly upon St. Augustine, and attack by sea and land the town and the island in its front. Both, he believed, could be taken "sword in hand." Conceiving that the castle would be too small to afford convenient shelter for the two thousand one hundred men, women, and children of the town, he regarded the capitulation of the fortress as not improbable. Should it refuse to surrender, he proposed to shower upon it "Granado-shells from the Coehorns and Mortars," and other projectiles. If it should not yield under the bombardment, he was resolved to open trenches and reduce it by a regular siege. The result was a disastrous failure. This miscarriage may be fairly attributed, — first, to the delay in inaugurating the movement, caused mainly, if not entirely, by the tardiness on the part of the South Carolina authorities in contributing the troops, munitions, and provisions for which requisition had been made; in the second place, to the reinforcement of men and supplies from Havana introduced into St. Augustine just before the English expedition set out, thereby repairing the inequality previously existing between the opposing forces; again, to the injudicious movements against Forts Francis de Papa and Diego, which put the Spaniards upon the alert, encouraged concentration on their part, and foreshadowed an immediate demonstration in force against their stronghold; and to the inability on the part of the fleet to participate in the assault previously planned, and which was to have been vigorously undertaken so soon as General Oglethorpe with his land forces came into position before the walls of St. Augustine. Finally, the subsequent surprise and destruction of Colonel Palmer's command, thereby enabling the enemy to communicate with and draw supplies from the interior; the lack of heavy ordnance with which to reduce the castle from the batteries planted on Anastasia island; the impossibility of bringing up the larger war vessels that they might participate in the bombardment; the inefficiency of Colonel Vanderdussen's command; the impatience and disappointment of the Indian allies, who anticipated early capture and liberal spoils; as well as hot suns, heavy dews, a debilitating climate, sickness among the troops, and the arrival of men, munitions of war, and provisions from Havana through the Matanzas River, — all conspired to render futile whatever hopes at the outset had been entertained for a successful prosecution of the siege.

Although this attempt — so formidable in its character when we consider the limited resources at command, and so full of daring when we contemplate the circumstances under which it was prosecuted — resulted in disappointment, its effects were not without decided advantage to Georgia and her sister colonies. For two years the Spaniards remained on the defensive. During that time General Oglethorpe enjoyed an opportunity for strengthening his fortifications and increasing his army; so that when the counter blow was delivered by his adversary, he was the better prepared not only to parry it, but also to punish the uplifted arm.

During the preceding seven years, which constituted the entire life of the colony, Oglethorpe had enjoyed no respite from his labors. Personally directing all movements; supervising the location and providing for the comfort, safety, and good order of the colonists as they arrived from time to time; reconciling their differences, encouraging and directing their labors; propitiating the aborigines, influencing necessary supplies, inaugurating suitable defences, and enforcing the regulations of the Trustees, — he had passed constantly from point to point, finding no rest. Upon his shoulders, as the Trustees' representative and as a *de facto* colonial governor, did the administration of the affairs of the province rest. Now in tent at Savannah; now in open boat reconnoitring the coast, now upon the southern islands, his only shelter the wide-spreading live-oak, designating sites for forts and lookouts, and with his own hands planning military works and laying out villages; again journeying frequently along the Savannah, the Great Ogeechee, the Alatamaha, the St. John, and far off into the heart of the Indian country; often inspecting his advanced posts; undertaking voyages to Charlestown and to England in behalf of the Trust, and engaged in severe contests with the Spaniards, — his life had been one of incessant activity and solicitude. But for his energy, intelligence, watchfulness, valor, and self-sacrifice, the important enterprise must have languished. As we look back upon this period of trial, uncertainty, and poverty, our admiration for his achievements increases the more closely we scan his limited resources and opportunities, the more thoroughly we appreciate the difficulties he was called upon to surmount.

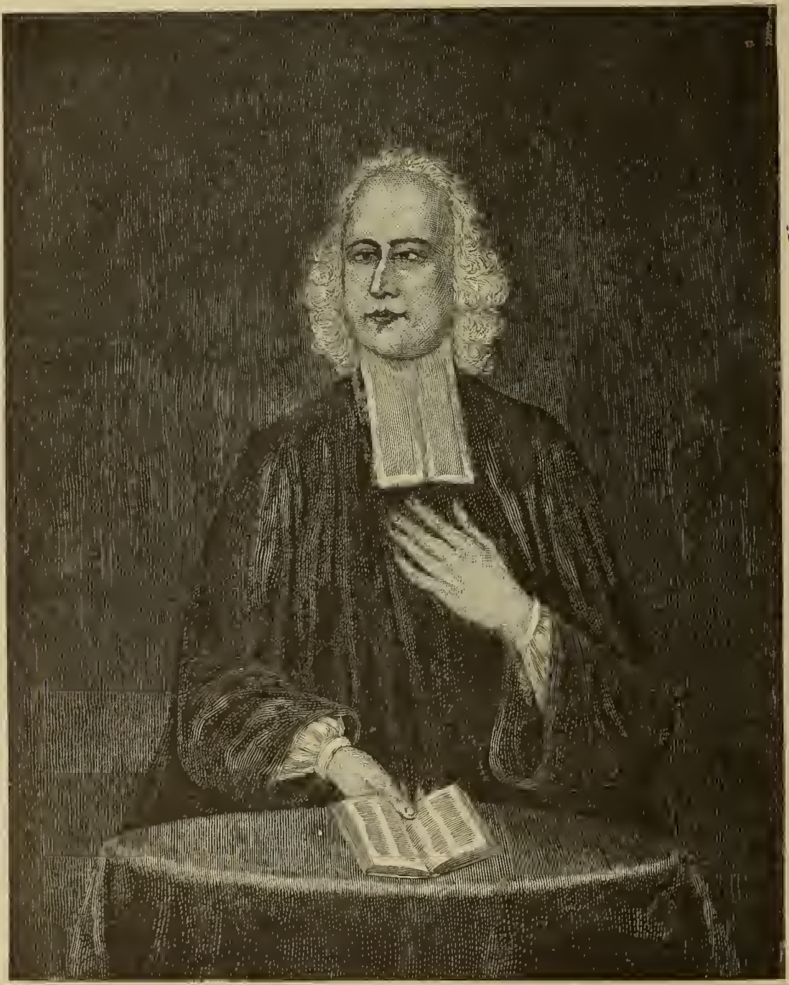
There was a lull in the storm; but the skies were still overcast. In the distance were heard ominous mutterings portending the advent of another and a darker tempest. Anxious but calm, Oglethorpe scanned the adverse skies and prepared to breast their fury. In alluding to the expected invasion from St. Augustine, he thus writes to the Duke of Newcastle: "If our men-of-war will not keep them from coming in by sea, and we have no succor, but decrease daily by different accidents, all we can do will be to die bravely in His Majesty's service. . . . I have often desired assistance of the men-of-war, and continue to do so. I go on in fortifying this town [Frederica], making magazines, and doing everything I can to defend the province vigorously; and I hope my endeavors will be approved of by His Majesty, since the whole end of my life is to do the duty of a faithful subject and grateful servant."

Late in June, 1742, a Spanish fleet of fifty-one sail, with nearly five thousand troops on board, under the command of Don Manuel de Monteano, governor of St. Augustine, bore down upon the Georgia coast with a view to the capture of the island of St. Simon and the destruction of the English plantation south of the Savannah. To resist this formidable descent, General Oglethorpe could oppose only a few small forts, about six hundred and fifty men, a guard schooner, and some armed sloops. With a bravery and dash almost beyond comprehension, by strategy most admirable, Oglethorpe by a masterly disposition of the troops at command, coupled with the timidity of the invaders and the dissensions which arose in their ranks, before the middle of July put the entire Spanish army and navy to flight. This "deliverance of Georgia," said Whitefield, "is such as cannot be paralleled but by some instances out of the Old Testament." The defeat of so formidable an expedition by such a handful of men was a matter of astonishment to all. The memory of this defence of St. Simon's Island and the southern frontier is one of the proudest in the annals of Georgia. Never again did the Spaniards attempt to put in execution their oft-repeated threat to extirpate all the English plantations south of Port-Royal Sound. Sullenly and with jealous eye did they watch the development of Georgia, until twenty-one years afterwards all disputes were ended by the cession of Florida to the Crown of Great Britain. Upon the confirmation of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle most of the English troops were withdrawn from the island of St. Simon, and its fortifications soon began to fall into decay.

Georgia at this time consisted of only two counties, Savannah and Frederica. In April, 1741, Colonel William Stephens, who for several years had been acting in the colony as secretary to the Trustees, was by them appointed president of the county of Savannah. In the administration of public affairs he was aided by four assistants. As General Oglethorpe, who was charged with the direction and management of the entire province, spent most of his time at Frederica, the designation of a presiding officer for that division of Georgia was regarded as superfluous. Bailiffs were constituted, whose duty it was, under the immediate supervision of the General, to attend to the concerns of that county. At Augusta, Captain Richard Kent acted as "conservator to keep the peace in that town and in the precincts thereof." Upon the return of General Oglethorpe to England, in order to provide for the government of the entire colony the Trustees decided that the president and assistants who had been appointed for the county of Savannah should be proclaimed president and assistants for the whole province, and that the bailiffs at Frederica should be considered simply as local magistrates. They further advised that the salary of the recorder at Frederica be raised, and that he correspond regularly with the president and assistants in Savannah, transmitting to them from time to time the proceedings of the town court, and rendering an account of such transactions and occurrences in the southern part of the province as it might be necessary for them to know. Thus, upon the departure of General Oglethorpe, the honest-minded and venerable Colonel William Stephens succeeded to the office of colonial governor. It was during his administration that the Trustees, influenced by repeated petitions and anxious to promote the prosperity of the province, removed the restrictions hitherto existing with regard to the introduction, use, and ownership of negro slaves, and the importation of rum and other distilled liquors. They also permitted existing tenures of land "to be enlarged and extended to an absolute inheritance."

In bringing about the abrogation of the regulation which forbade the ownership or employment of negro slaves in Georgia, no two gentlemen were more influential than the Rev. George Whitefield and the Hon. James Habersham. The former boldly asserted that the transportation of the African from his home of barbarism to a Christian land, where he would be humanely treated and required to perform his share of toil common to the lot of humanity, was advantageous; while the latter affirmed that the colony could not prosper without the intervention of slave-labor. Georgia now enjoyed like privileges with those accorded to the sister American provinces. Lands could now be held in fee-simple, and the power of alienation was unrestricted. The ownership and employment of negro slaves were free to all, and the New England manufacturer could here find an open market for his rum.

The Trustees had up to this point seriously misinterpreted the capabilities of the climate and soil of Georgia. Although substantial encouragement had been afforded to Mr. Amatis, to Jacques Camuse, to the Salzburgers at Ebenezer, and to others; although copper basins and reeling machines had been supplied and a filature erected; although silk-worm eggs were procured and mulberry trees multiplied, — silk-culture in Georgia yielded only a harvest of disappointment. The vine also languished. Olive trees from Venice, barilla seeds from Spain, the kali from Egypt, and other exotics obtained at much expense, after a short season withered and died in the public garden. Hemp and flax, from the cultivation of which such rich yields were anticipated, never warranted the charter of a single vessel for their transportation, and indigo did not then commend itself to public favor. Exportations of lumber were infrequent. Cotton was then little more than a garden plant, and white laborers could not compete successfully with Carolina negroes in the production of rice. Up to this point the battle had been with Nature for life and subsistence. Upon the stores of the Trust did many long rely for food and clothing. Of trade



WHITEFIELD.[1]

there was little, and that was confined to the procurement of necessaries. With the exception of occasional shipments of copper money for circulation among the inhabitants, sola bills constituted the chief currency of the province. Now, however, all restrictions removed, Georgia entered upon a career of comparative prosperity.

On the 8th of April, 1751, Mr. Henry Parker was appointed president of the colony in the room of Colonel Stephens, who retired upon a pension of £80. During his administration the first Provincial Assembly of Georgia convened at Savannah. It was composed of sixteen delegates, and was presided over by Francis Harris. As the privilege of enacting laws was by the terms of the charter vested exclusively in the Trustees, this assembly could not legislate. Its powers were limited to discussing and suggesting such measures as its members might deem conducive to the welfare of particular communities and important for the general good of the province.

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[1] This cut (see also the *Memorial History of Boston*, ii. 238) follows a painting in Memorial Hall, Cambridge, Mass. The portraits of Whitefield are numerous. J. C. Smith (*British Mezzotint Portraits*, i. 442, 443; iii. 601, 692, 939; iv. 1545) enumerates various ones in that style, giving a photo-reproduction of one. The Lives of him usually give likenesses.

The "Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America' resolved to surrender their charter and relieve themselves from the further execution of a trust which had grown quite beyond their management. For twenty years they had supported its provisions with an earnest solicitude, a philanthropic zeal, a disinterested purpose, and a loyal devotion worthy of every commendation. They had seen a feeble plantation upon Yamacraw Bluff expand year by year, until it now assumed the proportions of a permanent colony and disclosed the potentialities of a future nation. The English drum-beat on the banks of the Savannah is answered by the Highland bagpipe on the Alatamaha, and the protecting guns of Frederica are supplemented by the sentinel field-pieces at Augusta. At every stage of progress and in every act, whether trivial or important, these Trustees, capable and worthy, evinced a clear conception of duty, a patience of labor, a singleness of purpose, an unselfish dedication of time and energy, and a rigid adherence to all that was pure, elevated, and humanizing, which become quite conspicuous when their proceedings are minutely and intelligently scanned. That they erred in their judgment in regard to the best method of utilizing many of these marish lands, smitten by sun and storms and pregnant with fevers and fluxes, may not now be doubted; that the theory upon which they administered the trust was in some respects narrow and retarding in its influences, is equally certain; that they were unfortunate in the selection of some of their agents excites no surprise, — but that they were upright, conscientious, observant, and most anxious to promote the best interests of the colony, as they comprehended them, will be freely admitted.

The surrender of the charter was formally concluded on the 23d of June, 1752; and Georgia, no longer the ward of the Trustees, passed into the hands of the Crown. Until clothed with the attributes of State sovereignty by the successful issue of the American Revolution, she was recognized as one of the daughters of England under the special charge of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations. By the terms of the surrender, her integrity as an independent province, separate from South Carolina, was fully assured, and all grants of land, hitherto made to the inhabitants, were recognized and respected.

Upon the death of Mr. Parker, Patrick Graham succeeded to the presidency of Georgia. Until a plan for establishing a civil government could be perfected, all officers, both civil and military, holding appointments from the Trustees, were continued in their respective places of trust, with such emoluments, salaries, and fees as were incident thereto. The population of the colony now consisted of two thousand three hundred and eighty-one whites, and one thousand and sixty-six negro slaves. This estimate did not include His Majesty's troops and boatmen, or a congregation of two hundred and eighty whites, with negro slaves aggregating five hundred and thirty-six, coming from South Carolina and partially settled in the Midway District, or Butler's Colony with sixty slaves.

The plan suggested by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations for the establishment of a civil government in Georgia contemplated the appointment of a governor, by commission under the Great Seal, with the title of *Captain-General and Governor-in-chief of His Majesty's Province of Georgia, and Vice-Admiral of the same.* He was to be addressed as *Your Excellency*, and was, within the colony, to be respected as the immediate and highest representative of His Majesty. His functions, as well as those of the two Houses of the Assembly, were well defined.[1]

The plan thus submitted for the government of the Province of Georgia received royal sanction; and His Majesty, upon the nomination of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, was pleased, on the 6th of August, 1754, to appoint Captain John Reynolds governor of the Province of Georgia; William Clifton, Esq., attorney-general; James Habersham,

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[1] As Captain-General he was entitled to command all the land and naval forces of the province, and by him were all officers of the militia to be appointed. As Governor-in-chief he was a constituent part of the General Assembly, and possessed the sole power of adjourning, proroguing, convening, and dissolving that body. It rested with him to approve or to veto any bill passed by the Council and the Assembly. All officers who did not receive their warrants directly from the Crown were appointed by him: and if vacancies occurred, by death or removal, in offices usually filled by the immediate nomination of the King, the appointees of the governor acted until the pleasure of the home government was signified. He was the custodian of the Great Seal, and as Chancellor exercised within the province powers of judicature similar to those reposed in the High Chancellor of England. He was to preside in the Court of Errors, composed of himself and the members of Council as judges, hearing and determining all appeals from the superior courts. As Ordinary, he collated to all vacant benefices, granted probate of wills, and allowed administration upon the estates of those dying intestate. By him were writs issued for the election of representatives to sit in the Commons House of Assembly. As Vice-Admiral, while he did not sit in the court of vice-admiralty, — a judge for that court being appointed by the Crown, — in time of war he could issue warrants to that court empowering it to grant commissions to privateers. With him resided the ability to pardon all crimes except treason and murder. It was optional with him to select as his residence such locality within the limits of the province as he deemed most convenient for the transaction of the public business, and he might direct the General Assembly to meet at that point. He was invested with authority, for just cause, to suspend any member of Council, and, in a word, might "do all other necessary and proper things in such manner and under such regulations as should, upon due consideration, appear to be best adapted to the circumstances of the colony." The King's Council was to consist of twelve members in ordinary and of two extraordinary members. They were to be appointed by the Crown, and were to hold office during His Majesty's pleasure. In the absence of the governor and lieutenant-governor, the senior member of the Council in Ordinary administered the government. When sitting as one of the three branches of the legislature the Council was styled the Upper House of Assembly. It also acted as Privy Council to the governor, assisting him in the conduct of public affairs. In this capacity the members were to convene whenever the governor saw fit to summon them. When sitting as an Upper House, the Council met at the same time with the Commons House of Assembly, and was presided over by the lieutenant-governor, or, in his absence, by the senior member present. The

Esq., secretary and register; Alexander Kellet, Esq., provost-marshal; William Russel, Esq., naval officer; Henry Yonge and William De Brahm joint surveyors; Sir Patrick Houstoun, Bart., register of grants and receiver of quit rents; and Patrick Graham, Sir Patrick Houstoun, James Habersham, Alexander Kellet, William Clifton, Noble Jones, Pickering Robinson, Francis Harris, Jonathan Bryan, William Russell, and Clement Martin members of Council.

When during the same year (1754) the other English colonies sent delegates to represent them at the Congress of Albany, in order to draft a plan of union against the French, Georgia filled so narrow a space in the regard of the other colonies that her failure to join in the proposed league was hardly remarked.

Only three Royal Governors did Georgia have. The terms of service of Captain Reynolds and of Henry Ellis were short. Assuming the reins of government in 1760, the third and last Royal Governor, Sir James Wright, encountered the storms of the Revolution, and in a brave adherence to the cause of his royal master suffered arrest, mortification, and loss. It was his lot to preside at an epoch full of doubt and trouble. During his administration the political ties which united Georgia to the mother country were violently sundered, and a union of American colonies was formed, which in

forms of procedure resembled those observed in the House of Lords in Great Britain.

The qualification of an elector was the ownership of fifty acres of land in the parish or district in which he resided and voted; that of a representative, was the proprietorship of five hundred acres of land in any part of the province. Writs of election were issued by order of the Governor in Council under the Great Seal of the province, were tested by him, and were returnable in forty days. When convened, the Representatives were denominated the Commons House of Assembly. Choosing its own speaker, who was presented to the governor for approbation, this body, — composed of the immediate representatives of the people, and conforming in its legislative and deliberative conduct to the precedents established for the governance of the English House of Commons, — when convened, continued its session until dissolved by the governor. It claimed and enjoyed the exclusive right of originating bills for the appropriation of public moneys. Thus constituted, the Upper and Lower Houses formed the General Assembly of the province and legislated in its behalf. Bills which passed both Houses were submitted to the governor for his consideration. If approved by him, the Seal of the Colony was attached, and they were duly filed. Authenticated copies were then prepared and transmitted for the information and sanction of the Home Government.

Provision was also made for the establishment of a "General Court," of a "Court of Session of Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery," and of courts of inferior jurisdiction. There was also a "Court of Admiralty."

The presiding judge was styled Chief-Justice of Georgia. He was a "barrister at law" who had attended at Westminster, was appointed by warrant under His Majesty's sign-manual and signet, and enjoyed a salary of £500, raised by annual grant of Parliament. The assistant justices were three in number. They received no salaries except on the death or in the absence of the chief-justice, and held their appointments from the governor.

Arrangements were also made for appointment of Collectors of Customs, of a Register of Deeds, of a Receiver of Quit Rents, of a Surveyor-General, of a Secretary of the Province, of a Clerk of Council, of a Provost Marshal, of an Attorney-General, and of other necessary officers.

The device approved for a public seal was as follows: On one face was a figure representing the Genius of the Colony offering a skein of silk to His Majesty, with the motto, "Hinc laudem sperate Coloni," and this inscription around the circumference: "Sigillum Provinciæ nostræ Georgiæ in America." On the other side appeared His Majesty's arms, crown, garter, supporters, and motto, with the inscription: "Georgius II. Dei Gratia Britanniæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Rex, Fidei Defensor, Brunsvici et Luneburgi Dux, Sacri Romani Imperii Archi Thesaurarius et Princeps Elector."

after years developed into the great Republic. The rapid development of Georgia under the conduct of these royal governors will be admitted when it is remembered that in 1754 her exports did not amount to £30,000 a year; while, at the opening of the Revolutionary War, they did not fall short of £200,000 sterling.

CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

GEORGIA was named in honor of the reigning king of England, George II., who graciously sanctioned a charter, liberal in its provisions, and who granted to the Trustees a territory, extensive and valuable, for the plantation.

In a report submitted to Congress by the Hon. Charles Lee, attorney-general of the United States (Philadelphia, 1796), will be found a valuable collection of charters, treaties, and documents explanatory of the original cession to the "Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America," and of the modifications and enlargements to which the same was later subjected. The territory which, in 1733, became the Province of Georgia at an earlier day formed a part of ancient Florida, which stretched in the Spanish conception from the Gulf of Mexico to the far north and westward to the Mississippi and indefinitely beyond.

It has fallen to the lot of another writer in the present work to mention the authorities on the primitive peoples of this region; and by still another an enumeration is made of the archæological traces of their life.[1]

The project of Sir Robert Mountgomery for planting a colony in the territory subsequently ceded to the Georgia Trustees is fully unfolded in his *Discourse concerning the design'd Establishment of a New Colony to the South of Carolina in the most delightful Country of the Universe*, London, 1717.[2] Accompanying this *Discourse* is an engraved "plan representing the Form of Settling the Districts or County Divisions in the Margravate of Azilia."[3] Although extensively advertised, this scheme failed to attract the favor of the public, and ended in disappointment.

The true story of the mission of Sir Alexander Cuming, of Aberdeenshire, Scotland, to establish a trade with the Cherokees, and confirm them in their friendship with and allegiance to the British crown, has been well told by Samuel G. Drake in his *Early History of Georgia, embracing the Embassy of Sir Alexander Cuming to the Country of the Cherokees in the year* 1730, Boston, 1872. A reproduction of the rare print giving the portraits of the Indians who accompanied Sir Alexander on his return to

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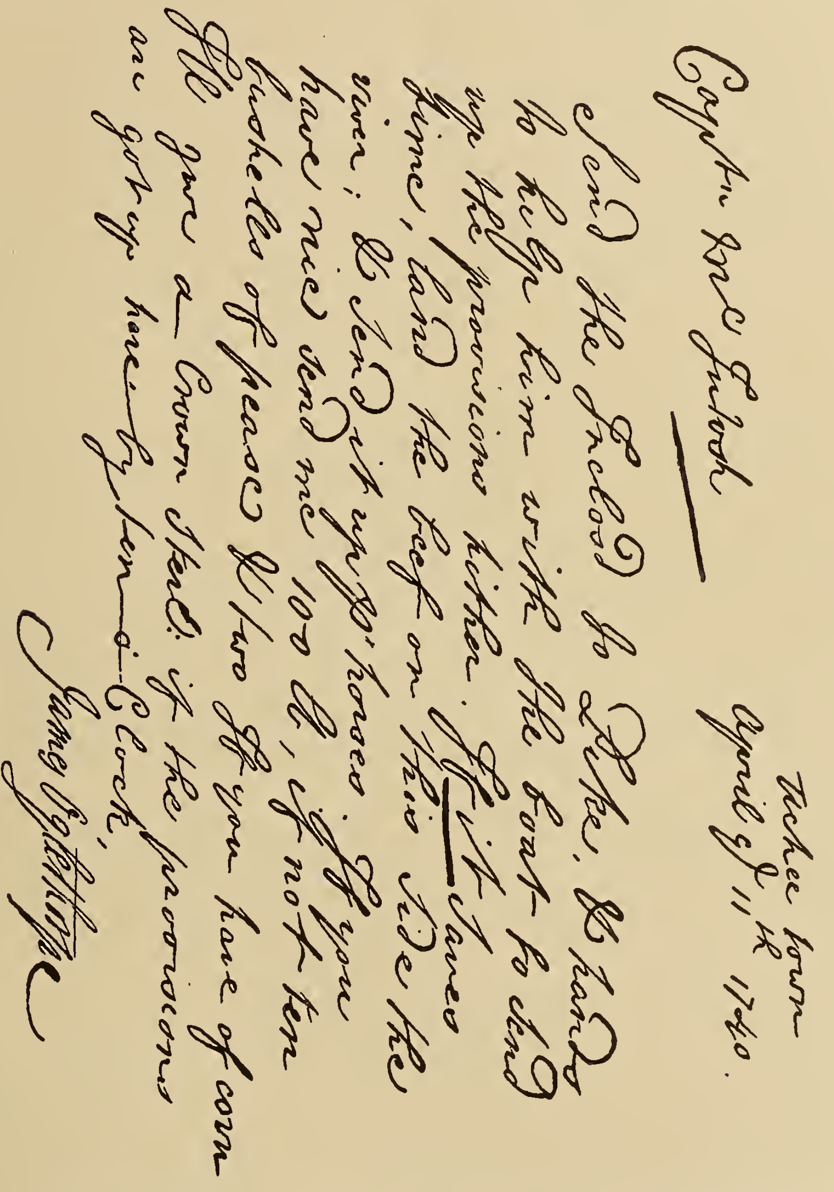
[1] Cf. Chapter IV., on "Ancient Florida," by Dr. John G. Shea, in Vol. II.; and a chapter in Vol. I.

[2] [Sabin, xii. no. 51194; Barlow, no. 809; Carter-Brown, iii. no. 224; Brinley, no. 3911; Murphy, no. 1743; Rich (1835), p. 25. This tract is reprinted with the plan in Force's *Tracts*, vol. i. There is a copy in Harvard College library [12354.7]. Coming within the grant to Mountgomery and lying "within a day's rowing of the English habitations in South Carolina" are certain islands called by Sir Robert, St. Symon, Sapella, Santa Catarina, and Ogeche, which were described in a tract printed in London in 1720, called *A description of the Golden Islands with an account of the undertaking now on foot for making a settlement there.* (Cf. Carter-Brown, iii. no. 266.)

There is in Harvard College library a tract attributed to John Burnwell, published also in 1720 in London: *An account of the foundation and establishment of a design now on foot for a settlement on the Golden Islands to the south of Port Royal, in Carolina.* (Sabin, iii. no. 10955.) — ED.]

[3] [This plan is reproduced in Jones' *History of Georgia*, vol. i. p. 72; and in Gay's *Pop. Hist. of the U. S.*, iii. 142. — ED.]

London might have been advantageously employed in lending additional attraction to this publication.[1]



Uchee town
April ye 11th 1740.

Captn McIntosh

Send the Inclosd to Pike, & hands to help him with the boat to send up the provisions hither. If it saves time, land the beef on this side the river; & send it up pr horses. If you have rice send me 100 lb, if not ten bushells of pease & two If you have of corn I'll give a Crown Sterl: if the provisions are got up here by ten a Clock,

James Oglethorpe

HANDWRITING OF OGLETHORPE.

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[1] [In this separate shape this tract was a reprint with additions from the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1872. It has a "new map of the Cherokee nation" which it is claimed was drawn by the Indians about 1750, with the names put in by the English. A later map of the region about the Tennessee River above and below Fort Loudon appeared as "A draught of the Cherokee country on the west side of the 24 mountains, commonly called Over the hills, taken by Henry Timberlake, when he was in that country in March, 1762: likewise the names of the principal herdsmen of each town and what number of fighting men they send to war" [809 in all], which appeared in Timberlake's *Memoirs*, 1765; and again in Jefferys' *General Topography of North America and West Indies*, London, 1768. A copy of Timberlake with the map is in Harvard College library. The above facsimile is from Harris's *Oglethorpe*. — ED.]

Of the memoirs of Oglethorpe, — whose life Dr. Johnson desired to write, and whom Edmund Burke regarded as the most extraordinary person of whom he had read, because he founded a province and lived to see it severed from the empire which created it and erected into an independent State, — those best known are *A Sketch of the Life of General James Oglethorpe, presented to the Georgia Historical Society by Thomas Spalding, Esq., resident member of the same*, printed in 1840; *Biographical Memorials of James Oglethorpe, Founder of the Colony of Georgia in North America, by Thaddeus Mason Harris, D. D.*, Boston, 1841;[1] *Life of James Oglethorpe, the Founder of Georgia, by William B. O. Peabody*, constituting a part of volume ii. of the second series of *The Library of American Biography, conducted by Jared Sparks*, Boston, 1847, and based mainly upon Dr. Harris' work; and *A Memoir of General James Oglethorpe, one of the earliest Reformers of Prison Discipline in England and the Founder of Georgia in America, by Robert Wright*, London, 1867. The advantages enjoyed by Mr. Wright were exceptionally good, and until the appearance of his memoir that by Dr. Harris was justly regarded as the best.[2]

That the public might be advised of the benevolent character and scope of the undertaking, and might be made acquainted with the designs of the Trustees with regard to the proposed colonization of Georgia, two tracts were published with their sanction: one of them, prepared by Oglethorpe, entitled *A New and Accurate Account of the Provinces of South Carolina and Georgia, with many curious and useful Observations on the Trade, Navigation, and Plantations of Great Britain compared with her most powerful Maritime Neighbors in ancient and modern Times*, printed in London in 1732;[3] and the other, written by Benjamin Martyn, Secretary of the Board, entitled *Reasons for establishing the Colony of Georgia with regard to the Trade of Great Britain, the Increase of our People, and the Employment and Support it will afford to great numbers of our own Poor as well as Foreign persecuted Protestants, with some account of the Country and the Designs of the Trustees*, London, 1733.[4] Well considered and widely circulated, these tracts were productive of results most beneficial to the Trust.[5]

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[1] [This was reviewed by Sparks in *No. Amer. Rev.*, liii. p. 448. — Ed.]

[2] [The story of the founding of Georgia is necessarily told in general histories of the United States (Bancroft, Hildreth, Gay, etc.), and in articles on Oglethorpe like those in the *Southern Quart. Rev.*, iii. 40, *Temple Bar*, 1878 (copied into *Living Age*, no. 1797), and *All the Year Round*, xviii. 439. — Ed.]

[3] [It was reprinted in London in 1733. Both editions are in Harvard College library. It was again reprinted in the *Georgia Hist. Soc. Collections*, i. p. 42. Cf. Carter-Brown, iii. no. 494. Grahame (iii. 182) calls it "most ingenious and interesting, though somewhat fancifully colored." Sabin (*Dictionary*, xiii. nos. 56, 846) says it is mostly taken from Salmon's *Modern History*, 4th ed., iii. p. 700. — Ed.]

[4] [It was issued in two editions in 1733; to the second was added, beginning p. 43, among other matters a letter of Oglethorpe dated "camp near Savannah, Feb. 10, 1732-3," with another from Gov. Johnson, of South Carolina. It has a plate giving a distant view of the projected town, with emblematic accompaniments in the foreground, and the map referred to on a previous page. There is a copy of the second issue in Charles Deane's collection. Cf. also Carter-Brown, iii. 511-12. A French translation was issued at Amsterdam in 1737 in the *Recueil de Voyages au Nord*, vol. ix., with the new map of Georgia, copied from the English edition. The original English was reprinted in the *Georgia Hist. Soc. Coll.*, i. 203. — Ed.]

[5] [When the sermon of Samuel Smith, Feb. 23, 1730-31, was printed in 1733, he added to it *Some account of the design of the Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America*, which was accompanied by the map referred to in the preceding note (Carter-Brown, iii. no. 516). The charter of Georgia, as well as those of Maryland, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts Bay, is given in *A list of Copies of Charters from the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, presented to the House of Commons*, 1740 (London, 1741). It is given in English in *Mémoires des Commissaires du Roi*, vol. iv. p. 617 (London, 1757). Cf. *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Feb., 1883, in "The Sesqui-Centennial of the founding of Georgia." There is an appendix of documents in a *Report of the Committee appointed to examine into*

The development of the province down to 1741 is described and the regulations promulgated by the Trustees for the conduct of the plantation and for the observance of its inhabitants are preserved in *An Account shewing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia in America from its First Establishment*, London, 1741. This publication was by authority, and must be accepted as of the highest importance.[1]

Of like interest and value are *An Impartial Enquiry into the State and Utility of the Province of Georgia*, London, 1741,—appearing anonymously,[2] but with the sanction of the Trustees, and intended to correct certain mischievous reports circulated with regard to the health of the plantation, the fertility of the soil, the value of the products, and the disabilities under which Georgia labored because of restricted land tenures, and by reason of the regulations prohibiting the introduction and use of spirituous liquors and negro slaves; and *A State of the Province of Georgia attested upon Oath in the Court of Savannah, November* 10, 1740, London, 1742,—in which the superior advantages of Georgia, her resources and capabilities, are favorably considered and proclaimed.[3]

The history of the Salzburgers in Georgia may be learned from *An Extract of the Journals of Mr. Commissary Von Reck, who conducted the First Transport of Salzburgers to Georgia; and of the Reverend Mr. Bolzius, one of their Ministers, giving an Account of their Voyage to and happy Settlement in the Province, published by the Directors of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge*, London, 1734;[4] from *Neuste und richtigste Nachricht von der Landschaft Georgia in dem Engelländischen America, etc., von J. M. R.*, Göttingen, 1746;[5] from *De Præstantia Coloniæ Georgico-Anglicanæ præ Coloniis aliis*,[6] et seq., by Joannes Augustus Urlspergerus; from the *Urlsperger Tracts*, which present with wonderful fidelity and minuteness of details all events connected with the Salzburger settlements in America;[7] and from

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the proceedings of the people of Georgia with respect to South Carolina and the disputes subsisting between the two Colonies. Charlestown, 1737. (Carter-Brown, iii. no. 570; Brinley, ii. no. 3886 with date, 1736; the Harvard College copy is also dated, 1736.) — Ed.]

[1] [It is also ascribed to Benj. Martyn. It was reprinted at Annapolis in 1742, and is included in Force's *Tracts*, vol. i., and in the *Georgia Hist. Soc. Collections*, ii. p. 265. Cf. Carter-Brown, iii. no. 685. The original is in Harvard College library. One passage in this tract (Force's ed., p. 37) reads: "Mr. Oglethorpe has with him Sir Walter Rawlegh's written journal, and by the latitude of the place, the marks and traditions of the Indians, it is the very first place where he went on shore, and talked with the Indians, and was the first Indian they ever saw; and about half a mile from Savannah is a high mount of earth, under which lies their chief king. And the Indians informed Mr. Oglethorpe that their king desired, before he died, that he might be buried on the spot where he talked with that great good man." The fact that Ralegh was never in North America somewhat unsettles this fancy. — Ed.]

[2] [It has an appendix of documents, and is reprinted in the *Georgia Hist. Soc. Collections*, i. 153. Cf. Carter-Brown, iii. no. 686; Barlow, no. 857. A MS. note by Dr. Harris in one of the copies in Harvard College library says that, though usually ascribed to Henry Martyn, he has good authority for assigning its authorship to John Percival, Earl of Egmont. — Ed.]

[3] [This tract is ascribed to William Stephens; it is reprinted in Force's *Tracts*, i.; and in the *Georgia Hist. Soc. Collections*, ii. p. 67. The copy in Harvard College library, London, without date [6374.14], is attributed in manuscript to Patrick Graham. — Ed.]

[4] [This little volume is in Harvard College library; as is also *Kurzgefasste Nachricht von dem Etablissement derer Salzburgischen Emigranten zu Ebenezer, von P. G. F. von Reck.* Hamburg, 1777. — Ed.]

[5] [Sabin, xiii. no. 56848. — Ed.]

[6] [This tract is assigned to 1747 in the *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, iii. no. 849, and in the Harvard College library catalogue. — Ed.]

[7] [This important series of tracts, edited at Halle, in Germany, by Samuel Urlsperger, was begun in 1734, with the general title, *Ausführliche Nachricht von den Saltzburgischen Emigranten.* It was reissued in 1735. Judging from the copies in Harvard College library, both editions had the engraved portrait of Tomo-cachi, with his nephew, and the map of Savannah County. The 1735 edition had a special title (following the general one), *Der Ausführlichen Nachrichten von der Königlich-Groso-Britannischen Colonie Saltzburgischer Emigranten in America, Erster Theil.* In the "vierte continuation" of this part there is at p. 2073 the large folding map of the country

the *Salzburgers and their Descendants, being the history of a Colony of German Lutheran Protestants who emigrated to Georgia in* 1734, *and settled at Ebenezer, twenty-five miles above the City of Savannah, by P. A. Strobel*, Baltimore, 1855.[1]

To the *Gentleman's Magazine* and to the *London Magazine* must recourse be had for valuable letters and contemporaneous documents descriptive of the colonization of Georgia and the development of the plantation.

There is in Section xxi. of Chapter iii. of the second volume of *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca, or a Complete Collection of Voyages and Travels*, etc., by John Harris (London, 1748), a "History of the Rise, Progress, and Present State of the Colony of Georgia." It is prefaced by an excellent map of the province, and is fortified by illustrative documents. In its twenty-five quarto pages are embraced all the noted incidents connected with the early life of the colony and the successful efforts of General Oglethorpe in defending the southern frontier of Georgia against the assaults of the Spaniards. The value of this contribution cannot well be over-estimated.

Another work of genuine merit, acquainting us specially with the condition of Savannah and the adjacent region, with the settlement of Frederica, and with those preliminary negotiations which resulted in a postponement of impending hostilities between Georgia and Florida, is *A Voyage to Georgia begun in the year* 1735, etc., by Francis Moore, London, 1744.[2]

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of Savannah. With the sixth continuation a "Zweyter Theil" begins, with a general title (1736), and a "Dritter Theil" includes continuations no. 13 to 18. This thirteenth continuation has a large folding plan of Ebenezer, showing the Savannah River at the bottom, with a ship in it, and it was published by Seutter in Augsburg, with a large map of the coast. The set is rare, and the *Carter-Brown Catalogue* (iii. no. 541) gives a collation, and adds that "only after many years' seeking and the purchase of several imperfect copies" was its set completed. Harvard College library has a set which belonged to Ebeling. (Turell's *Life of Colman*, 152.) Urlsperger was a correspondent of Benjamin Colman, of Boston. Calvary, of Berlin, had for sale in 1885 the correspondence of Samuel Urlsperger with Fresenius, 1738–56 (29 letters), held at 100 marks.

There is a supplemental work in four volumes, printed at Augsburg in 1754–60, bringing the journal down to 1760, *Americanisches Ackerwerk Gottes.* It is also in Harvard College library, and contains the mezzotint portrait of Bolzius, the senior minister of Ebenezer, which is engraved on wood in Gay's *Pop. Hist. of the U. S.*, iii. 155. Harvard College library has also a part of the journal, with the same title (Augsburg, 1760), which seems to belong chronologically after the third part. (Cf. *Brinley Catalogue*, no. 3926.)

Other illustrative publications may be mentioned: *Kurtze Relation aus denen aus Engelland erhaltenen Briefen von denen nach Georgien gehenden zweyten Transport Saltzburgischer Emigranten* (cf. Leclerc, *Bibl. Americana*, 1867, no. 1512; Harrassowitz, '81, no. 119). *Auszug der sichern und nützlichen Nachrichten von dem Englischen America besonders von Carolina und der fruchtbaren Landschaft Georgia*, etc. . . . von D. Manuel Christian Löber, Jena, without year.

Fred. Muller (*Books on America*, 1877, no. 1679) notes C. D. Kleinknecht's *Zuverlässige Nachricht von der schwarzen Schaaf-und Lämmer-Heerde*, Augsburg, 1749, as containing in an appendix *Nachrichten von den Colonisten Georgiens zu Eben-Ezer in America.* — Ed.]

[1] [This has a lithograph of the Bolzius likeness in the Urlsperger Tracts. Dr. Sprague (*American Pulpit*, vol. ix. p. vi.) calls the Salzburger settlement the fourth in order of the Lutheran immigrations into the English colonies. The same volume contains a notice of Bolzius by Strobel. — Ed.]

[2] [Cf. Field, *Ind. Bibliog.*, no. 1085; Sabin, xii. p. 336; Carter-Brown, iii. no. 776. It is reprinted in the *Georgia Hist. Soc. Collections*, vol. i. A London dealer, F. S. Ellis (1884, no. 204), priced a copy at £7 10*s*. Three other contemporaneous tracts of no special historical value may here be mentioned: *A New Voyage to Georgia, by a Young Gentleman*, etc., to which are added, *A Curious Account of the Indians, by an Honourable Person* [Oglethorpe], and *A Poem to James Oglethorpe, Esq., on his arrival from Georgia*, London, 1735, with a second edition in 1737; *A Description of the famous new Colony of Georgia in South Carolina*, etc., Dublin, 1734; and *A Description of Georgia by a Gentleman who has resided there upwards of seven years, and was one of the first settlers*, London, 1741. This last (8 pp. only) is included in Force's *Tracts*, vol. ii. Cf. Carter-Brown, iii. nos. 536, 562. It is in Harvard College library. — Ed.]

A most detailed statement of the affairs and events of the province will be found in the three octavo volumes constituting the diary of Colonel William Stephens, for some time resident Secretary in Georgia of the Trustees, and, upon the departure of General Oglethorpe, advanced to the responsible position of President of the colony, — entitled *A Journal of the Proceedings in Georgia beginning October 20th*, 1737, which was printed in London in 1742.[1] Of this work but a limited edition was published by the Trustees, and a complete copy is very difficult to find. While its pages are cumbered with many trivial matters, this rare *Journal* is remarkable for accuracy of statement and minuteness of details. Its author was at the time far advanced in years, and his narrative is not infrequently colored by his peculiar religious and political notions. He was a firm friend of the colony, an honest servant of the Trust, and in all things most obedient and loyal to his king. Retired upon a pension of £80, he spent his last years on his plantation, near the mouth of Vernon River, which he called Bewlie [Beaulieu] because of a fancied resemblance to the manor of the Duke of Montague in the New Forest. There, about the middle of August, 1753, he died.

In the Executive Department of the State of Georgia may be seen the original MS. folio volume containing *A general account of all monies and effects received and expended by the Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America* (June 9, 1732–June 9, 1752), the names of the benefactors, and the sums contributed and the articles given by them in aid of the Trust. This carefully written and unique volume, the entries, charges, and discharges of which are certified by Harman Verelst, — accountant to the Trustees, — exhibits a complete statement of the finances of the Trust from its inception to the time of the surrender of the charter.[2]

The fullest reports of the demonstration of General Oglethorpe against St. Augustine are contained in *An Impartial Account of the Expedition against St. Augustine under General Oglethorpe, occasioned by the suppression of the Report made by a Committee of the General Assembly in South Carolina, transmitted under the great seal of that Province to their Agent in England in order to be printed: with an exact Plan of the Town, Castle, and Harbour of St. Augustine and the adjacent Coast of Florida; shewing the Disposition of our Forces on that Enterprize*, London, 1741;[3] in *The Report of the Committee of both Houses of Assembly of the Province of South Carolina appointed to enquire into the causes of the Disappointment of success in the late Expedition against St. Augustine under command of General Oglethorpe, published by the order of both Houses*, Charlestown, S. C., and London, 1743;[4] and in *The Spanish Hireling detected, being a Refutation of the Several Calumnies and Falsehoods in a late Pamphlet entitul'd An Impartial Account of the Late Expedition against St. Augustine under General Oglethorpe, by George Cadogan, Lieutenant in General Oglethorpe's Regiment*, etc., London, 1743.[5] Grievous was the disappointment at the failure of the expedition; unjust and harsh were the criticisms upon its leader. "One man there is, my Lords," said the Duke of Argyle in the British House of Peers, "whose natural generosity, contempt of danger, and regard for the public prompted him to obviate the designs of the Spaniards and to attack them in their own territories: a man whom by long acquaintance I can confidently affirm to have been equal to his undertaking, and to have learned the art of war by a regular education, who yet miscarried in the design only for want of supplies necessary to success."[1]

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[1] [The work is in three volumes, the second containing "A state of that Province [Georgia] as attested upon oath in the Court of Savannah, Nov. 10, 1740." (Cf. Carter-Brown, iii. 720.) There is a copy in Harvard College library. — ED.]

[2] [For some years at least yearly statements of the finances were printed, as noted in a later note in connection with Burton's sermon. A single broadside giving such a statement is preserved in Harvard College library [12343.4]; and in the same library is a folio tract called *The General Account of all Monies and Effects*, etc., London, 1736. This is in good part reprinted in Bishop Perry's *Hist. of the American Episcopal Church*, i. 360. — ED.]

[3] Carter-Brown, iii. no. 714.

[4] [Haven's *Ante-Revolutionary Publications* in Thomas's *Hist. of Printing*, ii. p. 478. The main portion of this report is given in Carroll's *Hist. Coll. of So. Carolina*, ii. p. 348. — ED.]

[5] [The author of this tract was George Cadogan, a lieutenant in Oglethorpe's regiment. It induced the author of the *Impartial Account* to print *A Full Reply to Lieut. Cadogan's Spanish Hireling, and Lieut. Mackay's Letter concerning the Action at Moosa*, London, 1743. Cf. Carter-Brown, iii. nos. 731–32; Sabin, xiii. no. 56845. Both tracts are in Harvard College library. Two other tracts pertain to this controversy: *Both sides of the question: an inquiry*

Of his successful repulse of the Spanish attack upon the island of St. Simon, the most spirited narratives are furnished in General Oglethorpe's official report of the 30th of July, 1742, printed in the 3d volume of the *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society;* in the letter of John Smith (who, on board the war vessel "Success," participated in the naval engagement), written from Charlestown, South Carolina, on the 14th of July, 1742, and printed in the *Daily Advertiser;* and in a communication on file in the Public Record Office in London among the Shaftesbury Papers.[2]

That harmony did not always obtain among the Georgia colonists, and that disagreements between the governing and the governed were sometimes most pronounced, must be admitted. While the Trustees endeavored to promote the development of the plantation and to assure the public of the progress of the province, malcontents there were, who thwarted their plans, questioned the expediency of their regulations, and openly declared that their misrule and the partiality of the Trust's servants were the prolific causes of disquietude and disaster. That General Oglethorpe may, at times, have been dictatorial in his administration of affairs is quite probable; and yet it must be admitted that, amid the dangers which environed and the disturbing influences which beset the development of the province, an iron will and a strong arm were indispensable for its guidance and protection.

The publication, in the interest of the Trust, of the two pamphlets to which we have alluded, one entitled *An Impartial Inquiry into the State and Utility of the Province of Georgia*, London, 1741,[3] and the other, *A State of the Province of Georgia attested upon Oath in the Court of Savannah, November* 10, 1740, London, 1742,[4] — both exhibiting favorable views of the condition of the colony and circulated in furtherance of the scheme of colonization, — so irritated these malcontents that they indulged in several rejoinders, among which will be remembered *A Brief Account of the Causes that have retarded the Progress of the Colony of Georgia in America, attested upon oath: being a proper Contrast to A State of the Province of Georgia attested upon oath and some other misrepresentations on the same subject*, London, 1743.[5] The magistrates, both at Savannah and Frederica, were therein declared to be oppressors of the inhabitants. General Oglethorpe was accused of tyranny and partiality. It will be observed that most of the supporting affidavits were verified outside the limits of Georgia. A

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into a certain doubtful character [Oglethorpe] *lately whitened by a C——t M——l*, which passed to a second edition; and *The Hireling Artifice detected*, London, 1742. — Ed.]

[1] [There are various references to this expedition in Jones' *Georgia*, i. p. 335, and in his *Dead Towns*, p. 91. Watt mentions a *Journal of an Expedition to the gates of St. Augustine conducted by General Oglethorpe*, by G. L. Campbell, London, 1744. — Ed.]

[2] [Cf. references in the *Dead Towns of Georgia*, p. 114, and more at length in Jones' *Georgia*, i. 335, 353. There is a plan of Frederica in the *Dead Towns*, p. 45. — Ed.]

[3] [Carter-Brown, iii. no. 686. No. 707 of the same catalogue is a *Journal received Feb.* 4, 1741, *by the Trustees, from William Stevens, Secretary;* and in Harvard College library is the *Resolution of the Trustees, March* 8, 1741, *relating to the grants and tenure of lands.* — Ed.]

[4] [Carter-Brown, iii. no. 706. Harvard College library catalogue ascribes this to Patrick Graham. — Ed.]

[5] [Reprinted in the *Georgia Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ii. p. 87; cf. Barlow's *Rough List*, nos. 873-74. This book, which has an appendix of documents, is assigned to Thomas Stephens in the Harvard College library catalogue. A two-leaved folio tract in Harvard College library. called *The Hard Case of the distressed people of Georgia*, dated at London, Apr. 26, 1742, is signed by Stephens. — Ed.]

desire to sell forbidden articles, and to ply trades for which special licenses had been issued to others; opposition to the regulation which prohibited the owners of cattle and hogs from allowing them to run at large on the common and in the streets of Frederica; alleged misfeasance in the conduct of bailiffs and magistrates in the discharge of their duties; the unprofitableness of labor, overbearing acts committed by those in authority, and similar matters, formed the burthen of these sworn complaints. While they tended to distract the public mind and to annoy those upon whose shoulders rested the provincial government, they fortunately failed in producing any serious impression either within the colony or in the mother country.

Another Jacobinical tract was that prepared and published at the instigation of Dr. Patrick Tailfer, — a thorn in the side of General Oglethorpe, to whom, under the signature of "The Plain Dealer," he addressed a communication upon colonial affairs full of complaint, condemnation, and sarcasm. He was the chief of a club of malcontents in Savannah, whose conduct became so notorious that they were forced, in September, 1740, to quit the province and seek refuge in South Carolina. When thus beyond the jurisdiction of Georgia, in association with Hugh Anderson, David Douglass, and others, he caused to be printed a scurrilous tract entitled *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia in America from the first Settlement thereof until the present period*, etc., Charles-Town, South Carolina, 1741.[1] The epistle dedicatory is addressed to General Oglethorpe, and is full of venom. Craving rum, negro slaves, and fee-simple titles to land, such disaffected colonists hesitated not to malign the authorities, disquiet the settlers, and belie the true condition of affairs. Georgia was then in an embarrassed and impoverished situation. Her population was increasing but slowly. Labor was scarcely remunerative. Onerous were some of the regulations of the Trustees, and the Spanish war cloud was darkening the southern confines of the province. The impression, however, which Dr. Tailfer and his associates sought to convey of the status of the colony was exaggerated, spiteful, and without warrant.[2]

The visit of Tomo-chi-chi and his retinue to England is described in contemporaneous numbers of the *Gentleman's Magazine* and of the *London Magazine*. It was also commemorated in what is now rarely seen, *Georgia a Poem; Tomo-cha-chi, an Ode; A copy of verses on Mr. Oglethorpe's second voyage to Georgia*, "*Facies non omnibus una, nec diversa tamen*," London, 1736. Twenty-two years afterwards appeared *Tombo-chiqui or The American Savage, a Dramatic Entertainment in Three Acts*, London, 1758. Although printed anonymously, it is generally attributed to Cleland. The poet Freneau, at a later date, composed an ode to *The Dying Indian Tomo-chequi.* In the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. x. p. 129, is an interesting letter describing the last moments and sepulture of this noted Mico. In his *Historical Sketch of Tomo-chi-chi, Mico of the Yamacraws*, Albany, 1868, the author of these notes endeavored to present all that is known of this distinguished chief, to whose friendship and aid the Colony of Georgia was indebted in a remarkable degree.

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[1] [It was reprinted in London, 1741, and is included in Force's *Tracts*, vol. i., and in *Georgia Hist. Coll.*, vol. ii. p. 163. Cf. Carter-Brown, iii. no. 696; Brinley, no. 3922; Barlow, no. 859. There is a copy in Harvard College library. F. S. Ellis, of London (1884, no. 106), prices it at £3 5*s.* — ED.]

[2] [Tyler (*Amer. Lit.*, ii. 292), on the contrary, says of this book: "Within a volume of only one hundred and twelve pages is compressed a masterly statement of the author's alleged grievances at the hands of Oglethorpe. The book gives a detailed and even documentary account of the rise of the colony, and its quick immersion in suffering and disaster, through Oglethorpe's selfishness, greed, despotism, and fanatic pursuit of social chimeras. . . . Whatever may be the truth or the justice of this book, it is abundantly interesting, and if any one has chanced to find the prevailing rumor of Oglethorpe somewhat nauseating in its sweetness, he may here easily allay their unpleasant effect. Certainly as a polemic it is one of the most expert pieces of writing to be met with in our early literature. It never blusters or scolds. It is always cool, poised, polite, and merciless." — ED.]

It was the custom of the Trustees to assemble annually and listen to a sermon delivered in commendation of the benevolent scheme in which they were engaged. Some of these discourses possess historical value, although most of them are simply moral essays.[1]

In December, 1837, the General Assembly of Georgia empowered the governor of the State to select a competent person to procure from the government offices in London copies of all records and documents respecting the settlement and illustrating the colonial life of Georgia. The Rev. Charles Wallace Howard was entrusted with the execution of this mission. He returned with copies of documents filling twenty-two folio volumes. Fifteen of these were made from the originals on file in the office of the Board of Trade, six from those in the State Paper Office, and the remaining volume consisted of copies of important documents included in the king's library.[2] These MS. volumes are preserved in the state library at Atlanta. While they embrace many of the communications, regulations, reports, treaties, and documents illustrative of the colonial life of Georgia, they do not exhaust the treasures of the Public Record Office and the British Museum.

In private hands in England are several original MS. volumes, connected with the colonization of Georgia and detailing the acts and resolutions of the Trustees. Prominent among them are two quarto volumes, closely written in the neat, small, round hand of John Percival, the first Earl of Egmont and the first president of the Board of Trustees, containing the original manuscript records of the meetings of the Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America from June 14th, 1738, to the 24th of May, 1744.[3] They contain also an index of proceedings, June, 1737, to June, 1738, together with some memoranda relating to the proceedings of 1745–46. It is probable that there were antecedent volumes, but they are not now known.

In the Department of State, and in the Executive Department of Georgia, are some documents of great historical interest connected with the English colonization of Georgia. The *Historical Collections* of the Georgia Historical Society,[4] in four volumes, contain reprints of many of the early tracts already referred to, and other papers illustrative of Georgia history.[1]

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[1] Among those which have been preserved are sermons, by Samuel Smith, LL. B., 1731; by John Burton, B. D., 1732; by Thomas Rundle, LL. D., 1733; by Stephen Hales, D. D., 1734; by George Watts, 1735; by Philip Bearcroft, D. D., 1737; by William Berriman, D. D., 1738; by Edmund Bateman, D. D., 1740; by William Best, D. D., 1741; by James King, D. D., 1742; by Lewis Bruce, A. M., 1743; by Philip Bearcroft, D. D., 1744; by Glocester Ridley, LL. B., 1745; and by Thomas Francklin, M. A., 1749. [Cf. Carter-Brown, iii. nos. 515, 528, 530, 572, 598. Burton's sermon (London, 1733) has appended to it, beginning p. 33, "The general account of all the monies and effects received and expended by the trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia . . . for one whole year, 1732–33." A list of these sermons is given in Perry's *American Episcopal Church*, vol. i. — Ed.]

[2] [They are described in a report of the Georgia Historical Society. — Ed.]

[3] They were sold in London in July, 1881, by Mr. Henry Stevens; and, although the State of Georgia was importuned to become the purchaser of them, the General Assembly declined to act, and the volumes passed into other hands, but have recently been given to the State by Mr. J. S. Morgan, the London banker. [Cf. Stevens, *Hist. Collections*, i. p. 34. Mr. Stevens also gives in his *Bibliotheca Geographica*, no. 2618, some curious information about other MSS. in England, being records kept by William Stephens, the Secretary of the Colony, which are now at Thirlstane House, Cheltenham. A Report of the Attorney and Solicitor General to the Lords of Trade, on the proposal of the Trustees of Georgia to surrender their trust to the Crown, dated Feb. 6, 1752, is noted in vol. 61 of the Shelburne MSS., as recorded in the *Fifth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission*, p. 230; and also, a Report of the same officer on the properest method of administering the government after the surrender. The opinion of the attorney and solicitor-general on the king's prerogative to receive the charter of Georgia (1751) is given in Chalmers' *Opinions of Eminent Lawyers*, i. p. 34. — Ed.]

[4] [This Society was organized in Dec., 1839. Cf. *Amer. Quart. Reg.*, xii. 344; *Southern Quart. Rev.*, iii. 40; *The Georgia Hist. Soc., its founders, patrons, and friends*, an address by C. C. Jones, Jr., Savannah, 1881; *Proceedings at the dedication of Hodgson Hall*, 1876. — Ed.]

In the library of Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, there is a folio MS. in excellent preservation, entitled *History of the three Provinces, South Carolina, Georgia, and East Florida*, by John Gerard William de Brahm, surveyor-general of the southern provinces of North America, then under the dominion of Great Britain, and illustrated by over twenty maps and plans. The portion relating to Georgia was, in 1849, edited and printed with extreme accuracy and typographical elegance by Mr. George Wymberley-Jones, of Savannah. The edition was limited to forty-nine copies. Six of the eight maps appertaining to Georgia were engraved.[2] This publication constitutes the second of Mr. Jones' "Wormsloe quartos,"[3] and is justly esteemed not only for its typography and rarity, but also for its historical value. To the engineering skill of Captain de Brahm was Georgia indebted for many important surveys and military defenses. Through his instrumentality were large accessions made to the German population between Savannah and New Ebenezer.

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[1] Volume I. (1840) contains the anniversary address of the Hon. William Law, February 12, 1840, reviewing the early history of the province; reprints of Oglethorpe's *New and Accurate Account of the Provinces of South Carolina and Georgia;* of Francis Moore's *Voyage to Georgia begun in the year* 1735; of *An Impartial Inquiry into the State and Utility of the Province of Georgia*, and of *Reasons for Establishing the Colony of Georgia with regard to the Trade of Great Britain ;* together with the Hon. Thomas Spalding's *Sketch of the life of General James Oglethorpe.*

Volume II. (1842) contains the Historical Discourse of William Bacon Stevens, M. D., and reprints of *A New Voyage to Georgia*, &c.; of *A State of the Province of Georgia attested upon Oath in the Court of Savannah, November* 10, 1740; of *A Brief Account of the causes that have retarded the progress of the Colony of Georgia*, &c.; of *A true and historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia in America*, &c., by Patrick Tailfer, M. D., Hugh Anderson, M. A., David Douglass, and others; and of *An Account showing the Progress of the Colony of Georgia in America from its first establishment*, &c.

Volume III., part i., consists of *A Sketch of the Creek Country in the years* 1798 *and* 1799, by Colonel Benjamin Hawkins, with a valuable introduction by the late William B. Hodgson.

Volume III. (1873) contains letters from General Oglethorpe to the Trustees and others, covering a period from October, 1735, to August, 1744, — a report of Governor Sir James Wright to Lord Dartmouth, dated September 20th, 1773, exhibiting the condition of the Colony of Georgia, — letters from Governor Wright to the Earl of Dartmouth and Lord George Germain, from August 24th, 1774, to February 16th, 1782: — an Anniversary Address of Colonel Charles C. Jones, Jr., on the life, services, and death of Count Casimir Pulaski, — and an Address by Dr. Richard D. Arnold commemorative of the organization of the Georgia Historical Society and of the Savannah Library Association.

Volume IV. (1878) contains *The Dead Towns of Georgia*, by Charles C. Jones, Jr. (also published separately), and *Itinerant Observations in America*, reprinted from the *London Magazine* of 1745–6. In the *Dead Towns of Georgia* the author perpetuates the almost forgotten memories of Old and New Ebenezer, of Frederica, of Abercorn, of Sunbury, of Hardwick, of Petersburg, and of lesser towns and plantations, once vital and influential, but now covered with the mantle of decay. This contribution embraces a large portion of the early history of the province, and recounts the vicissitudes and the mistakes encountered during the epoch of colonization. It is illustrated with engraved plans of New Ebenezer, Frederica, Sunbury, Fort Morris, and Hardwick, and revives traditions and recollections of persons and places which had become quite forgotten.

To the *Itinerant Observations in America* the student will turn with pleasure for early impressions of the province, and especially of its southern confines.

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1. Plan of Ebenezer and its fort.
2. Plan of Savannah and fortifications.
3. Chart of Savannah Sound.
4. Plan and profile of Fort George on Coxpur Island.
5. Environs of Fort Barrington.
6. Plan and view of Fort Barrington.

[The plan of Ebenezer is also reproduced by Col. Jones in his *Dead Towns* and in his *Hist. of Georgia.* — Ed.]

[3] [This series is thus entered in the Harvard College library catalogue: —

Wormsloe quartos. · Edited by G. Wymberley-Jones De Renne. 5 vol. Wormsloe, Ga. 1847–81. 4°; and sm. f°, *large paper. Namely:* —

i. [Walton, G., *and others.*] Observations upon the effects of certain late political suggestions. By the delegates of Georgia [G. Walton, W. Few, R. Howly]. 1847. 4°. First printed at Philadelphia in 1781. 21 copies reprinted: with a reproduction of the original title-page.

ii. De Brahm, J. G. W. History of the province of Georgia. 1849. 4°. 6 *maps.* 49 copies privately printed from a part of a manuscript in Harvard College library, entitled: "History of the three provinces, South Carolina, Georgia, and east Florida."

Of the legislative acts passed by the general assemblies of Georgia during the continuance of the royal government, many are retained in the digests of Robert and George Watkins (Philadelphia, 1800), and of Marbury and Crawford. Aware of the fact that numerous omissions existed, Mr. George Wymberley-Jones De Renne caused diligent search to be made in the Public Record Office in London for all acts originating in Georgia which, having received royal sanction, were there filed. Exact copies of them were then obtained; but Mr. De Renne's death occurred before he had compassed his purpose of printing the transcripts. His widow, Mrs. Mary De Renne, carried out his design and committed the editing of them to Charles C. Jones, Jr., LL. D. The result was a superb quarto, entitled *Acts passed by the General Assembly of the Colony of Georgia*, 1755 *to* 1774, *now first printed. Wormsloe.* 1881. The edition was limited to forty-nine copies. In this volume appears no act which had hitherto found its way into type. During the period covered by this legislation, James Johnston was the public printer in Savannah. By him were many of the acts, passed by the various assemblies, first printed, — sometimes simply as broadsides, and again in thin quarto pamphlets. William Ewen, who, at a later date, was president of the Council of Safety, carefully preserved these printed acts, and caused them to be bound in a volume which lies before us. The MS. index is in his handwriting. It is the only complete copy of these colonial laws, printed contemporaneously with their passage, of which we have any knowledge. James Johnston was also the editor and printer of the *Georgia Gazette*, the only newspaper published in Georgia prior to and during the Revolution. In the office of the Secretary of State in Atlanta are preserved the engrossed original acts passed by the colonial General Assemblies of Georgia. The sanction of the home government was requisite to impart vitality to such acts. As soon, therefore, as they had received the approval of the Governor in Council, the seal of the colony was attached to duplicate originals. One was lodged with the proper officer in Savannah, and the other was forwarded for the consideration of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations. When by them approved, this duplicate original, properly indorsed, was filed in London. Detaching the colonial seal seems to have been the final attestation of royal sanction. Of the action of the home government the colonial authorities were notified in due course.

With regard to the sojourn of Rev. John Wesley in Georgia, of his designs and anticipations in visiting the colony, and of the disappointments there experienced, we have perhaps the fullest memoranda in a little undated volume entitled *An extract of the Rev. Mr. John Wesley's Journal from his embarking for Georgia to his return to London*, Bristol: printed by S. and F. Farley. It gives his own interpretation of the events, trials, and disappointments which induced him so speedily to

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iii. PINCKNEY, *Mrs.* E. (L.). Journal and letters [July 1, 1739–Feb. 27, 1762. Edited by Mrs. H. P. Holbrook.] Now first printed. 1850. 4°. "Privately printed. Limited to 19 copies."

iv. SARGENT, W. Diary [relating to St. Clair's expedition. 1791]. Now first printed. 1851. "Privately printed. Limited to 46 copies."

v. GEORGIA (*Colony of*) — *General Assembly.* Acts passed by the assembly. 1755–74. Now first printed. [Prepared for publication by C. C. Jones, Jr.] 1881. f°. "Privately printed. Limited to 49 copies." "The materials for this work were obtained from the public record office in London, by the late G. Wymberley-Jones De Renne, who intended himself to prepare them for the press."

Cf. Sabin, ii. no. 7325. — ED.]

abandon a field of labor in which he had anticipated much pleasure and success.[1] In a tract published in London in 1741, called *An Account of money received and dis-*

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[1] [The lives of Wesley as touching this early experience of his life, as well as illustrating a moral revolution, which took within its range all the English colonies during the period of the present volume, may properly be characterized here: —

The introduction to Rigg's *Living Wesley* is devoted to a criticism of the different accounts of John Wesley, and the student will find further bibliographical help in a paper on "Wesley and his biographers," by W. C. Hoyt in the *Methodist Quarterly*, vol. viii.; in the article in Allibone's *Dict. of Authors;* in Decanver's [Cavender *pseud.*] list of books, written in refutation of Methodism; and in the list of authorities given by Southey in his *Life of Wesley.*

Wesley left three literary executors, — Coke, Moore, and Whitehead, his physician; and his journals and papers were put into the hands of the last named. Coke and Moore, however, acting independently, were the first to publish a hasty memoir, and Whitehead followed in 1793–96; but his proved to be the work of a theological partisan. A memoir by Hampton was ready when Wesley died, but it turned out to be very meagre.

Next came the life by Southey in 1820. He had no sources of information beyond the printed material open to all; but he had literary skill to make the most of it, and appreciation enough of his subject to elevate Wesley's standing in the opinion of such as were outside of his communion. He accordingly made an account of a great moral revolution, which has been by no means superseded in popular usefulness.

Now followed a number of lives intended to correct the representations of previous biographers, and in some cases to offer views more satisfactory to the Methodists themselves. Moore, in 1824, found something to correct in the accounts of both Whitehead and Southey. Watson, in 1831, aimed to displace what Southey had said unsatisfactory to the sect, and to correct Southey's chronological order; but he made his narrative slight and incomplete. Southey was, however, chiefly relied upon by Mrs. Oliphant in her sketch, first in *Blackwood's Mag.*, Oct., 1868, and later in her *Hist. Sketches of the Reign of George II.;* but while Dr. Rigg acknowledges it to be clever, he calls it full of misconceptions. Mrs. Julia Wedgwood, in her *John Wesley and the Evangelical Reaction of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1870), relied so much on Southey, as the Methodists say, that she neglected later information; but she so far accorded with the general estimation of Wesley in the denomination as to reject Southey's theory of his ambition.

In the general histories of English Methodism, Wesley necessarily plays a conspicuous part, and their authors are among the most important of his biographers. The first volume of George Smith's history was in effect a life of Wesley, though somewhat incomplete as such; but in Abel Stevens's opening volumes the story is told more completely and with graphic skill. There is an excellent account of these days in chapter 19 of Earl Stanhope's *History of England*, and a careful summary is given in the fourth volume of the *Pictorial History of England.*

The relations which Wesley sustained throughout to the Established Church have been discussed in the *London Quarterly Review* by the Rev. W. Arthur, and by Dr. James H. Rigg, the contribution by the latter being subsequently enlarged in a separate book, *The relations of John Wesley and of Wesleyan Methodism to the Church of England, investigated and determined.* 2d edition, revised and enlarged. London, 1871. See also *British Quarterly Review*, Oct., 1871, and the *Contemp. Review*, vol. xxviii. Curteis, in his Bampton lectures, goes over the ground also. Urlin, *John Wesley's place in Church History* (1871), prominently claimed that Wesley was a revivalist in the church, and not a dissenter, and aimed to add to our previous knowledge. A Catholic view of him is given by Dr. J. G. Shea in the *Amer. Cath. Quart. Rev.*, vii. p. 1.

The most extensive narrative, considering Wesley in all his relations, private as well as public, the result of seventeen years' labor, with the advantage of much new material, is the *Life and Times of Wesley*, by Tyerman. It is, however, far too voluminous for the general reader. He is not blind to Wesley's faults, and some Methodists say he is not in sufficient sympathy with the reformer to do him justice.

Those who wish compacter estimates of the man, with only narrative enough to illustrate them, will find such in Taylor's *Wesley and Methodism*, where the philosophy of the movement is discussed; in Rigg's *Living Wesley*, which is a condensed generalization of his life, not without some new matter; and in Dr. Hamilton's article in the *North British Review*, which was kindly in tone, but not wholly satisfactory to the Methodists.

There is a well-proportioned epitome of his life by Lelièvre in French, of which there is an English translation, *John Wesley, his Life and Work*, London, 1871. Janes has made *Wesley his own historian*, by a collocation of his journals, letters, etc., and his journals have been separately printed. There is a separate narrative of *bursed for the Orphan House in Georgia*, the Rev. George Whitefield submits a full exhibit of all expenditures made up to that time in the erection and support of that institution. To it is prefixed a plan of the building.[1] His efforts to convert it into a college are unfolded in *A Letter to his Excellency Governor Wright*, printed in London, 1768. Appended to this is the correspondence which passed between him and the Archbishop of Canterbury. This tract is illustrated by plans and elevations of the present and intended structures, and by a plat of the Orphan House lands. There are sermons of this eloquent divine in aid of this charity, and journals of journeys and voyages undertaken while employed in soliciting subscriptions. His friend and companion, the Hon. James Habersham, has left valuable letters explanatory of the scope and administration of this eleemosynary project. William Bartram, who visited Bethesda in 1765, wrote a pleasant description of it.[2]

Among the histories of Georgia we may mention: —

An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia, London, 1779,[3] in two volumes, octavo. Although published anonymously, these volumes are known to have been written by the Rev. Alexander Hewitt,[4] a Presbyterian clergyman and a resident of Charlestown, South Carolina, who returned to England when he perceived that an open rupture between the Crown and the thirteen American Colonies was imminent. While in this work the colonial history of Georgia is given at some length, the attention of the author was mainly occupied with the establishment and growth of the Province of Carolina. His labors ended with the dawn of the Revolution.

Wesley's early love, *Narrative of a remarkable Transaction*, etc. A paper on his character and opinions in earlier life is in the *London Quart. Rev.*, vol. xxxvii. On his mission to Georgia, see David Bogue and James Bennett's *History of Dissenters from* 1688 *to* 1808, London, 1808–12, in 4 volumes, vol. iii.; and the note on his trouble with Oglethorpe in Grahame's *United States* (Boston ed., iii. p. 201).

Lesser accounts and miscellaneous material will be found in Clarke's *Memoirs of the Wesley Family;* in Gorrie's *Eminent Methodist Ministers;* in Larrabee's *Wesley and his Coadjutors;* in Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, v. 94; in J. B. Hagany's paper in *Harper's Magazine*, vol. xix.; in the *Galaxy*, Feb., 1874; in the *Contemporary Review*, 1875 and 1876; in Madame Ossoli's *Methodism at the Fountain*, in her *Art, Literature, and Drama;* and in W. M. Punshon's *Lectures.*

See also Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. v.; Malcolm's *Index*, and numerous references in Poole's *Index to Periodical Literature*, p. 1398.

Tyerman's *Oxford Methodists* uses the material he was forced to leave out of his Life of Wesley.

The portraits of Wesley are numerous. Tyerman gives the earliest known; and it was taken (1743) nearer the time of his Georgia visit than any other which we have. J. C. Smith in his *British Mezzotint Portraits* enumerates a series (vol. i. pp. 64, 442; ii. 600, 692, 773; iii. 1365; iv. 1545, 1748). — Ed.]

[1] [Cf. the view of the building given in Stevens' *Georgia*, p. 352. — Ed.]

[2] [Whitefield's labors in Georgia are summarized in Tyerman's *Life of Whitefield*, London, 1876, with references; and other references are in Poole's *Index to Periodical Lit.*, p. 1406. Bishop Perry, in his *Hist. of the American Episcopal Church*, gives the bibliography of Whitefield's *Journals*, and a chapter on "The Wesleys and George Whitefield in Georgia." An account by Bishop Beckwith of the Orphan House is contained in the same work.

Foremost among the opponents of Whitefield was Alexander Garden, an Episcopal clergyman in Charleston, who lived in the colony from 1720 to his death in 1756. As the Commissary of the Bishop of London, the constructive ecclesiastical head of the colonies, he brought much power to aid his pronounced opinions, and he prosecuted Whitefield with vigor both in the ecclesiastical court and in the desk. In 1743 Garden reviewed his course in a letter [*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, xxiv. 117] in which he says: "Bad also is the present state of the poor Orphan House in Georgia, — that land of lies, and from which we have no truth but what they can neither disguise nor conceal. The whole Colony is accounted here one great lie, from the beginning to this day; and the Orphan House, you know, is a part of the whole, — a scandalous bubble." — Ed.]

[3] [Reprinted with editorial annotations and corrections of errors in B. R. Carroll's *Hist. Collections of South Carolina*, New York, 1836, vol. i. — Ed.]

[4] [This name is variously spelled Hewatt, Hewat, Hewitt, and Hewit. Cf. Drayton's *View of So. Carolina*, p. 175. — Ed.]

To *A View of the Constitution of the British Colonies in North America and the West Indies at the time the Civil War broke out on the Continent of America*, by Anthony Stokes, his Majesty's Chief Justice in Georgia, London, 1783, we must refer for the most intelligent history of the civil and judicial conduct of affairs in Georgia during the continuance of the royal government.

Soon after the formation of the general government Mr. Edward Langworthy — at first a pupil and then a teacher at Whitefield's Orphan House, afterwards an enthusiastic "Liberty Boy," Secretary of the Provincial Congress of Georgia, and one of the early representatives from that State in the Confederated Congress — conceived the design of writing a history of Georgia. Of fair attainments, and personally acquainted with the leading men and transactions of the period, he was well qualified for the task, and addressed himself with energy to the collection of materials requisite for the undertaking. From a published prospectus of the work, printed in the *Georgia Gazette*, we are led to believe that this history was actually written. Suitable encouragement not having been extended, the contemplated publication was never made. Mr. Langworthy died at Elkton, in Maryland, early in the present century, and all efforts to recover both his manuscripts and the supporting documents which he had amassed have thus far failed.

From the press of Seymour and Williams, of Savannah, was issued, in 1811, the first volume of Major Hugh McCall's *History of Georgia*,[1] and this was followed, in 1816, by the second volume published by William Thorne Williams. Oppressed by physical infirmities, and a martyr to the effects of exposures and dangers experienced while an officer in the army of the Revolution; now confined to his couch, again a helpless cripple moving only in an easy-chair upon wheels; dependent for a livelihood upon the slender salary paid to him as city jailer of Savannah; often interrupted in his labors, and then, during intervals of pain, writing with his portfolio resting upon his knees; without the preliminary education requisite for the scholarly accomplishment of such a serious undertaking, and yet fired with patriotic zeal, and anxious to wrest from impending oblivion the fading traditions of the State he loved so well, and whose independence he had imperilled everything to secure, — Major McCall, in the end, compassed a narrative which is highly prized, and which, in its recital of events connected with the Revolutionary period and the part borne by Georgians in that memorable struggle, is invaluable. He borrowed largely from Mr. Hewitt in depicting the colonial life of Georgia.[2]

As early as March, 1841, the Georgia Historical Society invited Dr. William Bacon Stevens to undertake, under its auspices, the preparation of a new and complete *History of Georgia.* Liberal aid was extended to him in his labor, and of its two octavo volumes, one was published in 1847 and the other in 1859.[3] This author brings his history down to the adoption of the constitution of 1798.

In 1849 the Rev. George White published in Savannah his *Statistics of the State of Georgia*, and this was followed, six years afterwards, by his more comprehensive and valuable work entitled the *Historical Collections of Georgia*, illustrated with nearly one hundred engravings, and published by Pudney and Russell, of New York. In this volume a vast mass of statistical, documentary, and traditional information is presented; and for his industry the author is entitled to much commendation.

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[1] [Cf. Sabin, x. no. 42973; Field, *Indian Bibliog.*, no. 972. — Ed.]

[2] [Mr. Geo. R. Gilmer, in an address in 1851 on the *Literary Progress of Georgia*, said of McCall's history, "A few actors in the scenes described read it on its first appearance; it was then laid upon the shelf, seldom to be taken from it. Ten years afterwards Bevan collected materials for the purpose of improving what McCall had executed indifferently. He received so little sympathy or aid in his undertaking that he never completed it." — Ed.]

[3] [A severe criticism appeared in *Observations on Dr. Stevens's History of Georgia*, Savannah, 1849. C. K. Adams' *Manual of Historical Reference*, p. 559, takes a favorable view. Hildreth (ii. 371) speaks of Stevens as a "judicious historian, who has written from very full materials." — Ed.]

The History of Georgia, by T. S. Arthur and W. H. Carpenter, published in Philadelphia in 1854, and constituting one of Lippincott's cabinet histories, is a meagre compendium of some of the leading events in the life of the Colony and State, and does not claim special attention.

In his *History of Alabama, and incidentally of Georgia and Mississippi* (Charleston, S. C., 1851) Colonel Albert James Pickett furnishes abundant and interesting material illustrative of the aboriginal epoch; and, in a manner both intelligent and attractive, traces the colonization of the territory indicated down to the year 1820.[1]

The present writer has already printed [1883] the first two volumes of *History of Georgia;* and his preface unfolds his purpose to tell the story from the earliest times down to a period within the memory of the living. The two volumes thus far issued embrace the aboriginal epoch, a narrative of discovery and early exploration, schemes of colonization, the settlement under Oglethorpe, and the life of the province under the guidance of the Trustees, under the control of the President and Assistants, under the supervision of royal governors, and during the Revolutionary War. They conclude with the erection of Georgia into an independent State. All available sources of information have been utilized. The two concluding volumes, which will deal with Georgia as a Commonwealth, are in course of preparation.

We refrain from an enumeration of gazetteers, historical essays, and publications, partial in their character, which relate to events subsequent to what may be properly termed the period of colonization.

Charles C. Jones. Jr.

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[1] [In two volumes. It passed to a second and third edition. Pickett is spoken of as a private gentleman and planter of Alabama, in the enjoyment of wealth and leisure when he wrote his history, bringing to his task a manly industry and generous enthusiasm. He was fortunate in being able to procure much material which had been hitherto inedited; manuscripts of early adventurers in the territory, who were traders among the red men, and in some cases the testimony of the red men themselves. *Southern Quarterly Review*, Jan., 1852. — ED.]

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PORTRAITS OF OGLETHORPE. The likeness given on a preceding page follows a print by Burford, after a painting by Ravenet, of which a reduction is given in John C. Smith's *British Mezzotint Portraits*, p. 128. There is a note on the portrait of Oglethorpe in the *Magazine of American History*, 1883, p. 138. See the cut in Bishop Perry's *American Episcopal Church*, i. 336.

The head and shoulders of this Burford print are given in the histories of Georgia by Stevens and Jones; and in Gay's *Popular History of the United States*, iii. 143; Cassell's *United States*, i. 481. The expression of the face seems to be a hard one to catch, for the engravings have little likeness to one another.

The medal-likeness is given in Harris's *Oglethorpe*, together with the arms of Oglethorpe.

There is beside the very familiar full-length profile view, representing Oglethorpe as a very old man, sitting at the sale of Dr. Johnson's library, which is given in some editions of Boswell's *Johnson;* in White's *Historical Collections of Georgia*, 117; in Harris's *Oglethorpe;* in Gay's *Popular History of the United States*, iii. 165; in the *Magazine of American History*, February, 1883, p. 111; in Dr. Edward Eggleston's papers on the English Colonies in the *Century Magazine*, and in various other places. — ED.

CHAPTER VII.

THE WARS ON THE SEABOARD: THE STRUGGLE IN ACADIA AND CAPE BRETON.

BY CHARLES C. SMITH,

Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

ALL through its early history Acadia, or Nova Scotia, suffered from the insecurity to life and property which arose from its repeated changes of masters. Neither France nor England cared much for a region of so little apparent value; and both alike regarded it merely as debatable ground, or as a convenient make-weight in adjusting the balance of conquests and losses elsewhere. Nothing was done to render it a safe or attractive home for immigrants; and at each outbreak of war in the Old World its soil became the scene of skirmishes and massacres in which Indian allies were conspicuous agents. Whatever the turn of victory here, little regard was paid to it in settling the terms of peace. There was hardly an attempt at any time to establish a permanent control over the conquered territory. In spite of the capture of Port Royal by Phips in 1690, and the annexation of Acadia to the government of Massachusetts in 1692, it was only a nominal authority which England had. In 1691, the French again took formal possession of Port Royal and the neighboring country. In the next year an ineffectual attempt was made to recover it; and this was followed by various conflicts, of no historical importance, in different parts of this much-harassed territory. In August, 1696, the famous Indian fighter, Captain Benjamin Church, left Boston on his fourth eastern expedition. After skirting the coast of Maine, where he met with but few Indians and no enemies, he determined to proceed up the Bay of Fundy. There he captured and burned Beaubassin, or Chignecto, and then returned to St. John. Subsequently he was superseded by Colonel John Hathorne, a member of the Massachusetts council, and an attack was made on the French fort at Nachouac, or Naxoat, farther up the river; but for some unexplained reason the attack was not pressed, and the English retreated shortly after they landed. "No notice," says Hutchinson in his *History of Massachusetts Bay*, "was taken of any loss on either side, except the burning of a few of the enemy's houses; nor is any sufficient reason given for relinquishing the design so suddenly."[1] By the treaty of Ryswick in the following year (1697) Acadia was surrendered to France.

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[1] Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts Bay*, ii. 95.

The French were not long permitted to enjoy the restored territory. In May, 1704, Church was again placed in command of an expedition fitted out at Boston against the French and Indians in the eastern country. He had been expressly forbidden to attack Port Royal, and after burning the little town of Mines nothing was accomplished by him. Three years later, in May, 1707, another expedition, of one thousand men, sailed from Boston under command of Colonel March. Port Royal was regularly invested, and an attempt was made to take the place by assault; but through the inefficiency of the commander it was a total failure. Reëmbarking his little army, March sailed away to Casco Bay, where he was superseded by Captain Wainwright, the second in command. The expedition then returned to Port Royal; but in the mean time the fortifications had been diligently strengthened, and after a brief view of them Wainwright drew off his forces. In 1710 a more successful attempt for the expulsion of the French was made. In July of that year a fleet arrived at Boston from England to take part in a combined attack on Port Royal. In pursuance of orders from the home government, four regiments were raised in the New England colonies, and sailed from Boston on the 18th of September. The fleet numbered thirty-six vessels, exclusive of hospital and store ships, and on board were the four New England regiments, respectively commanded by Sir Charles Hobby, Colonel Tailer, of Massachusetts, Colonel Whiting, of Connecticut, and Colonel Walton, of New Hampshire, and a detachment of marines from England. Francis Nicholson, who had been successively governor of New York, Virginia, and Maryland, had the chief command. The fleet, with the exception of one vessel which ran ashore and was lost, arrived off Port Royal on the 24th of September. The garrison was in no condition to resist an enemy, and the forces were landed without opposition. On the 1st of October three batteries were opened within one hundred yards of the fort; and twenty-four hours afterward the French capitulated. By the terms of the surrender the garrison was to be transported to France, and the inhabitants living within cannon-shot of Port Royal were to be protected in person and property for two years, on taking an oath of allegiance to the queen of England, or were to be allowed to remove to Canada or Newfoundland.[1] The name of Port Royal was changed to Annapolis Royal in compliment to the queen, and the fort was at once garrisoned by marines and volunteers under the command of Colonel Samuel Vetch, who had been selected as governor in case the expedition should prove successful. Its whole cost to New England was upward of twenty-three thousand pounds, which sum was afterward repaid by the mother country. Acadia never again came under French control, and by the treaty of Utrecht (1713) the province was formally ceded to Great Britain

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[1] The articles of capitulation are in Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts Bay*, ii. 182–184; and the first volume of the *Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society* contains an ample collection of documents connected with the capture of Port Royal, obtained from the State-Paper Office in London, and covering forty-six printed pages.

"according to its ancient limits." As a matter of fact, those limits were never determined; but the question ceased to have any practical importance after the conquest of Canada by the English, though it was reopened long afterward in the boundary dispute between Great Britain and the United States.

By the treaty of Utrecht, France was left in undisputed possession of Cape Breton; and in order to establish a check on the English in Nova Scotia, the French immediately began to erect strong fortifications at Louisbourg, in Cape Breton, and invited to its protection the French inhabitants of Acadia and of Newfoundland, which latter had also been ceded to Great Britain. Placentia, the chief settlement in Newfoundland, was accordingly evacuated, and its inhabitants were transferred to Cape Breton; but such great obstacles were thrown in the way of a voluntary removal of the Acadians that very few of them joined their fellow countrymen. They remained in their old homes, to be only a source of anxiety and danger to their English masters. At the surrender of Acadia to Great Britain, it was estimated by Colonel Vetch, in a letter to the Board of Trade, that there were about twenty-five hundred French inhabitants in the country; and even at that early date he pointed out that their removal to Cape Breton would leave the country entirely destitute of inhabitants, and make the new French settlement a very populous colony, "and of the greatest danger and damage to all the British colonies, as well as the universal trade of Great Britain." [1] Fully persuaded of the correctness of this view, the successive British governors refused to permit the French to remove to Canada or Cape Breton, and persistently endeavored to obtain from them a full recognition of the British sovereignty. In a single instance — in 1729 — Governor Phillips secured from the French inhabitants on the Annapolis River an unconditional submission; but with this exception the French would never take the oath of allegiance without an express exemption from all liability to bear arms. It is certain, however, that this concession was never made by any one in authority; and in the two instances in which it was apparently granted by subordinate officers, their action was repudiated by their superiors. The designation "Neutral French," sometimes given to the Acadians, has no warrant in the recognized facts of history.

Meanwhile the colony remained almost stationary, and attracted very little notice from the home government. In August, 1717, General Richard Phillips was appointed governor, which office he retained until 1749, though he resided in England during the greater part of the time. During his absence the small colonial affairs were successively administered by the lieutenant-governor of Annapolis, John Doucette, who held office from 1717 to 1726,[2] and afterward by the lieutenant-governors of the province, Lawrence Armstrong (1725–1739) and Paul Mascarene (1740–1749). Phillips was succeeded by Edward Cornwallis; but Cornwallis held the office only about three years, when he resigned, and General Peregrine Thomas Hopson was appointed his successor. On Hopson's retirement, within a few months, the government was administered by one of the members of the council, Charles Lawrence, who was appointed lieutenant-governor in 1754, and governor in 1756.

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[1] *Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia*, pp. 5, 6.

[2] [A description of Nova Scotia in 1720 was transmitted to the Lords of Trade by Paul Mascarene, engineer. It is given in the *Selections from the Pub. Docs. of Nova Scotia*, p. 39. — ED.]

In 1744 war again broke out between England and France, and the next year it was signalized in America by the capture of Louisbourg. Immediately on learning that war had been declared, the French commander despatched a strong force to Canso, which captured the English garrison at that place and carried them prisoners of war to Louisbourg. A second expedition was sent to Annapolis for a similar purpose, but through the prompt action of Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, it failed of success. Aroused, no doubt, by these occurrences, Shirley formed the plan of capturing Louisbourg; and early in January, 1745, he communicated his design to the General Court of Massachusetts, and about the same time wrote to Commodore Warren, commanding the British fleet in the West Indies, for coöperation. His plans were favorably received, not only by Massachusetts, but also by the other New England colonies. Massachusetts voted to raise 3,250 men; Connecticut 500; and New Hampshire and Rhode Island each 300. The chief command was given to Sir William Pepperrell, a wealthy merchant of Kittery in Maine, of unblemished reputation and great personal popularity; and the second in command was Samuel Waldo, a native of Boston, but at that time also a resident of Maine.[1] The chief of artillery was Richard Gridley, a skilful engineer, who, in June, 1775, marked out the redoubt on Bunker Hill. The undertaking proved to be so popular that the full complement of men was raised within two months. The expedition consisted of thirteen armed vessels, under the command of Captain Edward Tyng, with upward of two hundred guns, and of about ninety transports. They were directed to proceed to Canso, where a block house was to be built, the stores landed, and a guard left to defend them. The Massachusetts troops sailed from Nantasket on the 24th of March, and reached Canso on the 4th of April. The New Hampshire forces had arrived four days before; the Connecticut troops reached the same place on the 25th. Hutchinson adds, with grim humor, "Rhode Island waited until a better judgment could be made of the event, their three hundred not arriving until after the place had surrendered."[2]

The works at Louisbourg had been twenty-five years in construction, and though still incomplete had cost between five and six millions of dollars. They were thought to be the most formidable defences in America, and covered an area two and a half miles in circumference. A space of about two hundred yards toward the sea was left without a rampart; but at all other accessible points the walls were from thirty to thirty-six feet in height, with a ditch eighty feet in width. Scattered along their line were six bastions and three batteries with embrasures for one hundred and forty-eight cannon, of which only sixty-five were mounted, and sixteen mortars. On an island at the entrance of the harbor was a battery mounted with thirty guns; and directly opposite the entrance of the harbor was the grand battery, mounting twenty-eight heavy guns and two eighteen-pounders. The entrance to the town on the land-side was over a draw-bridge defended by a circular battery mounting sixteen cannon. It was these strong and well-planned works which a handful of New England farmers and fishermen undertook to capture with the assistance of a small English fleet.

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[1] [There is a portrait of Waldo in Jos. Williamson's *Hist. of Belfast, Me.*, p. 44. — Ed.]

[2] *History of Massachusetts Bay*, ii. 371.

[Views of this sort regarding the prudence or apathy of Rhode Island were current at the time, and Gov. Wanton, in a letter to the agent of that colony in London, Dec. 20, 1745 (*R. I. Col. Records*, v. 145), sets forth a justification. Mr. John Russell Bartlett, in a chapter of his naval history of Rhode Island (*Historical Mag.*, xviii. 24, 94), claims that the position of the colony has been misrepresented. — Ed.]

Pepperrell was detained by the ice at Canso for nearly three weeks, at the end of which time he was joined by Commodore Warren with four ships, carrying one hundred and eighty guns. The combined forces reached Gabarus Bay, the place selected for a landing, on the morning of the 30th of April; and it was not until that time that the French had any knowledge of the impending attack. Two days later the grand battery fell into Pepperrell's hands through a fortunate panic which seized the French. Thus encouraged, the siege was pressed with vigor under very great difficulties. The first battery was erected immediately on landing, and opened fire at once; but it required the labor of fourteen nights to draw all the cannon and other materials across the morass between the landing-place and Louisbourg, and it was not until the middle of May that the fourth battery was ready. On the 18th of May, Tyng in the "Massachusetts" frigate captured a French ship of sixty-four guns and five hundred men, heavily laden with military stores for Louisbourg. This success greatly raised the spirits of the besiegers, who, slowly but steadily, pushed forward to the accomplishment of their object. Warren's fleet was reinforced by the arrival of three large ships from England and three from Newfoundland; the land-gate was demolished; serious breaches were made in the walls; and by the middle of June it was determined to attempt a general assault. The French commander, Duchambon, saw that further resistance would be useless, and on the 16th he capitulated with the honors of war, and the next day Pepperrell took possession of Louisbourg.

By the capitulation six hundred and fifty veteran troops, more than thirteen hundred militia, and other persons, to the number in all of upward of four thousand, agreed not to bear arms against Great Britain during the war, and were transported to France in fourteen ships. Seventy-six cannon and mortars fell into the hands of the conquerors, with a great quantity of military stores and provisions. The number killed on the side of the French was three hundred, and on the side of the English one hundred and thirty; but subsequently the latter suffered heavily by disease, and at one time so many as fifteen hundred were sick from exposure and bad weather. Tidings of the victory created great joy in New England, and the news was received with no small satisfaction in the mother country. Pepperrell was made a baronet, Warren an admiral, and both Shirley and Pepperrell were commissioned as colonels. Subsequently, after a delay of four years, Great Britain reimbursed the colonies for the expenses of the expedition to the amount of £200,000.

A FRENCH FRIGATE.[1]

The capture of Louisbourg was by far the most important event in the history of Nova Scotia during the war, and the loss of so important a place was a keen mortification to France. As soon as news of the fall of Louisbourg reached the French government, steps were taken with a view to its recapture and to the punishment of the English colonists by destroying Boston and ravaging the New England coast. In June, 1746, a fleet of eleven ships of the line, twenty frigates, thirty transports, and two fire-ships was despatched for this purpose under command of Admiral D'Anville; but the enterprise ended in a disastrous failure. Contrary winds prevailed during the voyage, and on nearing the American coast a violent storm scattered the fleet, driving some of the ships back to France and others to the West Indies, and wrecking some on Sable Island. On the 10th of September D'Anville cast anchor with the remaining vessels — two ships and a few transports — in Chebucto; and six days later he died, of apoplexy, it is said. At a council of war held shortly afterward it was determined to attack Annapolis, against the judgment of Vice-Admiral D'Estournelle, who had assumed the command. Exasperated, apparently, at this decision, he committed suicide in a fit of temporary insanity. This second misfortune was followed by the breaking out of the small-pox among the crews; and finally after scuttling some of the vessels the officer next in command returned to France without striking a single blow. In the spring of the following year another expedition, of smaller size, was despatched under command of Admiral De la Jonquiere; but the fleet was intercepted and dispersed off Cape Finisterre by the English, who captured nine ships of war and numerous other vessels.

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[1] [After a cut in Paul Lacroix's *XVIII^me Siècle*, p. 129. — Ed.]

Meanwhile, and before the capture of Louisbourg, the French had made an unsuccessful attempt on Annapolis, from which the besieging force was withdrawn to aid in the defence of Louisbourg, but they did not arrive until a month after its surrender. In the following year another army of Canadians appeared before Annapolis; but the place seemed to be so strong and well defended that it was not thought prudent to press the attack. The French accordingly withdrew to Chignecto to await the arrival of reinforcements expected from France. While stationed there they learned that a small body of New England troops, under Colonel Noble, were quartered at Grand Pré, and measures were speedily adopted to cut them off. The attack was made under cover of a snow-storm at an early hour on the morning of the 4th of February, 1747. It was a complete surprise to the English. Noble, who was in bed at the time, was killed fighting in his shirt. A desperate conflict, however, ensued from house to house, and at ten o'clock in the forenoon the English capitulated with the honors of war.[1] This terminated active hostilities in Nova Scotia, from which the French troops shortly afterward withdrew. By the disgraceful peace of Aix la Chapelle (1748) England surrendered Louisbourg and Cape Breton to the French, and all the fruits of the war in America were lost.

After the conclusion of peace it was determined by the home government to strengthen their hold on Nova Scotia, so as to render it as far as possible a bulwark to the other English colonies, instead of a source of danger to them. With this view an advertisement was inserted in the *London Gazette*, in March, 1749, setting forth "that proper encouragement will be given to such of the officers and private men, lately dismissed his Majesty's land and sea service, as are willing to accept of grants of land, and to settle with or without families in Nova Scotia." Fifty acres were to be allotted to every soldier or sailor, free from the payment of rents or taxes for the term of ten years, after which they were not to be required to pay more than one shilling per annum for every fifty acres; and an additional grant of ten acres for each person in a family was promised. Larger grants, with similar conditions, were to be made to the officers; and still further to encourage the settlement of the province the same inducements were offered to "carpenters, shipwrights, smiths, masons, joiners, brickmakers, bricklayers, and all other artificers necessary in building or husbandry, not being private soldiers or seamen," and also to surgeons on producing certificates that they were properly qualified. These offers were promptly accepted by a large number of persons, but apparently by not so many as was anticipated.

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[1] [For authorities, see *post*, p. 448. — ED.]

In the following May Edward Cornwallis, then a member of Parliament, and uncle of the first Marquis of Cornwallis, was appointed captain-general and governor in chief, and at once embarked for Nova Scotia with the new settlers. On the 21st of June he arrived in Chebucto harbor, which all the officers agreed was the finest harbor they had ever seen; and early in July he was joined by the transports, thirteen in number, having on board upward of twenty-five hundred immigrants. The shores of the harbor were wooded to the water's edge, "no clear spot to be seen or heard of."[1] But by the 23d of the month more than twelve acres were cleared, and preparations were made for building. A month later the plan of the town was fully laid out, and subsequently a line of palisades was erected around the town, a square fort was built on the hill, and a space thirty feet wide cleared outside of the defensive line. By the end of October three hundred houses had been completed, a second fort had been built, and an order had been sent to Boston for lamps to light the streets in the winter nights. Halifax, as the new town was called, had already begun to wear the appearance of a settled community; and in little more than a year its first church was opened for religious services. From the first, the growth of Halifax was strong and healthy; and it soon became a place of considerable importance. So early as 1752 the number of inhabitants amounted to more than four thousand. Stringent rules were adopted to insure public order and morality; and very soon the governor and council proceeded to exercise legislative authority.[2] But their right to do this was expressly denied by the law officers at home.[1] Accordingly, in the early part of 1757 a plan was adopted for dividing the province into electoral districts, for the choice of a legislative body, and was sent to England for approval. Some exceptions, however, were taken to the plan; and it was not until October, 1758, that the first provincial assembly met at Halifax, nineteen members being present.

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[1] Letter to the Duke of Bedford in *Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia*, p. 560.

[2] July 17, 1750, a proclamation was ordered to be published "against the retailing of spirituous liquors without a license." August 28th,

In the mean time, in 1755, occurred the most memorable and tragic event in the whole history of Nova Scotia. Though England and France were nominally at peace, frequent collisions took place between their adherents in Nova Scotia and elsewhere in America. Early in 1755 it was determined to dispossess the French of the posts which they had established on the Bay of Fundy, and a force of eighteen hundred men was raised in New England, for that purpose, under Lieutenant-Colonels Scott and John Winslow. The chief command of the expedition was given to Colonel Robert Monckton, an officer in the English army. The first and most honorable fruits of the expedition were the capture of the French forts at Beauséjour and at Gaspereau, both of which surrendered in June. A few weeks later Winslow became a chief instrument in the forcible removal of the French Acadians, which has given his name an unenviable notoriety. It was a task apparently at which his whole nature relucted; and over and over again he wrote in his letters at the time that it was the most disagreeable duty he had had to perform in his whole life. But he did not hesitate for a moment, and carried out with unfaltering energy the commands of his superior officers.

For more than a generation the French inhabitants had refused to take the oath of allegiance to the king of England, except in a qualified form. Upon their renewed refusal, in July, 1755, it was determined to take immediate steps for their removal, in accordance with a previous decision, "to send all the French inhabitants out of the province, if they refused to take the oath;" and at a meeting of the provincial council of Nova Scotia, held July 28th, "after mature consideration, it was unanimously agreed that, to prevent as much as possible their attempting to return and molest the settlers that may be set down on their lands, it would be most proper to send them to be distributed amongst the several colonies on the continent, and that a sufficient number of vessels should be hired with all possible expedition for that purpose."[2] Accordingly orders were sent to Boston to charter the required number of transports;

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a second proclamation was ordered to be published, and "a penalty be added of 20 shillings sterling for each offence, to be paid to the informers, and that all retailers of liquors be forbid on the same penalty to entertain any company after nine at night." In the following February, it was "Resolved, that over and above the penalties declared by former Acts of council, any person convicted of selling spirituous liquors without the governor's license, shall for the first offence sit in the pillory or stocks for one hour, and for the second offence shall receive twenty lashes."—*Selections from the Public Documents*, pp. 570, 579, 603.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 710.

[2] *Selections from the Public Documents of Nova Scotia*, p. 266.

and on the 11th of August Governor Lawrence forwarded detailed instructions to Lieutenant-Colonel Winslow, commanding at Mines, and to Major John Handfield, a Nova Scotia officer, commanding at Annapolis, to ship off the French inhabitants in their respective neighborhoods. As the crops were not yet harvested, and there was delay in the arrival of the transports, the orders could not be executed until the autumn. At that time they were carried out with a sternness and a disregard of the rights of humanity for which there can be no justification or excuse. On the same day on which the instructions were issued to Winslow and Handfield, Governor Lawrence wrote a circular letter to the other English governors in America, expressing the opinion that there was not the least reason to doubt of their concurrence, and his hope that they would receive the inhabitants now sent "and dispose of them in such manner as may best answer our design in preventing their reunion." According to the official instructions five hundred persons were to be transported to North Carolina, one thousand to Virginia, five hundred to Maryland, three hundred to Philadelphia, two hundred to New York, three hundred to Connecticut, and two hundred to Boston.

On the 4th of September Winslow issued a citation to the inhabitants in his immediate neighborhood to appear and receive a communication from him. The next day, he recorded in his journal, "at three in the afternoon, the French inhabitants appeared, agreeably to their citation, at the church in Grand Pré, amounting to four hundred and eighteen of their best men; upon which I ordered a table to be set in the centre of the church, and, having attended with those of my officers who were off guard, delivered them by interpreters the king's orders." After a brief preamble he proceeded to say, "The part of duty I am now upon is what, though necessary, is very disagreeable to my natural make and temper, as I know it must be grievous to you who are of the same species. But it is not my business to animadvert, but to obey such orders as I receive, and therefore without hesitation shall deliver you his Majesty's orders and instructions." He then informed them that all their lands, cattle, and other property, except money and household goods, were forfeited to the Crown, and that all the French inhabitants were to be removed from the province. They were, however, to have liberty to carry their money and as many of their household goods as could be conveniently shipped in the vessels; and he added, "I shall do everything in my power that all those goods be secured to you, and that you are not molested in carrying them off, and also that whole families go in the same vessel, and make this remove, which I am sensible must give you a great deal of trouble, as easy as his Majesty's service will admit, and hope that in whatever part of the world you may fall you may be faithful subjects, a peaceable and happy people."[1] Meanwhile they were to remain under the inspection of the troops. Toward night these unhappy victims, "not having any provisions with them, and pleading hunger, begged for bread," which was given them, and orders were then issued that for the future they must be supplied from their respective families. "Thus ended the memorable 5th of September," Winslow wrote in his journal, "a day of great fatigue and trouble."[1]

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[1] Winslow's Journal in *Collections of Nova Scotia Historical Society*, iii. 94, 95.

Shortly afterward the first prisoners were embarked; but great delay occurred in shipping them off, mainly on account of the failure of the contractor to arrive with the provisions at the expected time, and it was not until November or December that the last were shipped. The whole number sent away at this time was about four thousand. There was also a great destruction of property; and in the district under command of Winslow very nearly seven hundred buildings were burned. The presence of the French was nowhere welcome in the colonies to which they were sent; and they doubtless experienced many hardships. The governors of South Carolina and Georgia gave them permission to return, much to the surprise and indignation of Governor Lawrence;[2] and seven boats, with ninety unhappy men who had coasted along shore from one of the Southern colonies, were stopped in Massachusetts. In the summer of 1762 five transports with a further shipment of these unfortunate people were sent to Boston, but the General Court would not permit them to land, and they were ordered to return to Halifax.[3]

The removal of the French Acadians from their homes was one of the saddest episodes in modern history, and no one now will attempt to justify it; but it should be added that the genius of our great poet has thrown a somewhat false and distorted light over the character of the victims. They were not the peaceful and simple-hearted people they are commonly supposed to have been; and their houses, as we learn from contemporary evidence, were by no means the picturesque, vine-clad, and strongly built cottages described by the poet. The people were notably quarrelsome among themselves, and to the last degree superstitious. They were wholly under the influence of priests appointed by the French bishops, and directly responsible to the representatives of the Roman Catholic Church at Quebec. Many of these priests were quite as much political agents as religious teachers, and some of them fell under the censure of their superiors for going too much outside of their religious functions. Even in periods when France and England were at peace, the French Acadians were a source of perpetual danger to the English colonists. Their claim to a qualified allegiance was one which no nation then or now could sanction. But all this does not justify their expulsion in the manner in which it was executed, and it will always remain a foul blot on the history of Nova Scotia. The knowledge of these facts, however, enables us to understand better the constant feeling of insecurity under which the English settlers lived, and which finally resulted in the removal and dispersion of the French under circumstances of such heartless cruelty.

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[1] Winslow's Journal in *Collections of Nova Scotia Historical Society*, iii. 98.

[2] *Selections from the Public Documents of Nova Scotia*, pp. 302, 303.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 329–334.

In May of the following year, war was again declared between France and England; and two years later Louisbourg again fell into the hands of the English. In May, 1758, a powerful fleet under command of Admiral Boscawen arrived at Halifax for the purpose of recapturing a place which ought never to have been given up. The fleet consisted of twenty-three ships of the line and eighteen frigates, beside transports, and when it left Halifax it numbered one hundred and fifty-seven vessels. With it was a land force, under Jeffery Amherst, of upward of twelve thousand men. The French forces at Louisbourg were much inferior, and consisted of only eight ships of the line and three frigates, and of about four thousand soldiers. The English fleet set sail from Halifax on the 28th of May, and on the 8th of June a landing was effected in Gabarus Bay. The next day the attack began, and after a sharp conflict the French abandoned and destroyed two important batteries. The siege was then pushed by regular approaches; but it was not until the 26th of July that the garrison capitulated. By the terms of surrender the whole garrison were to become prisoners of war and to be sent to England, and the English acquired two hundred and eighteen cannon and eighteen mortars, beside great quantities of ammunition and military stores. All the vessels of war had been captured or destroyed; but their crews, to the number of upward of twenty-six hundred men, were included in the capitulation. Two years later, at the beginning of 1760, orders were sent from England to demolish the fortress, render the harbor impracticable, and transport the garrison and stores to Halifax. These orders were carried out so effectually that few traces of its fortifications remain, and the place is inhabited only by fishermen.

A year after the surrender of Louisbourg a fatal blow was struck at the French power in America by the capture of Quebec; and by the peace of Paris, in February, 1763, the whole of Canada was ceded to Great Britain. The effects of this cession, in preparing the way for the independence of the principal English colonies, cannot easily be overestimated; but to Nova Scotia it only gave immunity from the fear of French incursions, without in the slightest degree weakening the attachment of the inhabitants to England.

CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

IN recent years much attention has been given to the study of Acadian history by local investigators, and important documents for its elucidation have been obtained from England and France, and the provincial archives have been put in excellent order by the commissioner of public records. To his intelligent interest in the subject we are indebted for one of the most important contributions to our knowledge of it, his *Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia.*[1] This volume comprises a great mass of valuable papers illustrative of the history of Nova Scotia in the eighteenth century, systematically arranged. The first part consists of papers relating to the French Acadians, 1714–1755; the second part, of papers relating to their forcible removal from the province, 1755–1768; the third, of papers relating to the French encroachments, 1749–1754, and the war in North America, 1754–1761; the fourth, of papers relating to the first settlement of Halifax, 1749–1756; and the last part, of papers relating to the first establishment of a representative assembly in Nova Scotia. Mr. Akins has added a sufficient number of biographical and other notes, and has inserted a conveniently arranged Index.

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[1] *Selections from the Public Documents of the Province of Nova Scotia. Published under a Resolution of the House of Assembly, passed March* 15, 1865. *Edited by Thomas B. Akins, D. C. L., Commissioner of Public Records. The Translations from the French by Benj. Curren,*

Next in importance to this volume are the publications of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, which was formed in 1878, and incorporated in 1879. Since that time it has printed four small volumes of *Collections*, comprising many valuable papers. Of these the most important is the journal of Colonel Winslow at the time of the expulsion of the Acadians, printed (vol. iii. p. 114) from the original manuscript in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. There are also (vol. i. p. 119) the diary of the surgeon, John Thomas, at the same time,[1] beside a journal of the capture of Annapolis in 1710, a history of St. Paul's Church, Halifax, and other papers of historical interest and value. The fourth volume contains a Memoir of Samuel Vetch, the first English governor of Nova Scotia, with illustrative documents, and the journal of Colonel John Winslow, during the Siege of Beauséjour, in 1755.[2]

Another work of great authority, as well for the later as for the early history of Nova Scotia, is Murdoch's *History of Nova Scotia*.[3] Written in the form of annals, it is somewhat confused in arrangement, and a reader or student is under the necessity of picking out important facts from a great mass of chaff; but it is a work of wide and thorough research, and should be carefully studied by every one who wishes to learn the minute facts of Nova Scotia history.

The early history of Nova Scotia, from its first settlement down to the peace of Paris in 1763, is treated with much fulness by James Hannay in a well-written narrative, which is not, however, entirely free from prejudice, especially against the New England colonies.[4] But, for thoroughness of investigation and general accuracy of statement, Mr. Hannay must hold a high place among local historians. Fortunately his labors are well supplemented by Duncan Campbell's *History of Nova Scotia*,[5] which was, indeed, published at an earlier date, but which is, however, very meagre for the period when Acadia was a French colony.

Beside these, there are several county and town histories, of which the best is Dr. Patterson's *History of Pictou*.[6] It is a work of diligent and faithful research, gathering up much traditional knowledge, and especially full in details respecting the origin and later fortunes of Pictou Academy. There are also a considerable number of local histories in manuscript in the archives of the Nova Scotia Historical Society.

Chs. C. Smith

D. C. L. Halifax, N. S., 1869. 8vo, pp. 755. [See further in Editorial Notes following the present chapter. — ED.]

[1] [This journal had already been printed in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal Reg.*, Oct., 1879, p. 383.]

[2] *Report and Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society.* Vols. i.–iv. Halifax: Printed at the Morning Herald Office. 1879–1885. 8vo, pp. 140, 160, 208, 258.

[3] *A History of Nova Scotia, or Acadie.* By Beamish Murdoch, Esq., Q. C. Halifax, N. S. 1865–1867. 3 vols. 8vo, pp. xv. and 543, xiv. and 624, xxiii. and 613.

[4] *The History of Acadia, from its first Discovery to its Surrender to England by the Treaty of Paris.* By James Hannay. St. John, N. B., 1879. 8vo, pp. vii. and 440.

[5] *Nova Scotia, in its Historical, Mercantile, and Industrial Relations.* By Duncan Campbell. Halifax, N. S. Montreal, 1873. 8vo, pp. 548.

[6] *A History of the County of Pictou, Nova Scotia.* By the Rev. George Patterson, D. D. Montreal, 1877. 8vo, pp. 471.

AUTHORITIES

ON THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS OF NEW ENGLAND AND ACADIA, 1688–1763.

By the Editor.

A. King William's War. — This was begun Aug. 13, 1688. A truce was concluded by Captain John Alden at Sagadahock, Nov. 19, 1690. (Hutchinson's *Massachusetts*, i. 404; *Mass. Hist. Collections*, xxi. p. 112, from the Hutchinson papers.)

Pike and Hutchinson's instructions for making a truce, Nov. 9, 1690, are given in James S. Pike's *New Puritan* (p. 128), and (p. 131) the agreement at Wells, May 1, 1691.

Sewall (*Letter Book*, p. 119) writes Aug. 1, 1691, "The truce is over and our Indian war renewed. The enemy attempted to surprise Wells, but were disappointed by a party of ours [who] got into the town but about half an hour before."

Submission and agreement of eastern Indians at Fort William Henry, in Pemaquid, Aug. 11, 1693. (*Mass. Archives*, xxx. 338; Mather's *Magnalia; New Hampshire Provincial Papers*, ii. 110; Johnston's *Bristol, Bremen, and Pemaquid*, p. 193.)

Accounts of the French capturing vessels in Massachusetts Bay (1694–95), correspondence between Stoughton and Frontenac (1695), and various plans for French expeditions to attack Boston (1696–97, 1700–1704), are in *Collection de manuscrits relatifs à l'histoire de la Nouvelle France* (Quebec, 1884), vol. ii.

A bill to encourage the war against the enemy is in the *Mass. Archives*, xxx. 358. Details of Church's expedition in 1696 to Nova Scotia are given in Murdoch's *Nova Scotia*, i. 233. Cf. also J. S. Pike's *Life of Robert Pike, the New Puritan.*

Nicholas Noyes, *New England's Duty and Interest to be a Habitation of Justice and a Mountain of Holiness*, an election sermon, Boston, 1698 (Sabin's *Dictionary*, xiii. no. 56,229; Haven's list in Thomas's *History of Printing*, ii. p. 343; Carter-Brown, ii 1,546), has in an appendix (pp. 89–99) an account of a visit of Grindall Rawson and Samuel Danforth to the Indians within the province, in 1698.

Submission of the eastern Indians at Pejebscot (Brunswick), Jan. 7, 1699. (*New Hampshire Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ii. 265; *N. H. Provincial Papers*, ii. 299; E. E. Bourne's *Wells and Kennebunk*, ch. xv.; *Mass. Archives*, xxx. 439.)

Submission of the eastern Indians, Sept. 8, 1699. (*Mass. Archives*, xxx. 447.)

Various documents concerning the making of a treaty with the eastern Indians, 1700–1701, are also in *Mass. Archives*, vol. xxx.

The events of this war are covered in Cotton Mather's *Decennium Luctuosum, an history of remarkable occurrences in the long war . . . from* 1688 *to* 1698, Boston, 1699. (Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, iii. p. 67.) It was reprinted in the *Magnalia.*

A detail of the sources on the different attacks and fights of this war is given in Vol. IV. of the present work, pp. 159–161.

B. Queen Anne's or Governor Dudley's War. — One of the first acts of the ministry of Queen Anne was to issue a declaration of war against France, May 15, 1702, opening what is known in Europe as the "War of the Spanish Succession." Governor Dudley in June, 1703, went to Casco, to avert by a conference the Indian participancy in the war, if possible. Campbell, the Boston postmaster, in one of his *Public Occurrences* says that Dudley found the Indians at the eastward "two thirds for peace, and one third for war." (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, ix. 495.) These latter were the more easterly tribes, who came under French influence, and in Aug., 1703, Dudley issued at Boston a broadside declaration against the Penicooke and eastern Indians. (Haven's list, p. 351.) Plunder and massacre along the frontier settlements at the eastward soon convinced the people of New England that they must prepare for another murderous war. (Cf. "Indian Troubles on the Coast of Maine," documents in *Maine Hist. Coll.*, iii. 341.)

The first organized retaliatory assault was the maritime expedition to the Bay of Fundy, led in 1704 by Col. Benjamin Church.

Church's own part in this expedition is set forth in the *Entertaining Passages*,[1] where will be found Governor Dudley's instructions to Church (p. 104). John Gyles, who in his youth

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[1] See *post* for fac-simile of title-page.

John Gyles

had been a captive among the French and Indians, when he learned to speak French, served as interpreter and lieutenant.[1] Church's conduct of the expedition, which had promised much and had been of heavy cost to the province, had not answered public expectation, and crossed the judgment of such as disapproved the making of retaliatory cruelties the object of war. This view qualifies the opinions which have been expressed upon Church's exploits by Hutchinson (*Hist. Mass.*, ii. 132); Williamson (*Hist. Maine*, ii. 47); and Palfrey (*Hist. N. Eng.*, iv. 259). Hannay (*Acadia*, 264) calls Church "barbarous." It is his own story and that of Penhallow which have given rise to these opinions.

Church's instructions had not contemplated the risks of an attack on Port Royal, and in ignorance of this Charlevoix accuses the assailants of want of courage, and Dr. Shea, in editing that writer,[2] stigmatizes the devastations as "inhuman and savage," and refers to a French account in *Canada Documents* [3] (III. ii. pp. 648–652) called "Expeditions faites par les Anglois de la Nouvelle Angleterre au Port Royal, aux Mines et à Beaubassin de l'Acadie."

The French early the next year, under Subercase, inflicted similar devastation upon the Newfoundland coast, though the forts at St. John resisted an attack. There is an original account by Pastour de Costebelle, dated at Plaisance, Oct. 22, 1705, in the possession of Dr. Geo. H. Moore, which has been printed in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Feb., 1877. Charlevoix (Shea's translation, iv. 172) naturally relishes the misery of these savages better than he does the equally brutal business of Church.

Palfrey (iv. 269) found in the British Colonial Office a paper dated Quebec, Oct. 20, 1705, containing proposals for a peace between New England and Canada, in which Vaudreuil [4] suggested that both sides should "hinder all acts of hostility" on the part of the Indians.

Cf. for this attempted truce and for correspondence at this time between Dudley and Vaudreuil, *Collection de manuscrits relatifs à l'histoire de la Nouvelle France* (Quebec, 1884), vol. ii. pp. 425–28, 435–40, 452.

The Abenakis continuing to disturb the borders,[5] Dudley planned an attack on Port Royal, which should be carried out, and be no longer a threat;[6] and Subercase, then in command there, was in effect surprised in June, 1707, at the formidable fleet which entered the basin. Inefficiency in the English commander, Colonel March, and little self-confidence and want of discipline in his force, led to the abandonment of the attack and the retirement of the force to Casco Bay, where, reinforced and reinspirited by a commission of three persons [7] sent from angry Boston, it returned to the basin, but accomplished no more than before.[8]

These successive disappointments fell at a time when the two Mathers were defeated (through

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[1] We encounter Gyles frequently as commander of posts in the eastern country. He lived latterly at Roxbury, Mass., and published at Boston, in 1736, *Memoirs of the odd adventures, strange deliverances, etc., in the captivity of John Gyles, Esq., Commander of the garrison on St. George's River.* This book is of great rarity. There is a copy in Harvard College library [5315.14] and a defective one in the Mass. Hist. Soc. library (*Catalogue*, p. 553). One is noted in S. G. Drake's *Sale Catalogue*, 1845, which seems also to have been imperfect. Drake in reprinting the book in his *Tragedies of the Wilderness*, Boston, 1846 (p. 73), altered the text throughout. It was perhaps Drake's copy which is noted in the *Brinley Catalogue*, i. no. 476, selling for $37. It was again reprinted in Cincinnati, by William Dodge, in 1869, but he followed Drake's disordered text. (Cf. Carter-Brown, iii. no. 547; *Mem. Hist. Boston*, ii. 336; Church, *Entertaining Passages*, Dexter's ed., ii. 163, 203; Johnston, *Bristol, Bremen, and Pemaquid*, 183; J. A. Vinton's *Gyles Family*, 122; *N. E. Hist. Geneal. Reg.*, Jan., 1867, p. 49; Oct., 1867, p. 361.)

[2] Shea's *Charlevoix*, iv. 171.

[3] See Vol. IV. p. 62.

[4] There were two governors of Canada of this name, who must not be confounded. This was the earlier.

[5] L'Abbé J. A. Maurault, *Histoire des Abénakis*, 1866; chapters 9–15 cover "Les Abénakis en Canada et en Acadie, 1701–1755."

[6] John Marshall's diary under March, 1707, notes the disinclination of the people to agree with the determination of the General Court to make a descent on Port Royal. (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, April, 1884, p. 159.) There are in the *Collection de Manuscrits*, etc. (Quebec, 1884), two papers on this matter: one dated Port Royal, June 26, 1707, "Entreprise des Anglois contre l'Acadie" (vol. ii. p. 464); the other dated July 6, "Entreprise des Bastonnais sur l'Acadie par M. Labat" (p. 477).

[7] Colonels Hutchinson and Townsend, and John Leverett. Letters from the latter respecting the expedition are in C. E. Leverett's *Memoir of John Leverett*, and in Quincy's *Hist. of Harvard Univ.* Cf. Sibley's *Harvard Graduates*, iii. 185, 197; Marshall's diary in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, April, 1884, p. 159.

[8] Hannay (*Acadia*, 269) judges Charlevoix's stories of hand-to-hand fighting as largely fabulous. Hutchinson (ii. 134) prints a letter from Wainwright, who had succeeded March in command, in which the sorry condition of the men is set forth.

Dudley's contrivances, as was alleged) in the contest for the presidency of Harvard College. This outcome made for Dudley two bitter and unscrupulous enemies, and any abuse they might shower upon him gained a ready hearing in a belief, prevalent even with fair people, that Dudley was using his own position for personal gain in illicit trade with Acadia. There have been reprinted in the second volume of the *Sewall Papers* three testy tracts which grew out of this conjunction of affairs. In them Dudley is charged with the responsibility of these military miscarriages, and events are given a turn which the careful historian finds it necessary to scrutinize closely.[1]

ffr: Nicholson

Sam Vetch

Palfrey (iv. 273) pictures the universal chagrin and details the efforts to shift the blame for the failure of this expedition. Charlevoix gives a pretty full account, but his editor claims that the English chroniclers resort to vagueness in their stories. In some copies of Diéreville's *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie* (Amsterdam, 1710) there is an appendix on the 1707 expedition, taken from the *Gazette* of Feb. 25, 1708.[2]

Events were tending towards a more strenuous effort at the reduction of Acadia. Jeremiah Dummer, in London, had in 1709 presented a memorial to the ministry arguing that the banks of the St. Lawrence belonged of right to New England.[3] It is printed in *The Importance and Advantage of Cape Breton*, London, 1746.[4] In April, 1709, the home government despatched orders to the colonies[5] for an extended movement on Montreal by way of Lake Champlain, and another on Quebec by water, — the latter part of the plan falling to the lot of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, who were promised the coöperation of a royal fleet and a force of veterans.[6] Colonel Vetch, who was a prime mover in the proceeding, brought the messages of the royal pleasure, and was made the adjutant-general of the commander, Francis Nicholson; but the promised fleet did not come, and the few king's ships which were in Boston were held aloof by their commanders, and a project to turn the troops, already massed in Boston, against Port Royal, since there was no chance of success against Quebec unaided, was abandoned for want of the convoy these royal ships might have afforded.[1] Nicholson, the companion of Vetch, returned to England,[2] and the next year (1710) came back with a small fleet, which, with an expeditionary force of New Englanders, captured Port Royal,[4] and Vetch was left governor of the country.[5]

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[1] These tracts are: *A Memorial of the Present Deplorable State of New England, with the many disadvantages it lyes under by the mall-administration of their present Governor, Joseph Dudley, Esq., and his son Paul . . . to which is added a faithful but melancholy account of several barbarities by the French and Indians in the east and west parts of New England, Printed in the year* 1707, *and sold . . . in Boston.* Two things seem clear: that Cotton Mather incited, perhaps wrote, this tract, and that the printing was done in London. It is not known that there is a copy in this country, and the reprint was made from one in the British Museum.

Dudley or some friend rejoined in the second tract, not without violent recriminations upon Mather: *A modest enquiry into the grounds and occasions of a late pamphlet intituled a Memorial, etc. By a disinterested hand.* London, 1707. (Carter-Brown, iii. no. 99; Murphy, i. 327.)

The third tract touches particularly the present expedition: *The Deplorable State of New England, by reason of a covetous and treacherous Governor and pusillanimous Counsellors, . . . to which is added an account of the shameful miscarriage of the late expedition against Port Royal.* London, 1708. (Harv. Coll. library, 10396.80; and Carter-Brown, iii. no. 115.) This tract was reprinted in Boston in 1720. The *North Amer. Rev.* (iii. 305) says that this pamphlet was thought to have been written by the Rev. John Higginson, of Salem, at the age of ninety-two; but the "A. H." of the preface is probably Alexander Holmes. (Sabin, v. 19,639.) Palfrey (iv. 304, etc.) thinks that its smartness and pedantry indicate rather Cotton Mather or John Wise (Brinley, i., no. 285) as the author.

[2] Stevens, *Bibliotheca Geog.*, no. 887; Field, *Indian Bibliog.*, no. 428; Brinley, i. no. 83; Sabin, v. 20,128. The Boston Public Library has a Rouen edition of 1708. The Carter-Brown (iii. 109, 137) has both editions, as has Mr. Barlow (*Rough List*, nos. 784, 789, 790). The full title of the Rouen edition is: *Relation du voyage du Port Royal de l'Acadie ou de la Nouvelle France, dans laquelle on voit un détail des divers mouvements de la mer dans une traversée de long cours; la description du Païs, les occupations des François qui y sont établis, les manières des différentes nations sauvages, leurs superstitions et leurs chasses, avec une dissertation exacte sur le Castor. Ensuite de la relation, on y a ajouté le détail d'un combat donné entre les François et les Acadiens contre les Anglois.*

[3] Jeremiah Dummer's memorial, Sept. 10, 1709, setting forth that the French possessions on the river of Canada do of right belong to the Crown of Great Britain. (*Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxi. 231.)

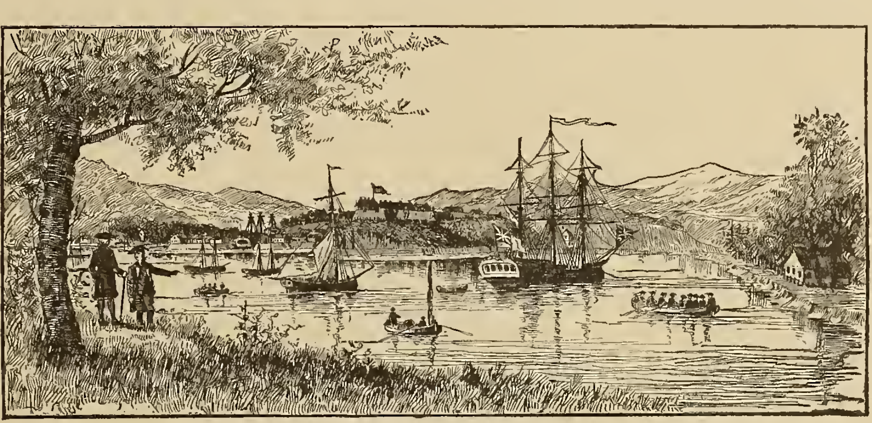
[4] Carter-Brown, iii. no. 823.

[5] Cf. *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, v. 72; *N. E. H. and Gen. Reg.*, 1870, p. 129, etc.

[6] Palfrey, iv. 275, quotes Sunderland's instructions to Dudley from the British Colonial Papers. The proclamation which the British agents issued on their arrival, with Dudley's approval, is in the *Mass. Archives.* Vetch had as early as 1701 been engaged in traffic up the St. Lawrence. Cf. *Journal of the voyage of the sloop Mary from Quebec*, 1701, *with introduction and notes by E. B. O'Callaghan*, Albany, 1866. Through

Col. William Dudley under date of Nov. 15, 1710, sent to the Board of Trade a communication covering the journal of Col. Nicholson during the siege, with correspondence appertaining, and these papers from the Record Office, London, are printed in the *Nova Scotia Hist. Soc. Collections*, i. p. 59, as (p. 64) is also a journal from the *Boston News-Letter* of Nov. 6, 1710. Sabin (ix. no. 36,703) notes a very rare tract: *Journal of an Expedition performed by the forces of our Soveraign Lady Anne, Queen, etc., under the command of the Honourable Francis Nicholson in the year* 1710, *for the reduction of Port Royal in Nova Scotia*, London, 1711. A journal kept by the Rev. Mr. Buckingham is printed from the original MS., edited by Theodore Dwight, in the *Journals of Madam Knight and Rev. Mr. Buckingham* (New York, 1825).[6]

The war was ended by a treaty at Portsmouth,



ANNAPOLIS ROYAL.[3]

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this and other adventures he had acquired a knowledge of the river; and in pursuance of such traffic he had gained some enmity, and had at one time been fined £200 for trading with the French. It was in 1706 that William Rouse, Samuel Vetch, John Borland, and others were arrested on this charge. (*Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xviii. 240.)

[1] Hutchinson, ii. 161; Barry, *Mass.*, ii. 98, and references; Charlevoix (Shea's), v. 222.

[2] Bearing an address to the queen, asking for assistance in another attempt the next year. (*Mass. Archives*, xx. 119, 124.)

[3] One of Des Barres' coast views (in Harvard College library).

The key of the fort at Annapolis, taken at this time, is in the cabinet of the Mass. Hist. Society. (Cf. *Catal. Cab. M. H. Soc.*, p. 112; *Proceedings*, i. 101.)

[4] Some documents relative to the equipment are given in the *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, 1876, p. 196. Dudley (July 31, 1710) notified the New Hampshire assembly of the provisions to be made for the expedition. *N. H. Prov. Papers*, iii. p. 435.

[5] The Rev. George Patterson, D. D., of New Glasgow, N. S., contributed in 1885 to the *Eastern Chronicle*, published in that town, a series of papers on "Samuel Vetch, first English governor of Nova Scotia." Cf. also J. G. Wilson on "Samuel Vetch, governor of Acadia" in *International Review*, xi. 462; and *The Scot in British North America* (Toronto, 1880), i. p. 288. There is also in the *Nova Scotia Historical Collections*, vol. iv., a memoir of Samuel Vetch by Dr. Patterson, including papers of his administration in Nova Scotia, 1710–13, with Paul Mascarene's narrative of events at Annapolis, Oct., 1710 to Sept., 1711, dated at Boston, Nov. 6, 1713; as also a "journal of a voyage designed to Quebeck from Boston, July, 1711," in Sir Hoveden Walker's expedition. (See the following chapter.)

[6] Sabin, ix. p. 525; Harv. Col. lib., 6374.12. The general authorities on the French side are Charlevoix (Shea's), v. 224, 227, etc., with references, including some strictures on Charlevoix's account, by De Gannes. An estimate of Subercase by Vaudreuil is in *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, ix. 853. Cf. Garneau's *Canada* (1882), ii. 42; E.

July 11, 1713. (*Mass. Archives*, xxix. p. 1; *N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, i. p. 83; *N. H. Prov. Papers*, iii. 543; *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vi. 250; Penhallow, 78; Williamson's *Maine*, ii. 67.)

There was a conference with five of the leading eastern Indians at Boston, Jan. 16, 1713–14, and this treaty is in the *Mass. Archives*, xxix. 22. A fac-simile of its English signatures is annexed. Another conference was held at Portsmouth, July 23–28, 1714; and this document is also preserved. (*Mass. Archives*, xxix. 36; *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vi. 257.)

Dr. Shea (*Charlevoix*, v. 267) says that no intelligent man will believe that the Indians understood the law-terms of these treaties, adding that Hutchinson (ii. 246) admits as much.

The papers by Frederick Kidder in the *Maine Hist. Soc. Collections* (vols. iii. and vi.) were republished as *Abnaki Indians, their treaties of* 1713 *and* 1717, *and a vocabulary with an historical introduction*, Portland, 1859. (Field, *Indian Bibliog.*, no. 829; *Hist. Mag.*, ii. p. 84.) It gives fac-similes of the autographs of the English signers and witnesses; and of the marks or signs of the Indians.

A later conference to ratify the treaty of 1713 was published under the title of *Georgetown on Arrowsick island, Aug.* 9, 1717. . . . *A conference of Gov. Shute with the sachems and chief men of the eastern Indians*, Boston, 1717. (Harvard Col. library, no. 5325.24; Brinley, i. no. 431.) This tract is reprinted in the *Maine Hist. Soc. Coll.*, iii. 361, and in the *N. H. Prov. Papers*, iii. 693. See further in Penhallow, p. 83; Niles, in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxxv. 338; Hutchinson, ii. 199; Williamson's *Maine*, ii. 93; Belknap's *New Hampshire*, ii. 47; Shea's *Charlevoix*, v. 268; Palfrey's *New England*, iv. 420.

Shute was accompanied to Arrowsick by the Rev. Joseph Baxter, and his journal of this period, annotated by Elias Nason, is printed in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan., 1867, p. 45.

Of chief importance respecting this as well as other of the wars, enumerated in this section, are the documents preserved in the State House at Boston. The *Mass. Archives*, vol. xxix., covers Indian conferences, etc., from 1713 to 1776; vol. xxxiv. treaties with the Indians from 1645 to 1726; and vols. xxx. to xxxiii. elucidate by original documents relations of all sorts with the Indians of the east and west, as well as those among the more central settlements between 1639 and 1775.

The chief English authority for Queen Anne's and Lovewell's wars is *The History of the wars of New England with the eastern Indians, or a narrative of their continued perfidy from the* 10*th of August*, 1703, *to the peace renewed* 13*th of July*, 1713; *and from the* 25*th of July*, 1722, *to their submission*, 15*th December*, 1725, *which was ratified August* 5*th*, 1726. *By Samuel Penhallow.* Boston, 1726. The author was an Englishman, who in 1686, at twenty-one, had come to America to perfect his learning in the college at Cambridge, designing to acquire the Indian tongue, and to serve the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians. Trade and public office, however, diverted his attention, and he became a rich tradesman at Portsmouth and a man of consideration in the public affairs of New Hampshire. His book is of the first value to the historian and the object of much quest to the collector, for it has become very rare. Penhallow died Dec., 1726, shortly after its publication. It has been reprinted in the first volume of the

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Rameau, *Une Colonie féodale en Amerique — L'Acadie*, 1604–1710 (Paris, 1877); Célestin Moreau, *L'Acadie Française*, 1598–1755, ch. 10 (Paris, 1873). The English side is in Penhallow, p. 59; Hutchinson, ii. 165; Haliburton, i. 85; Williamson, ii. 59; Palfrey, iv. 277; Barry, ii. 100, with references; Hannay, 272; *Mem. Hist. Boston*, ii. 105. Nicholson's demand for surrender (Oct. 3), Subercase's reply (Oct. 12), the latter's report to the French minister, and a paper, "Moyens de reprendre l'Acadie" (St. Malo, Jan. 10, 1711), are in *Collection de Manuscrits* (Quebec, 1884), ii. pp. 523, 525, 528, 532. There is in the cabinet of the Mass. Hist. Soc. (*Misc. Papers*, 41.41) a diagram showing the plan of sailing for the armed vessels and the transports on this expedition, with a list of the signals to be used, and instructions to the commanders of the transports. Major Livingstone, accompanied by the younger Castine, was soon sent by way of the Penobscot to Quebec to acquaint Vaudreuil, the French governor, on behalf of both Nicholson and Subercase, with the capture of Port Royal, and to demand the discontinuance of the Indian ravages. Livingstone's journal is, or was, in the possession of the Chicago Historical Society, when William Barry (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, Oct., 1861, p. 230) communicated an account of it, showing how the manuscript had probably been entrusted to Governor Gurdon Saltonstall, and had descended in his family. (*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, v. 257.) Cf. Palfrey, iv. 278; Williamson, ii. 60; a paper on the Baron de St. Castin, by Noah Brooks, in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, May, 1883; Charlevoix (Shea's), v. 233. Penhallow seems to have had Livingstone's journal; Hutchinson (ii. 168) certainly had it. Cf. account in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, ix. 854. Castine's instructions are in *Collection de Manuscrits*, ii. p. 534.

Vaudreüil

N. H. Hist. Society's Collections, and again in 1859 at Cincinnati, with a memoir and notes by W. Dodge.[1]

A more comprehensive writer is Samuel Niles, in his *French and Indian Wars*, 1634–1760. Niles was a Rhode Islander, who came

J Dudley
Fr: Nicholson
William Tailer
W. Winthrop
Elisha Hutchinson
Samuel Sewall
Is^a Addington
E^m Hutchinson
Penn Townsend
And^r Belcher
Edw. Bromfield
Ichabod Plaisted

SIGNERS OF THE CONFERENCE.

(*January* 16, 1713–14.)

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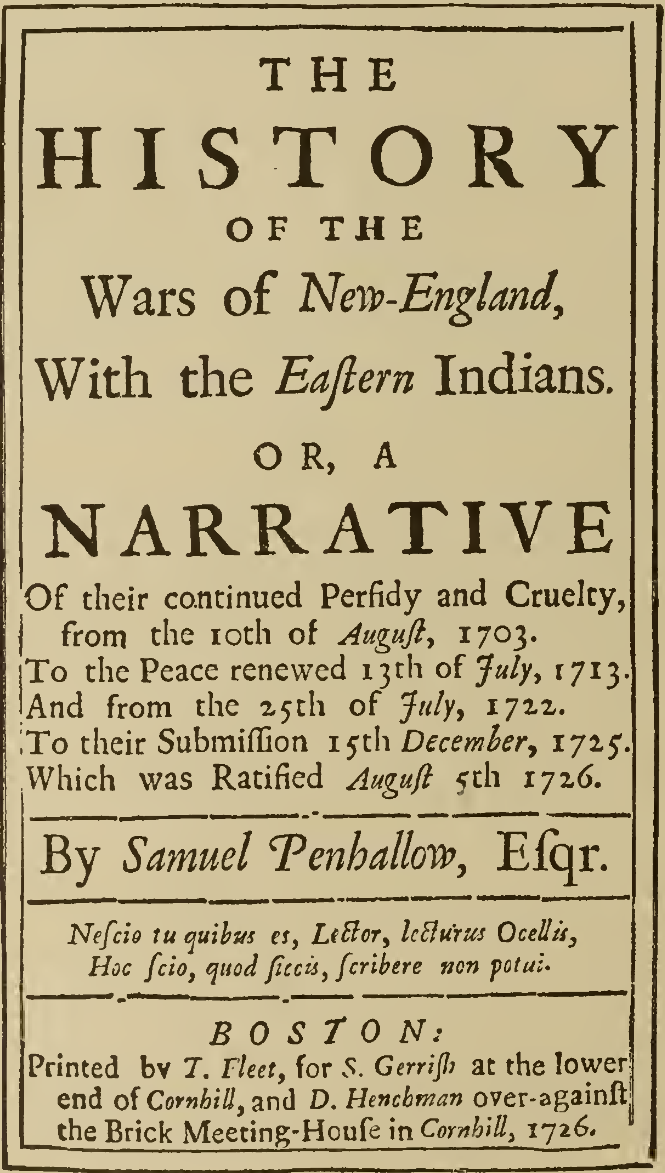
[1] Field, *Indian Bibliog.*, nos. 1,202–3; Brinley, i. nos. 414, 415; Palfrey, *New England*, iv. 256; Haven in Thomas, ii. p. 407; Tyler, *Amer. Literature*, ii. 141; Hunnewell's *Bibliog. of Charlestown*, p. 7. Mr. Henry C. Murphy (*Catalogue*, no. 1,924) refers to the original MS. of this book as being in the Force collection, and as showing some occasional variations from the printed copy. (Cf. *Catalogue of the Prince Collection*, p. 49; Carter-Brown, iii. no. 384.) Penhallow had been engaged, during the April preceding the August in which he began his history, on a mission to the Penobscots, the reports of which are in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1880, p. 90. There is a sketch of him and his family in *Ibid*, 1878, p. 28. There are many letters of Samuel Penhallow among the *Belknap Papers* in the Mass. Hist. Society (61. A).

to Harvard College the first from that colony to seek a liberal education, and, having graduated in 1699, he settled in Braintree, Mass., in 1711, where he continued till his death in 1762.



THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Wars of *New-England*,

With the *Eaſtern* Indians.

OR, A

NARRATIVE

Of their continued Perfidy and Cruelty,
from the 10th of *Auguſt*, 1703.
To the Peace renewed 13th of *July*, 1713.
And from the 25th of *July*, 1722.
To their Submiſſion 15th *December*, 1725.
Which was Ratified *Auguſt* 5th 1726.

By *Samuel Penhallow*, Eſqr.

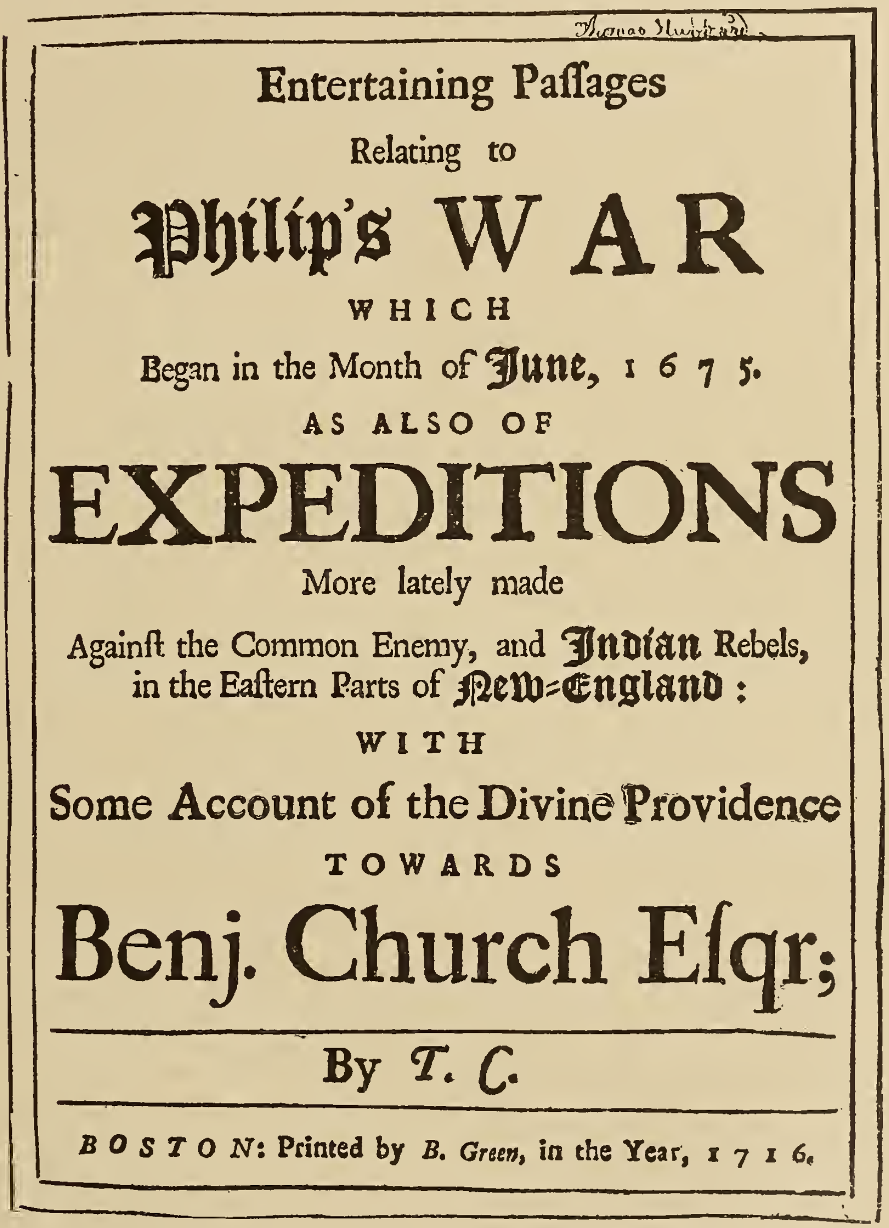
Neſcio tu quibus es, Lector, lecturus Ocellis,
Hoc ſcio, quod ſiccis, ſcribere non potui.

BOSTON:
Printed by *T. Fleet*, for *S. Gerriſh* at the lower
end of *Cornhill*, and *D. Henchman* over-againſt
the Brick Meeting-Houſe in *Cornhill*, 1726.

Fac-simile from a copy in Harvard College library.

Palfrey (vol. iv. 256) has pointed out that Niles did little more than add a sentence, embody a reflection, and condense or omit in the use which he made of the *Memorial* of Nathaniel Morton, the *Entertaining Passages* of Church, the *Indian Wars* of Hubbard, the *Magnalia* of Mather, and the *History* of Penhallow; so that for a period down to about 1745, Niles is of scarcely any original value. John Adams (*Works*, x. 361), who knew the author, lamented in 1818 that no printer would undertake the publication of his history. The manuscript of the work was neglected till some time after 1830 it was found in a box of papers belonging to the Mass. Hist.

Society, and was subsequently printed in their *Collections,* vols. xxvi. and xxxv.[1]



Thomas Hubbard

Entertaining Paſſages
Relating to
Philip's WAR
WHICH
Began in the Month of June, 1675.
AS ALSO OF
EXPEDITIONS
More lately made
Againſt the Common Enemy, and Indian Rebels,
in the Eaſtern Parts of New-England:
WITH
Some Account of the Divine Providence
TOWARDS
Benj. Church Eſqr;

By *T. C.*

BOSTON: Printed by *B. Green,* in the Year, 1716.

Fac-simile slightly reduced from the copy in Harvard College library.

There are two other important contemporary printed accounts of this war.

Col. Benjamin Church furnished the memoranda from which his son Thomas constructed a book, very popular in its day, and which was published in Boston in 1716, as *Entertaining Passages,*[2] etc.

Cotton Mather, on the restoration of peace,

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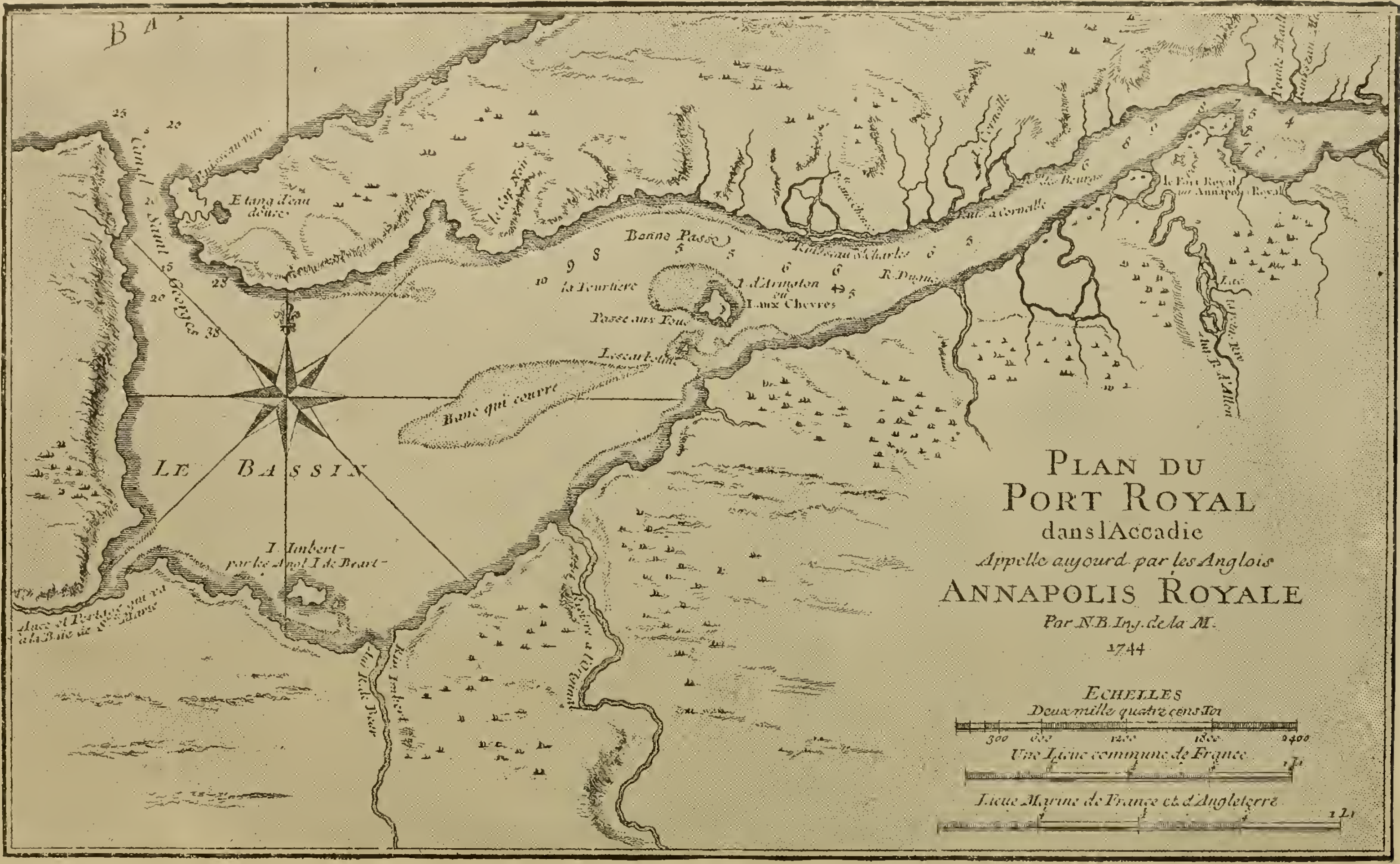
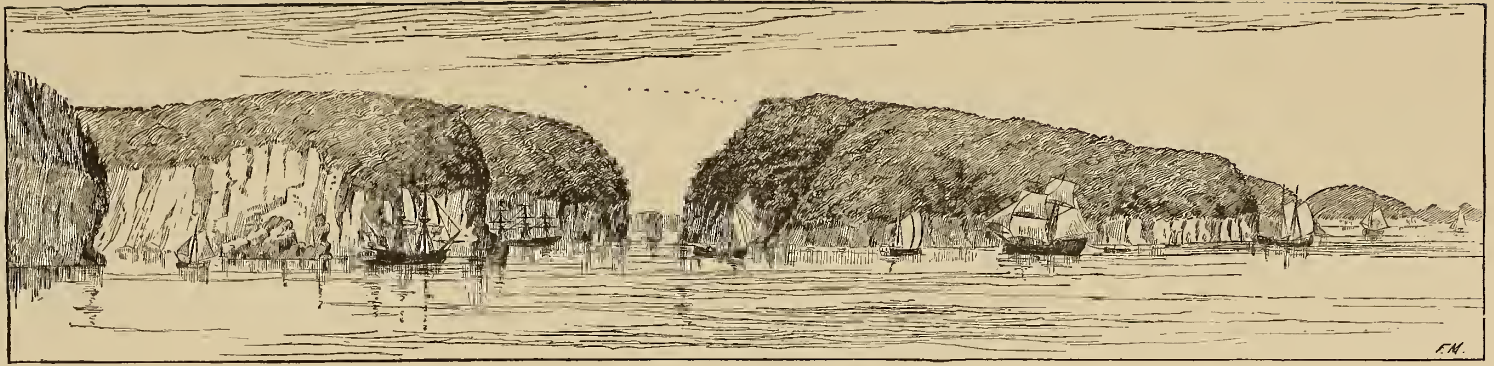
[1] Tyler, *Amer. Lit.,* ii. 143.

[2] Cf. Vol. III. p. 361; also Tyler's *Amer. Lit.,* ii. 140; Brinley, i. nos. 383-4. Quaritch priced it in 1885 at £50. The best working edition is that edited by Dr. H. M. Dexter.



PLAN DU
PORT ROYAL
dans l'Accadie
Appellé aujourd. par les Anglois
ANNAPOLIS ROYALE
Par N.B. Ing. de la M.
1744



GUT OF ANNAPOLIS.

Note.—The above cut represents the entrance to the Annapolis basin, as it would appear to a spectator at the position corresponding to the letter B in the words "Baye Françoise" in the northwest corner of the map on the opposite page. It follows on a reduced scale one of the coast scenes made by the British engineers to accompany the hydrographic surveys, published by Des Barres, just before the American Revolutionary War, and which frequently make part of the *Atlantic Neptune.* A modern drawing of the view looking outward through the gut is given in E. B. Chase's *Over the Border* (Boston, 1884), where will be found a view of the old block house in Annapolis (p. 64), which stood till 1882.

The map (on the opposite page) is by the royal (French) engineer Nicolas Bellin, and was published by Charlevoix in his *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, and is reproduced in Dr. Shea's translation of Charlevoix, v. p. 170; and on a reduced scale in Gay, *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. p. 125. A MS. plan (1725) is noted in the *Catalogue of the King's Maps in the British Museum*, i. p. 38; as also are other plans of 1751, 1752, 1755. One of date 1729 by Nathaniel Blackmore is plate no. 27 in Moll's *New Survey of the Globe.* One of 1733 is in the North collection of maps in Harvard College library, vol. ii. pl. 11. One of 1779, after a manuscript in the Dépôt des Cartes in Paris, is no. 11 in the *Neptune Americo-Septentrional.* This Bellin map may be compared with the draughts of the basin made in the early part of the preceding century by Lescarbot, published in his *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* (1609), and by Champlain as given in his *Voyages du Sieur de Champlain Xaintongeois* (1613),—both of which maps are produced in the present *History*, Vol. IV. pp. 140, 141.

There is on a previous page a view of the town and fort of Annapolis at the upper end of the basin. Various papers respecting Annapolis Royal, as it was called after coming into English possession, can be found in the *Belknap Papers* (MSS.) in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, including letters from Governor Richard Phillips, Lieutenant-Governor John Doucett, and Paul Mascarene. The history of Nova Scotia so much centres in Annapolis, previous to the founding of Halifax, that all the histories of Acadia and Nova Scotia tell the story of the picturesque and interesting region in which the town is situated. (Cf. Vol. IV. p. 156.)

Jacques Nicolas Bellin, the maker of the opposite map, as he was of all the maps given by Charlevoix, was born in Paris in 1703, and died in 1772. He was one of the principal hydrographers of his time in France, and was the earliest to hold a governmental position in the engineer department of the Marine. He has left a large mass of cartographical work, chiefly given on a large scale in his *Neptune Français* (1753 in folio) and his *Hydrographie Française* (1756 in folio). The same, with other maps reproduced on a smaller scale, constitute his *Petit Atlas Maritime* (1764, five volumes in quarto). All of these publications contain maps of American interest, and in 1755 he printed a special contribution to the study of American cartography, *Mémoires sur les cartes des côtes de l'Amérique septentrionale.*

reviewed the ten years' sorrows of the war in a sermon before the governor and legislature, which was published as *Duodecennium Luctuosum — the History of a long war with Indian savages and their directors and abettors*, 1702–1714.[1]

The uneasy disposition of the times upon the conclusion of the peace may be followed in Gov. Shute's letter to the Jesuit Father Rasle, Feb. 21, 1718 (*Mass. Hist. Coll.*, v. 112); in the conference with the Penobscots[2] and Norridgewocks, at Georgetown, Oct. 12, 1720 (*Mass. Archives*, xxix. 68); and in the letter of the eastern Indians (in French) to the governor, July 27, 1721 (*Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xviii. 259).

C. Lovewell's or Gov. Dummer's War. — There are documents from the Penhallow Papers relative to the Indian depredations at the eastward in the *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register*, 1878, p. 21. Some of them antedate the outbreak of the war. Charlevoix (Shea's ed., vol. v. 268) tells the story of the counter-missions of the French and English; and the Indians, incited by the French, made demands on the English, who held some of their chiefs as hostages in Boston. (*Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 2d ser., viii. 259; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 903; Kip, *Jesuit Missions*, 13.) The seeming truce with the Abenakis was further jeopardized by the act of seizing (Dec., 1721) the younger Baron de St. Castin, when he was taken to Boston for examination. After a detention of five months he was set at liberty.[3] A more serious source of complaints with the Indians before the war was the attempt to seize Father Rasle in Jan., 1722, by an expedition sent to Norridgewock under Col. Westbrook, but in the immediate charge of Capt. Harmon. (*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, ix. 910; Rasle in Kip, 15.) Rasle was warned and escaped, but the party found letters from Vaudreuil in his cabin, implicating the Quebec governor as having incited the increasing depredations of the Indians.[4]

The war began in the summer of 1722. Gov Shute made his declaration, July 25, 1722 (*Mass. Archives*, xxxi. 106), and the Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth, at the Thursday lecture, Aug. 16, made it the subject of his discourse. (Brinley, i. no. 429.)

In March, 1723, Col. Thos. Westbrook made a raid along the Penobscot. (*Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxii. 264; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, ix. 933.)

Tho Westbrook

Capt. Jeremiah Moulton, under orders of Col. Westbrook, made a scouting expedition in the early summer of 1723, and dated at York, July, 4, his report to Lieut.-Gov. William Dummer, which is printed in the *Maine Hist. and Genealog. Recorder*, i. p. 204. (Cf. Penhallow, 96; Niles in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxxv. 345; Williamson, ii. 120.) In 1723 there was an Indian raid on Rutland, in which the Rev. Joseph Willard and two children were killed, and two others were carried off. (Cf. Israel Loring's *Two Sermons*, Boston, 1724, cited in Brinley, i. no. 1,928.)

A conference was held at Boston, August 22, 1723, of which there is a printed account among the *Belknap Papers* (MSS.), in the Mass. Hist. Soc. library.

On the 21st July, 1724, there was another conference with the Indians held at St. Georges fort. (*Mass. Archives*, xxix. 154.)

In Aug., 1724, Moulton and Harmon were sent to make an end of Rasle's influence. They surprised the Norridgewock settlement, and Rasle was killed in the general slaughter. The opposing chroniclers do not agree as to the manner of his death. Charlevoix (Shea's ed., v. 279) says he was shot and mutilated at the foot of the village cross. The English say they had intended to spare him, but he refused quarter, and had even killed a captive English boy in the confusion. His scalp and those of other slain were taken to Boston.[1]

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[1] Carter-Brown, iii. no. 186; Haven in Thomas, ii. p. 371; Sibley, *Harvard Graduates*, iii. p. 117.

[2] Cf. James Sullivan's *Hist. of the Penobscots* in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, ix. 207; and a memoir respecting the Abenakis of Acadia (1718) in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, ix. 879.

[3] Hutchinson, ii. 246; Palfrey, iv. 423. For the Castin family, see *Bangor Centennial*, 25; Shea's *Charlevoix*, v. 274, and references in Vol. IV. p. 147. Williamson (ii. 71, 144) seems to confound the two sons of the first Baron de Castin, judging from the letter of Joseph Dabadis de St. Castin, dated at Pentagouet, July 23, 1725, where he complains of the treachery of the commander of an English vessel. (*N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, Ap., 1860, p. 140, for a letter from *Mass. Archives*, lii. p. 226.) See also *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vii., and Wheeler's *Hist. of Castine*, 24.

[4] Penhallow, 90; Vaudreuil and Begon in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, ix. 933. Dr. Shea (*Charlevoix*, v. 278) thinks some rude translations of letters of Rasle (*Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xviii. 245, 266), alleged to have been found at Norridgewock, are suspicious. Cf. Palfrey, iv. 422, 423; Farmer and Moore's *Hist. Coll.*, ii. 108. A distinct asseveration of the incitement of the French authorities and their priests is in the *Observations on the late and present conduct of the French*, published by Dr. Clarke in Boston in 1755, quoted by Franklin in his Canada pamphlet (1760), in *Works*, iv. p. 7. Cf. on the French side a "Mémoire sur l'entreprise que les Anglois de Baston font sur les terres des Abenakis sauvages alliés des François" in *Collection de manuscrits* (Quebec, 1882), ii. p. 68, where are various letters which passed between Vaudreuil and Shute.

In Nov., 1724, Capt. John Lovewell and two others had petitioned to be equipped to scour the woods to the eastward after Indians, and, the legislature acceding (Nov. 17) to their request, Lovewell enrolled his men and made three campaigns in quick succession. The journal of his second expedition (Jan.–Feb., 1724–5) is in the *Mass. Archives*, vol. lxxxvi., and is printed by Kidder in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan., 1853, and in his *Expeditions of Capt. John Lovewell.* It was on the third of these expeditions, May 8, 1725, that Lovewell encountered the Indians near a pond in Fryeburg, Maine, now known as Lovewell's pond, upon whose wood-girt surface the summer tourist today looks down from the summit of the Jockey-Cap. Their leader was killed early in the action, which lasted all day, and only nine of the English who remained alive were unwounded when the savages drew off.

John Lovewell

The news reached Boston on the 13th of May. Kidder gives the despatches received by the governor, with the action of the council upon them. On the 17th an account was printed in the *Boston Gazette*, which is also in Kidder. The day before (May 16) the Rev. Thomas Symmes, of Bradford, who had gathered his information from some of those who had escaped, delivered a sermon in that town, which, when printed with an "historical preface or memoirs of the battle at Piggwacket," became popular, and two editions were printed at Boston during the same year. Both editions are of the greatest rarity. The first is called : *Lovewell lamented, or a Sermon occasion'd by the fall of the brave Capt. John Lovewell and several of his valiant company in the late heroic action at Piggwacket.* Boston, 1725.[2] The other edition was entitled: *Historical memoirs of the late fight at Piggwacket ; with a sermon occasion'd by the fall of the brave Capt. John Lovewell and several of his valiant company. . . . The second edition, corrected.* Boston, 1725.[3] A third edition was printed at Fryeburg, with some additions, in 1799. The narrative, but not the sermon, was later printed in Farmer and Moore's *Historical Collections*, i. 25. At Concord (N. H.), in 1861, it was again issued by Nathaniel Bouton, as *The original account of Capt. John Lovewell's Great Fight with the Indians at Pequawket, May 8, 1725.*[4] Mr. Frederic Kidder, in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*,[5] Jan., 1853 (p. 61), printed an account of Lovewell's various expeditions, with sundry documents from the *Massachusetts Archives*, which, together with the second edition of Symmes, were later, in 1865, embodied in his *Expeditions of Capt. John Lovewell and his encounters with the Indians, including a par-*

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[1] On the French side we have Charlevoix (Shea's ed., v. 280), and the *Lettres Edifiantes*, sub anno 1722–1724 (cf. Vol. IV. p. 316), with the *Nouvelles des Missions ; Missions de l'Amérique*, 1702–43, Paris, 1827, both giving Father de la Chasse's letter, dated Quebec, Oct. 29, 1724, which is also given in English by Kip, p. 69. Cf. *Les Jésuites Martyrs du Canada*, Montreal, 1877, p. 243. There is a letter of Vaudreuil in *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, ix. 936. These and on the English side the letters of Rasle, edited by Thaddeus Mason Harris, in the *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. xviii., are the chief authorities ; but Harmon's journal and a statement by Moulton were used by Hutchinson (ii. 281). Upon this material the *Life of Rasle*, by Convers Francis in Sparks's *Amer. Biog.*, vol. 17, and that in *Die Katholisches Kirche in dem Vereinigten Staten* (Regensburg, 1864) are based.

The estimates of Rasle's character are as diverse as the Romish and Protestant faiths can make them. The times permitted and engendered inhumanity and perfidy. There is no sentimentality to be lost over Rasle or his adversaries. Cf. Shea's *Charlevoix*, v. 280 ; Palfrey's *New England*, iv. 438 ; Hannay, *Acadia*, 320. Hutchinson (ii. 238) says the English classed him "among the most infamous villains," while the French ranked him with "saints and heroes."

Cf. further Dr. Shea, in Vol. IV. p. 273, with note ; Williamson's *Maine*, ii. 130 ; Bancroft, *United States*, final revision, ii. 218, etc. ; Drake, *Book of the Indians*, iii. 127 ; *Atlantic Souvenir*, 1829 ; Murdoch's *Nova Scotia*, i. 412 ; *Mem. Hist. Boston*, ii. 109 ; William Allen, *Hist. of Norridgewock* (1849) ; *Hist. Magazine*, vi. 63 ; Hanson's *Norridgewock and Canaan*, with a view of the Rasle monument.

[2] An uncut copy was in the Brinley sale, no. 422. Cf. Haven in Thomas, p. 404 ; Hunnewell's *Bibliog. of Charlestown*, p. 7.

[3] Brinley, i. no. 423 ; Harv. Coll. lib., 5325.27 ; Haven's Bibliog. in Thomas, p. 404. Field (*Indian Bibliog.*, no. 1,527) says the copy sold in the Menzies sale (no. 1,940) is the only perfect copy sold at public auction in many years, and this one had passed under the hammer four times, bringing once $175, and again $132.50 when it was last sold.

[4] Field, no. 1,527. This edition has a map of the scene of action which is repeated in Kidder and reproduced herewith. *N. E. Hist. & Geneal. Reg.*, Oct., 1861, p. 354. Only extracts of the sermon are given.

[5] A small number of copies was printed separately.

ticular account of the Pequauket battle.[1] This is a faithful reprint of the Symmes tract, while those of Farmer and Moore, and of Bouton, introduce matters from other sources. The bibliography of Symmes's sermon is traced in Dr. S. A. Green's *Groton during the Indian Wars*, p. 134.

The relations of the French to the Abenaki war during 1724–25 are shown in various documents printed in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vol. ix., as when the French ministry prompts the governor of Canada to sustain the savages in their struggle with the English (p. 935); a memoir is registered upon their condition (p. 939); Intendant Begon reports on the war (p. 941); other letters are written (p. 945); and the ministry again counsel the governor to instigate further hostilities (p. 956).

A journal of a scout by Westbrook, beginning June 23, 1725, is among the *Belknap Papers* (MSS.).

Four eastern sagamores came to Boston, Nov. 10, 1725 (*Mass. Archives*, xxix. 191; Murdoch's *Nova Scotia*, i. 429), and a treaty with them was signed Dec. 15, 1725, known as "Dummer's treaty" (*Mass. Archives*, xxxiv.), which was ratified at Falmouth, Aug. 6, 1726. (*Mass. Archives*, xxix. 230; xxxiv. See also Penhallow, 117; *N. H. Hist. Coll.*, i. 123; *N. H. Prov. Papers*, iv. 188; Niles in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxxv. 360; Williamson, ii. 145, 147; Palfrey, iv. 443.)

This treaty was separately printed under the title of *Conference with the Indians at the ratification of peace held at Falmouth, Casco Bay, by Governour Dummer, in July and August*, 1726. Boston, 1726, pp. 24. It was reprinted in 1754. (Cf. Brinley, i. 432, 434; Harvard College library, 5325.32.)

There was another Indian treaty at Casco Bay, July 25, 1727. (*Mass. Archives*, xxix. 256.) In Akins's *Pub. Doc. of Nova Scotia* is a facsimile of a copy of this treaty, attested by Dummer, evidently made to be used by Cornwallis in 1749, in negotiating another treaty. (Cf. *N. H. Hist. Coll.*, ii. 260, where the treaty is printed; and the explanation of the Indians in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, ix. 966.)

This treaty of 1727 was separately printed as *Conference with the Eastern Indians at the further ratification of the peace, held at Falmouth, in Casco Bay, in July*, 1727. Boston, 1727, pp. 31. It was reprinted in 1754. (Cf. Brinley, i. 433, 434.)

Cf. also *Conferences of Lieut.-Gov. Dummer with the Eastern Indians in* 1726 *and* 1727. Boston, 1754. For the treaties of 1726–27, see also *Maine Hist. Coll.*, iii. 377, 407; *N. H. Prov. Papers*, iv. 255–258; Palfrey, iv. 444.

There is in the *Mass. Archives* (xxix. 283) the document which resulted from a conference with the Eastern Indians in the council chamber in Boston, Dec. 9–Jan. 15, 1727–28.

Dr. Colman's memoir of the troubles at the eastward in 1726–27 is in the *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vi. 108. (Cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, x. 324.)

The French were disconcerted by the treaty of 1727, as sundry papers in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vol. ix., show. They reiterate their complaints of the English encroachments on the Indians' lands (p. 981); observe great changes in the Abenakis since they made peace with the English (p. 990); and the king of France tells the Canadians he does not see how the Indians could avoid making the treaty with the English (p. 995).

The letters of caution, which Belcher was constantly writing (1731–1740) to Capt. Larrabee, in command at Fort George, Brunswick, indicate how unstable the peace was. (*N. E. Hist. & Gen. Reg.*, Apr., 1865, p. 129.) The continued danger from French intrigue is also shown in Colman's memoir, etc., in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vi. 109, and in the repeated conferences of the next few years: *Conference of his Excellency Governor Belcher with the chiefs of the Penobscot, Norridgewock, and Ameriscoggin tribes at Falmouth, July*, 1732. Boston, reprinted at London. (Haven in Thomas, ii. p. 428; Carter-

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[1] There were copies on large and small paper, and a few on drawing paper. Brinley, nos. 406, 407; *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan., 1866, p. 93; also see *Ibid.*, 1880, p. 382.

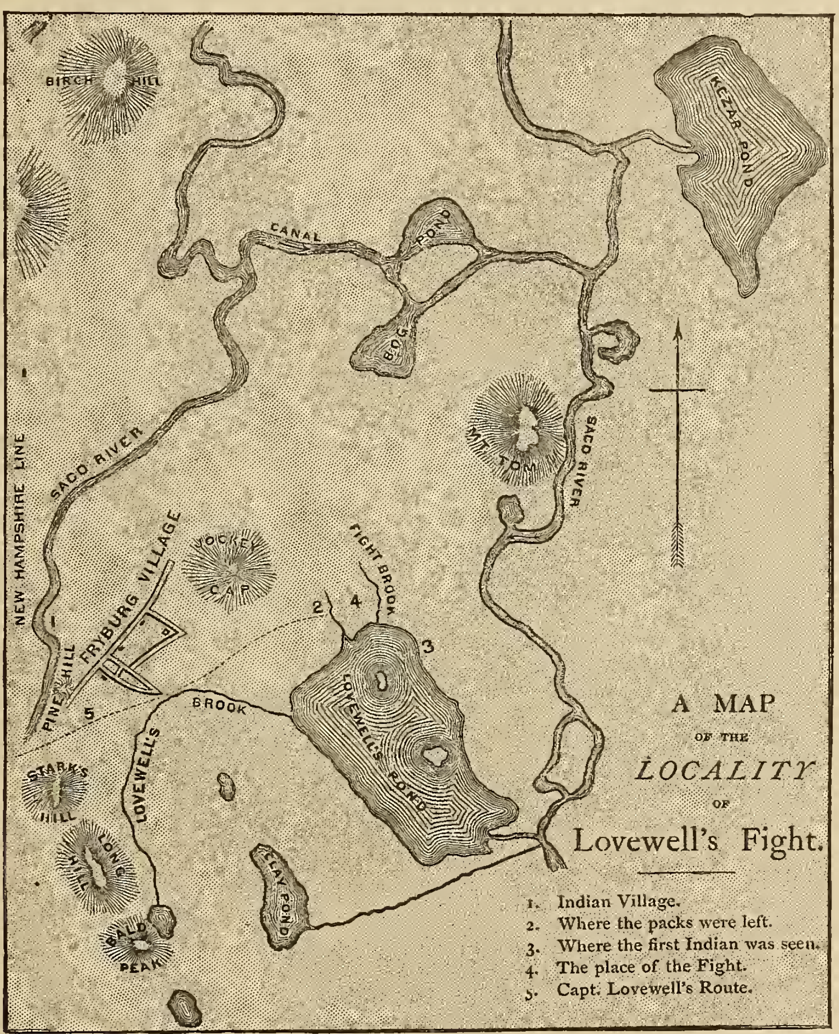
[2] Other accounts are in Penhallow, 107, and the edition of Dodge, app.; Niles in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxxv. 355, etc.; *N. Hampshire Prov. Papers*, iv. 168; *Worcester Mag.*, i. 20; *New Hampshire Book* (1844); Williamson's *Maine*, ii. 135; Daveis' *Centennial Address* (1825); Drake's *Book of the Indians*, book iii. ch. 9; Belknap, *New Hampshire*, 209; Palfrey, iv. 440; *Maine Hist. Coll.*, iv. 275, 290; Mason's *Dunstable;* Fox's *Dunstable*, p. 111; C. E. Potter, *Manchester, N. H.*, p. 145; S. A. Green, *Groton in the Indian Wars; Bay State Monthly*, Feb., 1884, p. 80. Dr. Belknap describes a visit to Lovewell's Pond in 1784 in *Belknap Papers*, i. 397–98; ii. 159. A list of the men making up Lovewell's company is in the *N. H. Adj. Genl. Rept.*, 1866, p. 46.

Various popular ballads commemorating the fight were printed in Farmer and Moore's *Hist. Coll.*, ii. 64, 94, and they are repeated in whole or in part in the Cincinnati (1859) edition of Penhallow, and in Kidder. Palfrey, etc.

Longfellow wrote a poem in the measure of Burns' *Bruce*, for the centennial celebration of the fight, May 19, 1825, and this was his first avowed poem. It has been reprinted in connection with Daniel Webster's youthful Fourth of July oration, delivered at Fryeburg, July 4, 1802, in the *Fryeburg Webster Memorial.*

Brown, iii. 482; Harv. Coll. lib., 5325.33; Brinley, i. no. 435.)

A Conference held at Deerfield, the 27th of August [to Sept. 1], 1735, *by his Excellency, Jonathan Belcher, and Ountaussoogoe and others*, etc. [Boston, 1735]. (Brinley, i. no. 437.) This tract is reprinted in the *Maine Hist. Coll.*, iv. 123.



LOVEWELL'S FIGHT.[1]

Conference with the Penobscots at the council chamber in Boston, June, 1736. (*Mass. Archives*, xxix. 317.)

The nine Penobscot chiefs who held this conference were lodged with one John Sale in Boston, who renders an account of his charges for twenty-four days' entertainment of them, which is suggestive. He charges for three half-pints of wine, per day, each; for twelve pence worth of rum per day, each; for 120 gallons of cider; for damage done in breaking of sash doors, frames of glass, China bowl, double decanter, and sundry glasses and mugs; for two gross of pipes and tobacco; for candles all night; for showing them the rope-dancers; for washing 49 of their "greasy shirts;" and "for cleaning and whitewashing two rooms after them." The following "memorandum" is attached: "They eat for the most part between 50 and 60 pounds of meat per day, beside milk, cheese, etc. The cider which they drank I sold for twelve shil lings per quart. Besides, they had beer when they pleased. And as for meat, they had the best, as I was ordered."

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[1] From the map in Bouton and Kidder.

Conference with the Penobscots and Norridgewocks, June 28–July 6, 1738. (*Mass. Archives*, xxix. 336.)

Conference with the Penobscots at the council chamber in Boston, Aug. 25–Sept. 2, 1740. (*Mass. Archives*, xxix. 364.)

Conference with the Penobscots, Dec. 3, 1741. (*Mass. Archives*, xxix. 376.)

"Projets sur la prise de l'Acadie, 1741." (Parkman MSS. in Mass. Hist. Soc., *New France*, i. p. 1.)

Conference held at the Fort at St. George in the County of York, the 4th of August, 1742, *between William Shirley, Governor, and the Chief Sachems and Captains of the Penobscott, Norridgewock, Pigwaket or Amiscogging or Saco, St. John's, Bescommonconty or Amerescogging and St. Francis tribes of Indians, August*, 1742. (Carter-Brown, iii. no. 703; Brinley, i. no. 440. Cf. Williamson, ii. 209.)

D. KING GEORGE'S, SHIRLEY'S, OR FIVE YEARS' WAR. — France had declared war against England, Mar. 15, 1744 (*Coll. de Manuscrits*, Quebec, iii. p. 196), and the capitulation of Canso had taken place, May 24. (*Ibid.*, iii. p. 201.) In July, 1744, Pepperrell and others, including some chiefs of the Five Nations, met the Penobscots at St. Georges and agreed to join in a treaty against the Cape Sable Indians. The Penobscots did not keep the appointment. War was declared against the Cape Sable and St. John's Indians, Oct. 19, 1744. The General Court of Massachusetts offered a reward for scalps; and a proclamation was made for the enlistment of volunteers, Nov. 2, 1744. (*Mass. Archives*, xxxi. 506, 514; printed in W. W. Wheildon's *Curiosities of History*, Boston, 1880, pp. 107, 109.)

The most brilliant event of the war was impending.

The French had begun the construction of elaborate defences at Louisbourg in 1720. A medal struck in commemoration of this beginning is described in the *Transactions* (1872–73, p. 75) of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

It has always been open to question from whom came the first suggestion of the expedition of 1745. The immediate incentive seems to have been a belief, prompted by the reports of prisoners released from Canso, that Louisbourg could be captured, if attacked before relief could reach it from France. Judge Robert Auchmuty, of Roxbury, developed a plan for the capture in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for July, 1745, — the same number in which was also printed the news of the attack and capture. When the paper was reprinted in a thin folio tract shortly afterwards, he or some one for him emphasized his claim to the suggestion in the title itself as follows: *The importance of Cape Breton to the British Nation, humbly represented by Robert Auckmuty* [sic], *Judge, &c., in New England. N. B. Upon the plan laid down in this representation the island was taken by Commodore Warren and General Pepperill the 14th of June*, 1745. London, 1745.[1]

R Auchmuty

It is claimed on behalf of William Vaughan that he suggested the expedition to Governor Wentworth, of New Hampshire, who in turn referred him to Governor Shirley. An anonymous tract, published in London in 1746, *The Importance and Advantage of Cape Breton truly stated and impartially considered*,[2] often assigned to William Bollan, and believed by some to have been inspired by Vaughan, says that Vaughan had "the honor of reviving, at least, if not of having been the original mover or projector," of the expedition, since it is claimed that Lieutenant-Governor Clarke, of New York,[3] had suggested the attack to the Duke of Newcastle as early as 1743. Douglass (*Summary*, etc., i. 348) says that Shirley was taken with the "hint or conceit" of Vaughan, "a whimsical, wild projector." Hutchinson says that Vaughan "was called the projector of the expedition," and Belknap accords him the priority in common report.[4] When Thomas Prince came to dedi-

W Vaughan

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[1] A tract of seven pages, — in Harvard College library. A paper of this title, as printed in the *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, v. 202, is dated "From my lodgings in Cecil Street, 9 April, 1744." An early MS. copy is in a volume of Louisbourg Papers in the Mass. Hist. Soc. library.

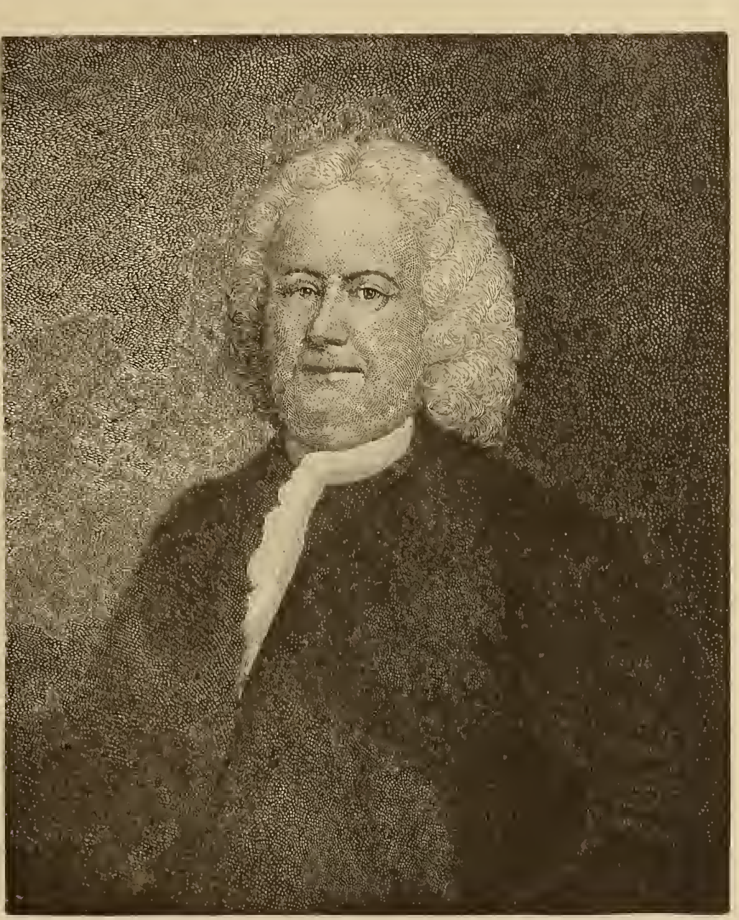
[2] Carter-Brown, iii. no. 823; Brinley, i. no. 70.

[3] See on the contribution of New York to the expedition, *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi. 284.

[4] Cf. William Goold on "Col. William Vaughan of Matinicus and Damariscotta," in the *Collections* (viii. p. 291) of the Maine Historical Society. S. G. Drake's *Five Years' French and Indian War* (Albany, 1870). Palfrey (*Compendious History of New England*, iv. 257) gives Vaughan the credit. Cf. Johnston's *Bristol, Bremen, and Pemaquid*, p. 290.

cate his sermon, preached on the Thanksgiving day following the triumph, he inscribed it to Shirley as the "principal former and promoter of the expedition:" but the language hardly claims the organization, though Shirley was generally recognized as the moving spirit in its final determination.[1]

The earliest account of this mettlesome enter-



PEPPERRELL.[2]

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[1] Cf. Chauncy's *Sermon* on the victory, p. 9; *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vii. 69. The Rev. Amos Adams, of Roxbury, in his *Concise History of New England*, etc. (Boston, reprinted in London, 1770), written at a time when "many of us remember the readiness with which thousands engaged themselves in that hazardous enterprise," credits Shirley with the planning of it.

[2] After a painting, now owned by Mrs. Anna H. C. Howard, of Brooklyn, N. Y., and which has descended from Pepperrell. (Cf. *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, iii. p. 358.) This likeness, painted in London in 1751 by Smibert, is also engraved in Parsons' *Life of Pepperrell*, in Drake's *Boston*, and in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Jan., 1866, where Dr. Parsons gives a genealogy of the Pepperrell family. There is in the *Memorial Hist. of Boston* (ii. 114) an engraving after an original full-length picture in the hall of the Essex Institute at Salem, — artist unknown. See also Higginson's *Larger History*, p. 188. A sword of Pepperrell is shown in the group of weapons engraved in Vol. III. p. 274. (Cf. *Catal. Cab. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, p. 123; *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, v. 373; and Parsons' *Life of Pepperrell*.) Views of the Pepperrell mansion at Kittery, where considerable state was kept, are given in Parsons (p. 329), and in a paper on Pepperrell by J. A. Stevens in the *Mag. of Amer. History*, vol. ii. 673. Cf. also Lamb's *Homes of America* (1879), and *Appleton's Journal*, xi. 65.

Wm Pepperrell

prise, which showed special research and opportunities, was that of Dr. Belknap in his *History of New Hampshire*, which was written in 1784, less than forty years after the event, and when he might have known some of the participants. The most important of the *Pepperrell Papers* had fallen into his hands, and he made good use of them, after which he deposited them in the cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society, where they now are, bound in two volumes, covering the years 1699-1779, but chiefly concerning the Louisbourg expedition. With them in the same depository are the *Belknap Papers*, three volumes,[1] as well as a composite volume, *Louisbourg Papers*, devoted entirely to the expedition.[2] Others of the scattered papers of Pepperrell have since been found elsewhere. Dr. Usher Parsons, in his *Life of Pepperrell*,[3] beside using what Belknap possessed, sifted a mass of papers found in an old shed on the Pepperrell estate. This lot covered the years 1696-1759, and some of them were scarcely legible. The mercantile letters and accounts among them yielded little, but there was a smaller

PEPPERRELL ARMS.[4]

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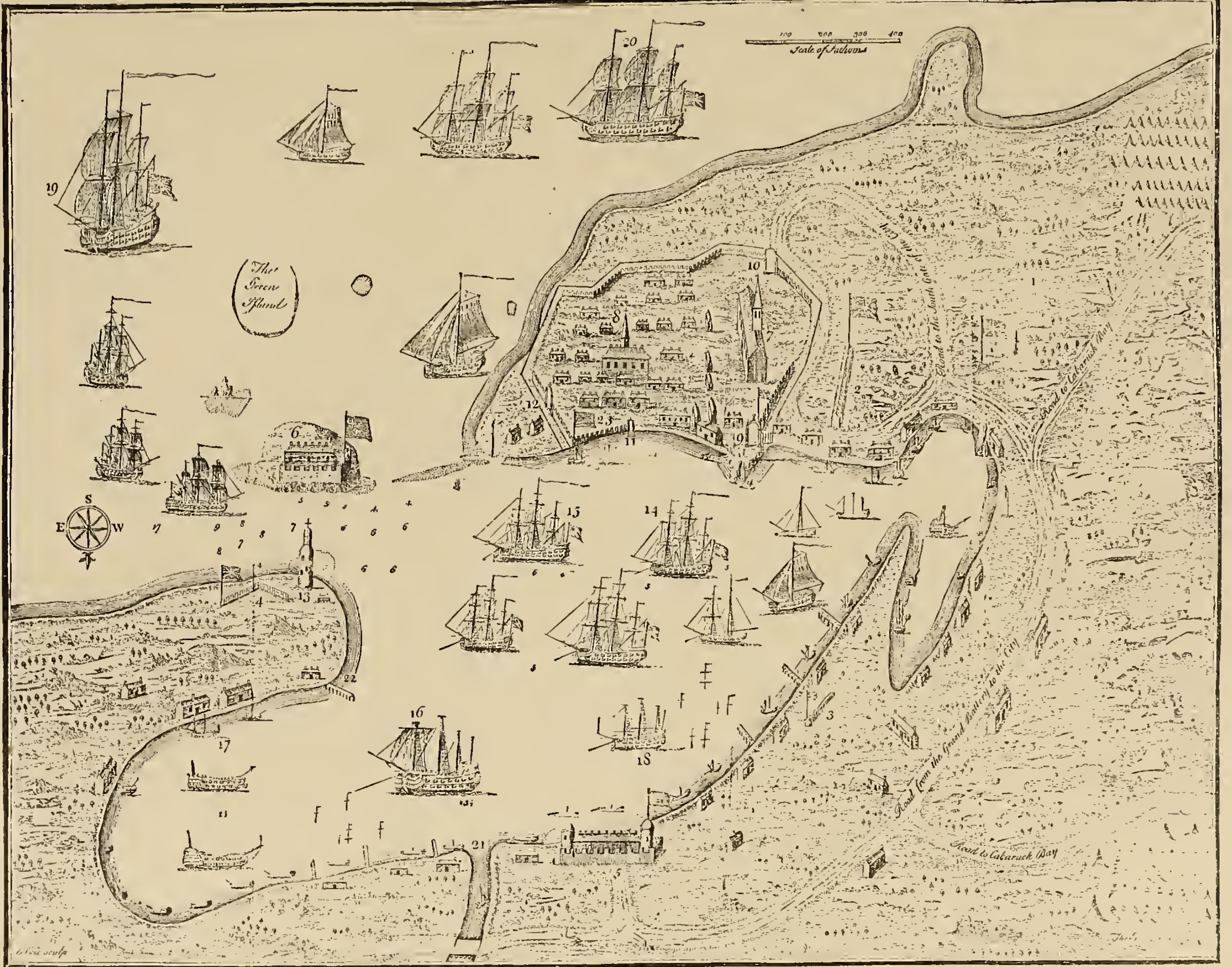
[1] A memorandum of Dr. Belknap, printed in the *Proceedings* of the Mass. Hist. Soc. (x. p. 313) shows as being in the cabinet of that society in 1792 the following sets of papers: Correspondence between Shirley and Wentworth, 1742-1753; between Shirley and Pepperrell, 1745-1746; between Pepperrell and Warren, 1745; between these last and the British ministry, 1745-1747; and between Pepperrell and persons of distinction throughout America, 1745-1747. These papers as now arranged cover the preparations for the siege, as well as its progress, and the events immediately succeeding. Pepperrell's letters are mostly drafts, in his own hand. The instructions from Shirley are dated Mar. 19 (p. 13). We find here "A register of all the Commissions" (p. 26); the notification of the capitulation, June 20 (p. 63). There are letters of Benning Wentworth, Com. Warren, Gen. Waldo, John Gorham, John Bradstreet, Arthur Noble, William Vaughan, John Rous, Robert Auchmuty, Ammi R. Cutter, N. Sparhawk, etc. There are also various letters of Benj. Colman, who from his relations to Pepperrell took great interest in the movement. (Cf. the Colman papers, 1697-1747, presented to the same society in 1793.) The editor of *N. H. Prov. Papers*, vol. v., prints various papers as from the "Belknap Papers" in the N. H. Hist. Society library. Cf. *Belknap Papers* (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*), i. 120.

[2] It contains manuscript books, bound together, which were in part the gift of the Hon. Daniel Sargent, and in part came from the heirs of Dr. Belknap. These books contain copies of the leading official papers of the expedition and capitulation, the records of the councils of war from Apr. 5, 1745, at Canso, to May 16, 1746, at Louisbourg, the letters of Pepperrell, Shirley, Warren, and others between Mar. 27, 1745, and May 30, 1746; records of consultation on board the "Superbe," Warren's flag-ship: with various other letters of Warren; several narratives and journals of the siege and later transactions at Louisbourg, some of them bearing interlineations and erasures as if original drafts; and papers respecting pilots and deserters. The writer of the diaries and narrative is given in one case only, that of an artillerist who records events between May 17 and June 16, 1745, and signs the name of Sergeant Joseph Sherburn. There are also some notes made at the battery near the Light-house beginning June 11.

[3] Boston and London, 1855-56, three editions. Sabin, xiv. no. 58,921.

[4] This cut of the Pepperrell arms is copied from one in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Nov., 1878, p. 684.



1: The Artillery of the Green Hill
2: The Fascine Battery Erected by ye English
3: A Battery of Five Guns
4: The Battery at ye Light House Erected by the English
5: The Grand Battery 35: Forty Two Pounders
6: The Island Battery 30 Odd Guns
7: The Citadel
8: The Hospital
9: The West Gate of the City
10: The South Gate of the City
11: The Kings Gate of the City
12: The East Gate of the City
13 The Light House

A Prospect of the City of Lewisbourg Also the Harbours and Garrisons On the
Island of Gaspey or Cape-Breton in North America.
Surrendered to the New England Land Troops On the 17 June 1745 after a Siege of 48 Days.
Sir General Pepperril Esq. Commander of the Land Troops
And Commodore Peter Warren Esq. Commander of His Majesties Fleet there to Guard ye Coast.

14: the Commodores Ship Superbe
15: the Vigilant a Man of War of 64 Guns taken by our Man of War
16: The Fire Ship
17: The Fire Scooner
18: The French Privateer of 16 Carriage Guns which the Day we landed by the French ready to sail
19 Capt. Clark Gayton
20 Capt. Edward Tyng
21 Here the Ships Water
22 The Kings Wharfe
23 The Iron Battery
24 The Circular Battery

body of Pepperrell's own letters and those of his correspondents, which proved of more or less historical value. Unremitting search yielded gain to Dr. Parsons in other directions. Some manuscripts coming from a Kittery house into the hands of Capt. Luther Dame, of Newburyport, were reported upon by Col. A. H. Hoyt in the *New England Hist. and Geneal. Reg.* (Oct., 1874, p. 451), in a paper afterwards reprinted by him, separately, with revision; but they throw no considerable light upon the Louisbourg siege. They would add little to what Parsons presents in chronologically arranged excerpts from letters and other records which make up his account of the expedition.[1]

Of all other contemporary accounts and aids, most, so far as known, have been put into print, though George Bancroft quotes a journal of Seth Pomeroy,[2] not yet in type; and there are papers which might still be gleaned in the *Mass. Archives*. There are in print the instructions of Shirley, and a correspondence between Pepperrell and Warren (*Mass. Hist. Collections*, i. 13-60); letters of Wentworth and Shirley on the plan of attack, and other letters of Shirley (*Provincial Papers of New Hampshire*, vol. v. pp. 931, 949, etc.); and many others of Pepperrell, Warren, Shirley, etc. (*Rhode Island Colonial Records*, vol. v.). The *Colonial Records of Connecticut* (vol. ix.) for this period give full details of the legislative enactment regarding the part that colony bore in the expedition; but the absence of most of the illustrative documents from her archives during that interval deprives us, doubtless, of a correspondence similar to that which is included in the Rhode Island printed *Records*.

Shirley's letters to Governor Thomas, of Penna., respecting the preparations for the Louisbourg expedition, are in *Penna. Archives*, i. 667, etc.

Stray letters and documents of some interest, but throwing no essential light upon historical events, are found in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, v. 88; xii. 263; xix. 225, etc.

Various accounts of the siege, of no great extent were published soon after its close. Chief among them was an *Accurate journal and account of the proceedings of the New England land forces, during the late expedition against the French settlements on Cape Breton to the time of the surrender of Louisbourg*, Exon, 1746 (40 pp.). The manuscript of this journal was sent to England by Pepperrell to his friend Capt. Henry Stafford; and as printed it was attested by Pepperrell, Brig.-General Waldo, Col. Moore, Lieut.-Col. Lothrop, and Lieut.-Col. Gridley.[3] This journal was printed, with some curious verbal differences, as an appendix to a *Letter from William Shirley, Esq., to the Duke of Newcastle, with a Journal of the Siege of Louisbourg*, London, 1746. It was by vote of the legislature, Dec. 30, 1746, reprinted in Boston, once by Rogers and Fowle, and again by J. Draper.[4] An account by Col. James Gibson, published in London in 1745, as a *Journal of the late siege by the troops of North America against the French at Cape Breton*,[5] contained a large engraved plan of the siege, of which a reduced fac-simile is annexed.[6] The narrative was edited in Boston in 1847 by Lo-

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[1] Other special accounts of Pepperrell are by Ward in the appendix of *Curwen's Journal* and in *Hunt's Merchants' Mag.*, July, 1858; *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Nov., 1878; Potter's *Amer. Monthly*, Sept., 1881.

[2] Seth Pomeroy's letter to his wife from Louisbourg, May 8, 1745, was first printed by Edward Everett in connection with his oration on "The Seven Years' War a School of the Revolution." Cf. his *Orations*, i. p. 402.

[3] Harv. Coll. library, 4375.46; Boston Pub. Library, 4417.27; Carter-Brown, iii. no. 824.

[4] Harv. Coll. lib., 4375.41, 5316.38; Haven in Thomas, ii. p. 489; Carter-Brown, iii. no. 585; Stevens, *Hist. Coll.*, i. nos. 815, 816. It again appeared as *An accurate and authentic account of the taking of Cape Breton in the year* 1745, London, 1758 (cf. Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,175; Stevens, *Bibl. Amer.*, 1885, £3 13*s.* 6*d.*), and in the *American Magazine*, 1746.

[5] Carter-Brown, iii. 801, 805. Gibson accompanied the prisoners as cartel-agent when they sailed for France, July 4, 1745.

[6] Of the vessels shown in this view the "Massachusetts" frigate (no. 20) was under the command of Edward Tyng, the senior of the provincial naval officers, who, acting under Shirley's commission, had found a merchantman on the stocks, which under Tyng's direction was converted into this cruiser of 24 guns. (*Mass. Hist. Coll.*, x. 181; Williamson's *Maine*, ii. 223; Preble's "Notes on Early Ship-Building," in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Oct., 1871, p. 363; Alden's *Epitaphs*, ii. 328; Drake's *Five Years' War*, 246.) Tyng had been a successful officer. The previous year he had captured a French privateer which, sailing from Louisbourg, had infested the bay, and on May 24, 1744, the town of Boston had thanked him.

Edw Tyng

John Rous.

The next ranking provincial naval officer was Capt. John Rous, or Rouse, who commanded the "Shirley Galley," a snow, or two-masted vessel, of 24 guns. Rouse had the previous year, in a Boston privateer, spread some consternation among the French fishing-fleet on the Grand Banks. It was this provincial craft and the renzo D. Johnson, under the misleading title *A Boston merchant of* 1745. Other diaries of the siege, of greater or less extent, have been printed, like Wolcott's,[1] in the *Collections* (vol. i.) of the Connecticut Historical Society; Curwen's in his letters (*Hist. Collections Essex Institute*, vol. iii. 186), and in his *Journal*, edited by Ward (p. 8); Craft's journal (*Hist. Coll. Essex Inst.*, iv. p. 181); that of Adonijah Bidwell, the chaplain of the fleet (*N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1873); and the folio tract entitled *A particular Account of the taking of Cape Breton by Admiral Warren and Sir William Pepperell, with a description of the place . . . and the articles of capitulation, By Philip Durell, Esq., Capt. of his majesty's ship* "*Superbe.*" *To which is added a letter from an officer of marines*, etc., etc., London, 1745. Durell's account is dated June 20, 1745, in Louisbourg harbor. Douglass gives the force by sea and land before Louisbourg. *Summary*, etc., i. 350.

A list of the commissioned officers of the expedition, drawn from the *Belknap Papers*, is edited by Charles Hudson in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Oct., 1870.[2] In *Ibid.*, April, 1868, a list of 221 names of the common soldiers had been printed; but in July, 1871, a much longer enumeration is made out by Mr. Hudson from the Pepperrell papers, the Council Records, and other sources. Potter in the *N. H. Adj.-General's Report*, ii. (1866, pp. 61–76), afterwards published as *Mil. Hist. of N. H.*, gives the New Hampshire rolls of Louisbourg soldiers.

On the occasion of a Thanksgiving (July 18, 1745) in Boston, two sermons preserve to us some additional if slight details. That of Thomas Prince, *Extraordinary events the doings of God and marvellous in pious eyes*, Boston and London, 1745 (Harv. Coll. lib., 4375.42 and 43), is mainly reprinted in S. G. Drake's *Five Years' French and Indian Wars*, p. 187; and that of the Rev. Charles Chauncy, the brother-in-law of Pepperrell, *Marvellous Things done by the right hand and holy arm of God in getting him the victory*, was printed both in Boston and London.[3]

The capture of Louisbourg and the question of the disposition of the island at the peace led to several expositions of its imagined value to the British Crown, among which may be named: —

The importance and advantage of Cape Breton considered, in a letter to a member of Parliament from an inhabitant of New England, London, 1746. (Brinley, no. 69.) This is signed "Massachusettensis."[4]

Two letters concerning some farther advantages and improvements that may seem necessary to be made on the taking and keeping of Cape Breton, London, 1746. (Carter-Brown, iii. no. 822.)

The importance and advantage of Cape Breton, truly stated and impartially considered. With proper maps, London, 1746. (Carter-Brown, iii.

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royal ship the "Mermaid," of 40 guns, Capt. James Douglas, which captured the French man-of-war the "Vigilant," 64 guns (no. 15), as she was approaching the coast. (Drake's *Five Years' War*, App. C.) Douglas was transferred to the captured ship, and a requisition was made upon the colonies to furnish a crew to man her. (Corresp., etc., in *R. I. Col. Rec.*, v.) Capt. William Montague was put in command of the "Mermaid," and after the surrender she sailed, June 22, for England with despatches, arriving July 20. Duplicate despatches were sent by Rouse in the "Shirley Galley," which sailed July 4. The British government took the "Shirley Galley" into their service and commissioned Rouse as a royal post-captain. This vessel disappears from sight after 1749, when Rouse is found in command of a vessel in the fleet which brought Cornwallis to Chebucto (Halifax). At the time of Rouse's death at Portsmouth, Apr. 3, 1760, he was in command of the "Sutherland," 50 guns. (Charnock, *Biographia Navalis;* Isaac J. Greenwood's "First American built vessels in the British navy," in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Oct., 1866, p. 323. There are notes on Rouse, with references, in *Hist. Mag.*, i. 156, and *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 59; cf. also Drake's *Five Years' French and Indian War*, p. 240, and *Nova Scotia Docs.*, ed. by Akins, p. 225.) Preble (*N. E. H. and Gen. Reg.*, 1868, p. 396) collates contemporary authorities for a precise description of a "galley." Such a ship was usually a "snow," as the largest two-masted vessels were often called, and would seem to have carried all her guns on a continuous deck, without the higher tiers at the ends, which was customary with frigates built low only at the waist.

The "Cæsar," of 20 guns, was commanded by Capt. Snelling, the third ranking provincial officer.

[1] Gov. Wolcott, of Connecticut, wrote to Gov. Hamilton, of Pennsylvania, that the secret of the success of the Louisbourg expedition lay in the fact that the besiegers were freeholders and the besieged mercenaries. (*Pa. Archives*, ii. p. 127.)

[2] Petitions of one Capt. John Lane, who calls himself the first man wounded in the siege, are in the Mass. Archives, and are printed in the *Hist. Mag.*, xxi. 118.

[3] Carter-Brown, iii. nos. 796, 805. Cf. Samuel Niles, *A brief and plain essay on God's wonder-working Providence for New England in the reduction of Louisbourg*. N. London (T. Green), 1747. This is in verse. (Sabin, xiii. 55,330.)

[4] Burrows (*Life of Lord Hawke*, p. 341) says of this tract: "Few papers convey a more accurate description of contemporary opinion on the colonial questions disputed between Great Britain and France in the last century."

no. 823.) The maps follow those of Bellin in Charlevoix. Its authorship is usually ascribed to William Bollan. (Sabin, ii. 6,215.)

The great importance of Cape Breton demonstrated and exemplified by extracts from the best writers, French and English, London, 1746. This is a plea against the surrender of it to the French. It is dedicated to Governor Shirley, and contains Charlevoix's map and plan. (Carter-Brown, iii. no. 821.)

An accurate description of Cape Breton, Situation, Soil, Ports, etc., its Importance to France, but of how much greater it might have been to England; with an account of the taking of the city by the New England forces under General Pepperell in 1745, London, 1755.

Memoir of the principal transactions of the last war between the English and French in North America, from 1744 *to the conclusion of the treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle, containing in particular an account of the importance of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton to both nations* (3d ed., London, reprinted, Boston, 1758.)

Douglass (*Summary*, etc.), the general historian nearest the time, was an eager opponent of Shirley, and in his account of the expedition he ascribes to good luck the chief element in its success. He calls it "this infinitely rash New England Corporation adventure, though beyond all military or human probability successful." (*Summary*, etc., 1751, ii. p. 11.) "Fortified towns are hard nuts to crack, and your teeth have not been accustomed to it," wrote Benjamin Franklin from Philadelphia to his brother in Boston. (*Franklin's Works*, vii. 16.)[1]

Accounts of the expedition enter necessarily into the more general narratives, like those of Hutchinson (*Mass. Bay*); Chalmers (*Revolt*, etc.); Minot (*Massachusetts*); Gordon (*Amer. Rev.*); Marshall (*Washington*); Bancroft (*United States*); Grahame (*United States*); Williamson (*Hist. of Maine*); Murdoch (*Nova Scotia*, ii. ch. 5); Haliburton (*Nova Scotia*); Stone (*Sir Wm. Johnson*, vol. i.); Palfrey (*Compendious Hist. of New England*, iv. ch. 9); Bury (*Exodus of the Western Nations*, ii. ch. 6); Gay (*Pop. Hist. United States*); Drake (*Boston*). The *Memorial Hist. Boston* (ii. 117) and Barry's *Massachusetts* (ii. 140, etc.) give numerous references. Joel T. Headley has a popular narrative in *Harper's Monthly*, xxviii. p. 354. Garneau (*Hist. du Canada*, 4th ed., ii. 190) offers the established French account. Cf. *Lettre d'un habitant de Louisbourg contenant une relation exacte de la prise de l'Ile Royale par les Anglais*, Quebec, 1745. (Sabin, x. no. 40,671.)[2]

The present condition of the site of Louisbourg is described by Parsons (*Life of Pepperrell*, 332); by Parkman (*Montcalm and Wolfe*); by J. G. Bourinot in his "The old forts of Acadia" in *Canadian Monthly*, v. 369; and in the *Canadian Antiquarian*, iv. 57.

Maps, both French and English, showing the fortifications and harbor of Louisbourg are numerous.

Both editions of Charlevoix's *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, the duodecimo in six volumes, and the quarto in three volumes issued in 1744, the year before the siege, have plans of Louisbourg and its fortifications, and the same are reproduced in Dr. Shea's translation of Charlevoix. They are the work of Nicholas Bellin, and to the same draughtsman belongs *Le Petit Atlas Maritime*, 1764, in the volume of which devoted to North America, there are other (nos. 23, 24) plans of the harbor and fortifications.

Following French sources is a *Plan des fortifications de Louisbourg*, published at Amsterdam by H. de Leth about 1750. A "Plan special de Louisbourg" is also to be found on the map published by N. Visscher at Amsterdam, called "*Carte Nouvelle contenant la partie de l'Amérique la plus septentrionale.*"

Among the French maps is one "levé en 1756," after a plan of Louisbourg, preserved in the Dépôt des Cartes de la Marine in Paris. This appeared in 1779 in the *Neptune Americo-Septentrional,* "publiée par ordre du Roi;" and another, dated 1758, "levé par le chev. de la Rigaudiere," was accompanied by a view, of which there is a copy in the *Mass. Archives; Docs. collected in France, Atlas,* ii. 5. In this last (composite) Atlas (ii. nos. 44, 45) are maps of the town and harbor, and a large plan of the fortifications, marked "Tome i. no. 23," which can probably be identified.

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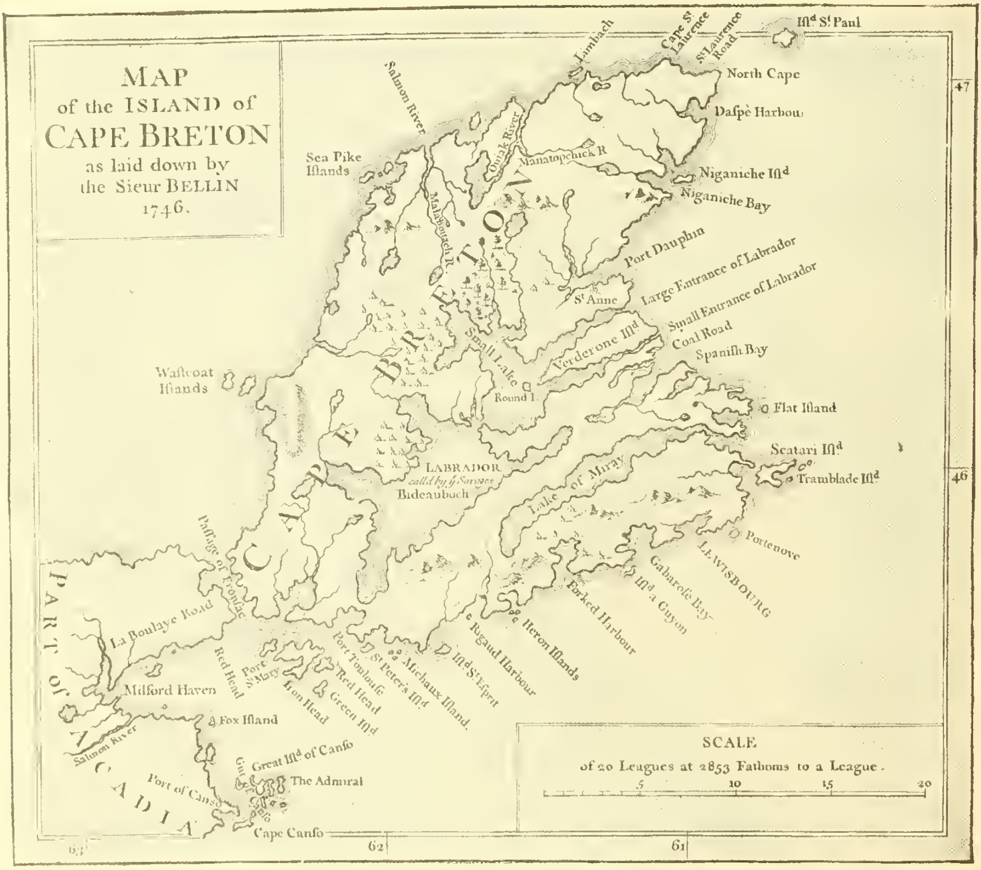
[1] "A train of favorable, unforeseen, and even astonishing events facilitated the conquest," says Amos Adams in his *Concise Hist. of New England*, etc. Palfrey in his review of Mahon speaks of it as "one of the wildest undertakings ever projected by sane people." Whatever the fortuitous character of the conquest, there was an attempt made in England to give the chief credit of it to Warren, who never landed a marine during its progress. This assumption was violently maintained in the debates in Parliament at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. The question is examined by Stone in his *Life of Johnson*, i. 152, who also, p. 58, gives an account of Warren and his residence in New York. English statesmen were not so instructed later, but that Lord John Russell, in his introduction to the *Bedford Correspondence*, i. p. xliv., could say: "Commodore Warren, having been despatched by the Duke of Bedford for that purpose, took Louisbourg."

P Warren

[2] The French record of some of the principal official documents is in the *Collection de Manuscrits* (Quebec), vol. iii., such as the summons of May 7, the declination of May 18 (pp. 220, 221), the papers of the final surrender and exchange of prisoners (pp. 221–236, 265, 314, 377), and De Chambon's account of the siege, written from Rochefort, Sept. 2, 1745 (p. 237).



CAPE BRETON, 1746.[1]

Richd. Gridley

Richard Gridley,[2] of Massachusetts Bay, who was present as an officer of the artillery, made a plan of the fortifications after the surrender, and this, called a *Plan of the City and Fortifications of Louisbourg from surveys made by Richard Gridley in* 1745, was engraved and published

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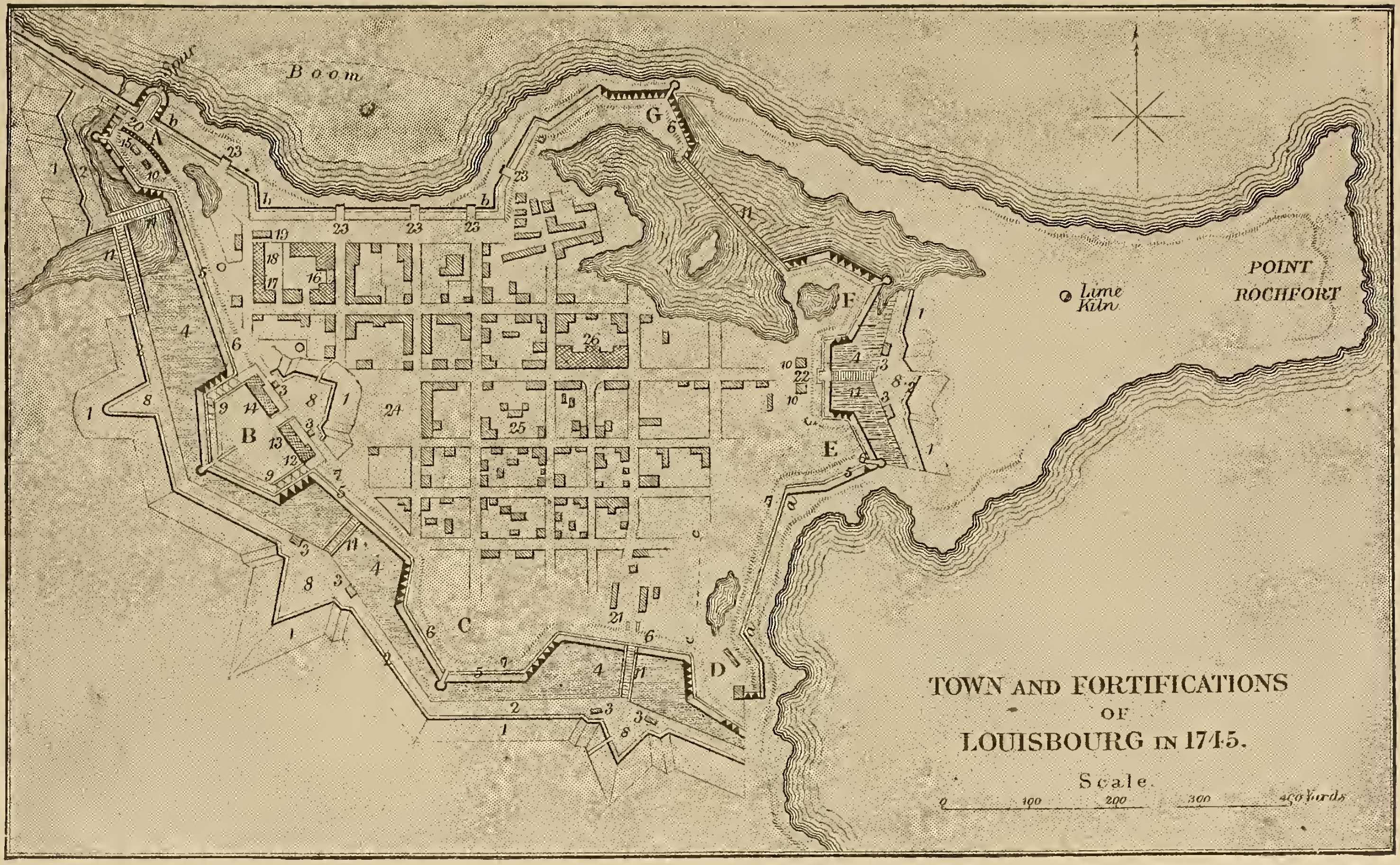
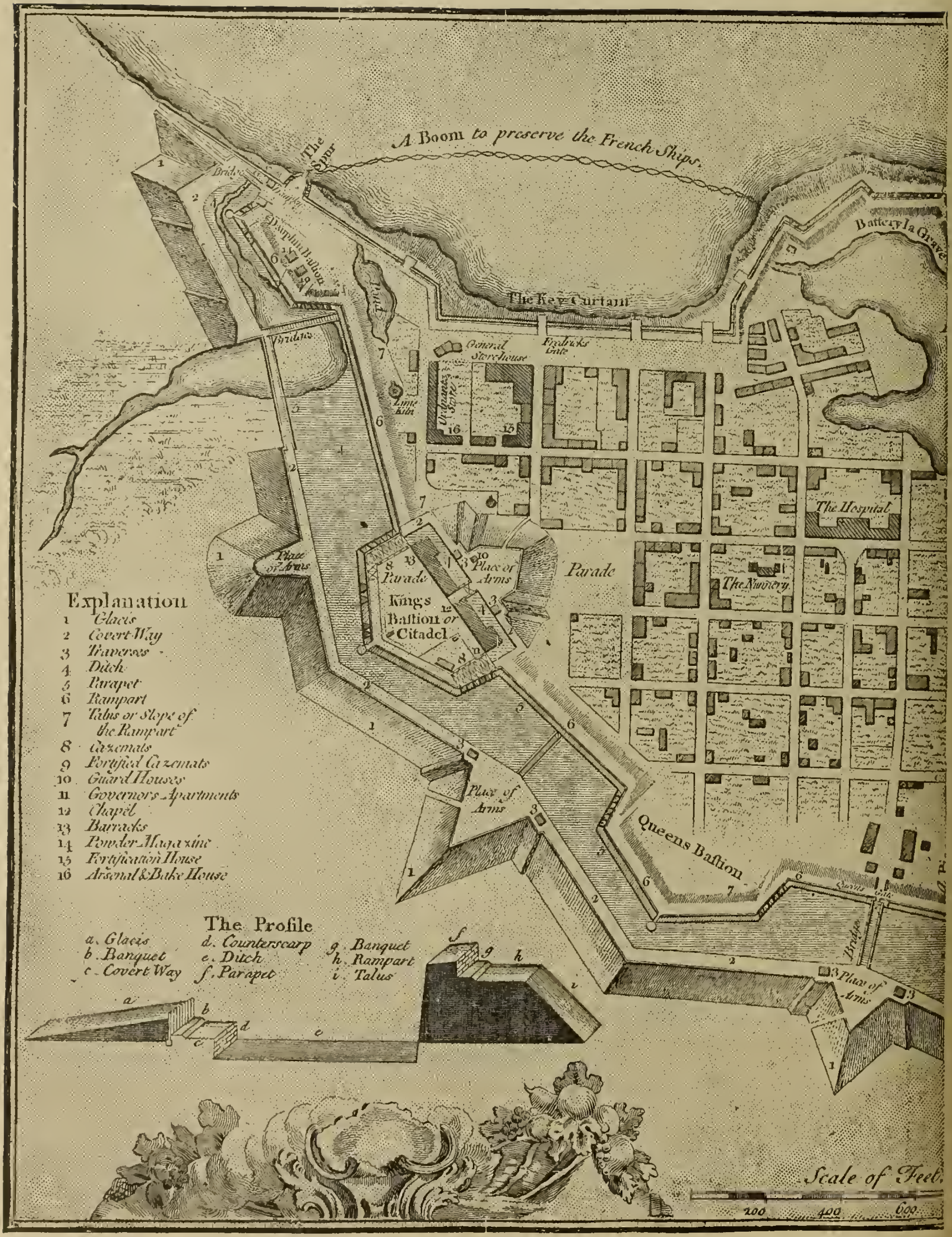
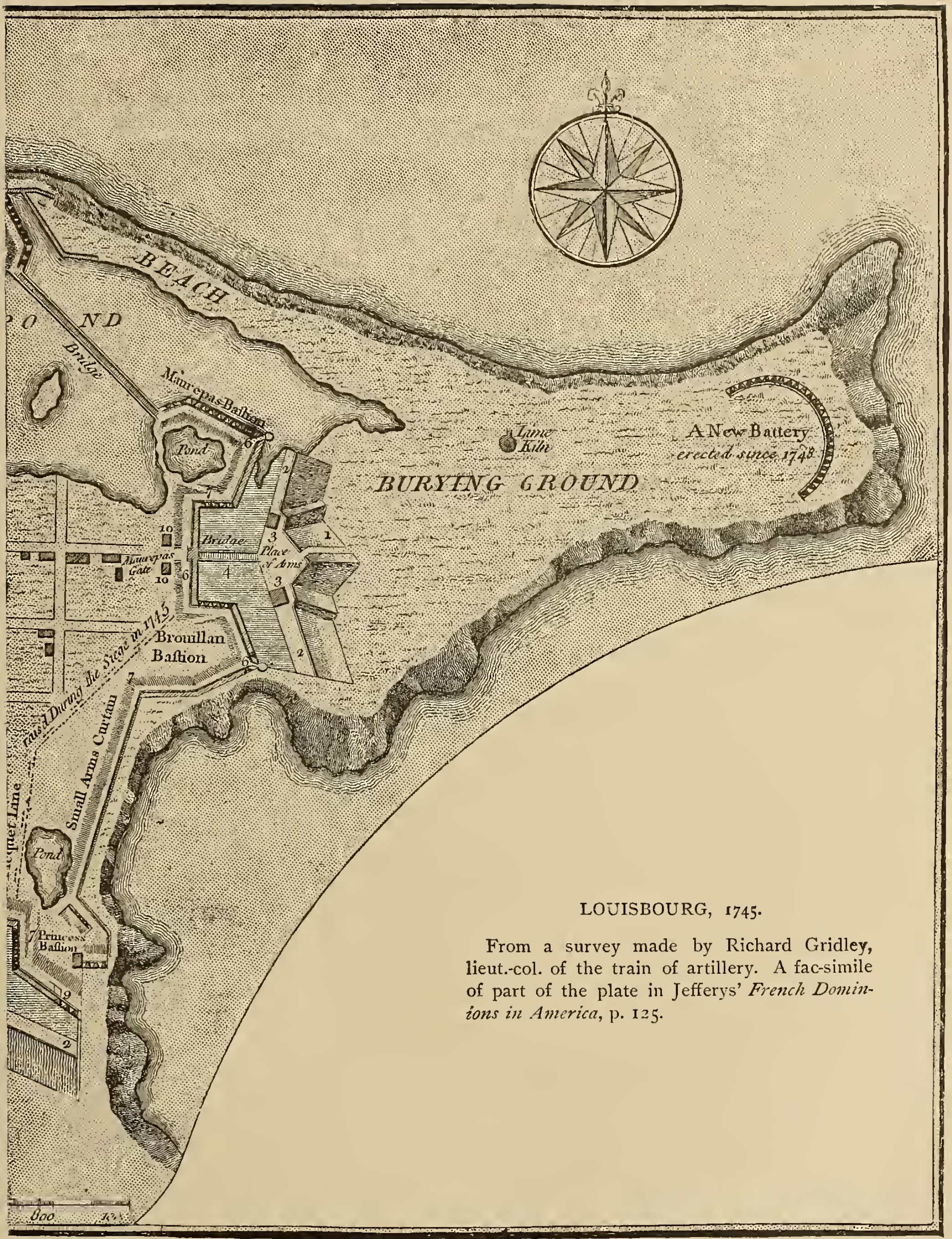
[1] Reduced fac-simile of the "Map of the Island of Cape Breton as laid down by the Sieur Bellin, 1746," annexed to *The Importance and Advantage of Cape Breton, truly stated and impartially considered,* London, 1746. A general map of the island of Cape Breton, with Bellin's name attached, is found in the several editions of Charlevoix and in the *Petit Atlas maritime, par le S. Bellin,* 1764. The earliest more elaborate survey of this part of the coast was the one published by J. F. W. Des Barres, in 1781, in four sheets, *The South East Coast of Cape Breton Island, surveyed by Samuel Holland.* A map by Kitchen was published in the *London Mag.,* 1747.

[2] Inquiry has not disclosed that any portrait of Gridley exists.



GRIDLEY'S PLAN AS REDUCED IN BROWN'S CAPE BRETON.


A Boom to preserve the French Ships.
The Spur
Bridge
Dauphin
Dauphin Bastion
Battery la Grave
The Key Curtain
General Store house
Fredricks Gate
Ordnance Store
Lime Kiln
Bridge
Place of Arms
Parade
Kings Bastion or Citadel
Place or Arms
Parade
The Hospital
The Nunnery
Place of Arms
Queens Bastion
Quay
Bridge
Place of Arms
Explanation
1 Glacis
2 Covert Way
3 Traverses
4 Ditch
5 Parapet
6 Rampart
7 Talus or Slope of the Rampart
8 Cazemats
9 Fortified Cazemats
10 Guard Houses
11 Governors Apartments
12 Chapel
13 Barracks
14 Powder Magazine
15 Fortification House
16 Arsenal & Bake House
The Profile
a. Glacis
b. Banquet
c. Covert Way
d. Counterscarp
e. Ditch
f. Parapet
g. Banquet
h. Rampart
i. Talus
Scale of Feet
200
400
600

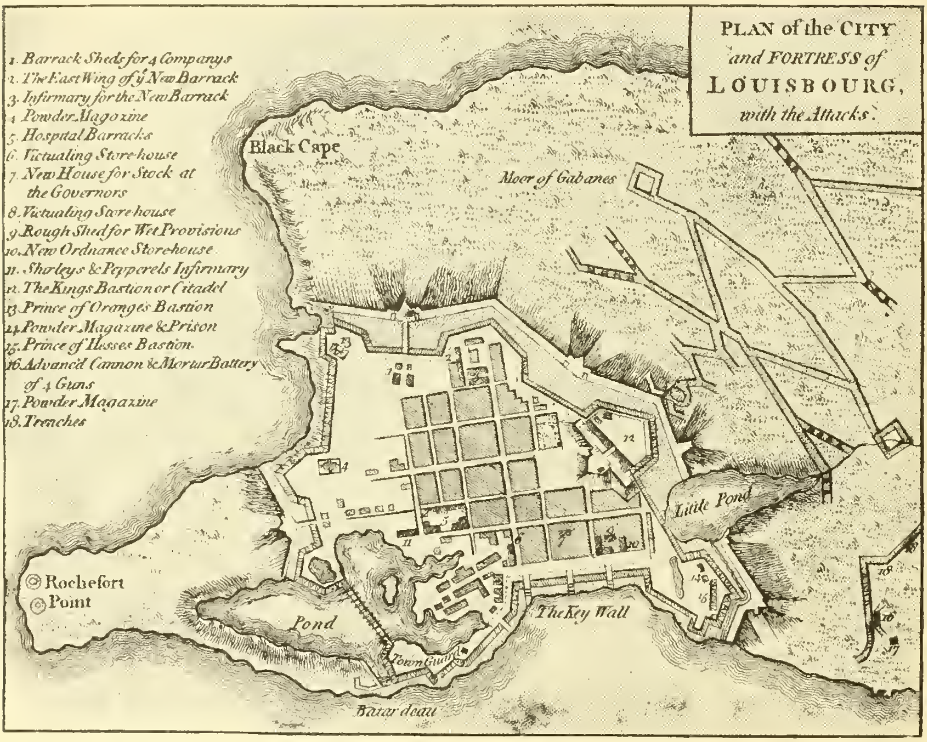


LOUISBOURG, 1745.

From a survey made by Richard Gridley, lieut.-col. of the train of artillery. A fac-simile of part of the plate in Jefferys' *French Dominions in America*, p. 125.

by Jefferys, in 1758, and was used by him in his *History of the French Dominions in America*, London, 1760 (p. 124), and in his *General Topography of North America and the West Indies*, London, 1768 (no. 25).[1]

9, 9, etc. Casemates.
10, 10, etc. Guard houses.
11, 11, etc. Wooden bridges.
12. Governor's apartments.
13. Church.
14. Barracks.


PLAN of the CITY and FORTRESS of LOUISBOURG, with the Attacks.
1. Barrack Sheds for 4 Companys
2. The East Wing of ye New Barrack
3. Infirmary for the New Barrack
4 Powder Magazine
5. Hospital Barracks
6. Victualing Store-house
7. New House for Stock at the Governors
8. Victualing Store-house
9 Rough Shed for Wet Provisions
10. New Ordnance Store-house
11. Shirleys & Pepperels Infirmary
12. The Kings Bastion or Citadel
13 Prince of Oranges Bastion
14 Powder Magazine & Prison
15. Prince of Hesses Bastion.
16 Advanc'd Cannon & Mortar Battery of 4 Guns
17. Powder Magazine
18. Trenches
Black Cape
Moor of Gabanes
Little Pond
Rochefort Point
Pond
The Key Wall
Town Guard
Batardeau

LOUISBOURG (*Set of Plans, etc.*)

Gridley's surveys have been the basis of many of the subsequent English plans. The draught reduced from Gridley in Richard Brown's *History of the Island of Cape Breton* (London, 1869) is herewith given in fac-simile, and is understood by the following key: —

A. Dauphin bastion and circular battery.
B. King's bastion and citadel.
C. Queen's bastion.
D. Princess' bastion.
E. Bourillon bastion.
F. Maurepas bastion.
G. Batterie de la Gréve.
1, 1, etc. Glacis.
2, 2, etc. Covered way.
3, 3, etc. Traverses.
4, 4, etc. Ditch.
5, 5, etc. Parapet.
6, 6, etc. Ramparts.
7, 7, etc. Slopes of same.
8, 8, etc. Places of arms.
15. Powder magazine.
16. Fortification house.
17. Arsenal and bakehouse.
18. Ordnance.
19. General storehouse.
20. West gate.
21. Queen's gate.
22. East gate.
23. Gates in quay curtain (*b. b b.*).
24. Parade.
25. Nunnery.
26. Hospital and church.
a. a. Palisade, with ramparts for small arms.
c. c. Picquet (raised during the siege).

Another plan of an early date is one, likewise annexed, which appeared in *A set of plans and forts in America, reduced from actual surveys*, 1763, and published in London.[2] The plan which George Bancroft added to his *History of the United States*, in one of the early editions, was used again by Parsons in his *Life of Pep-*

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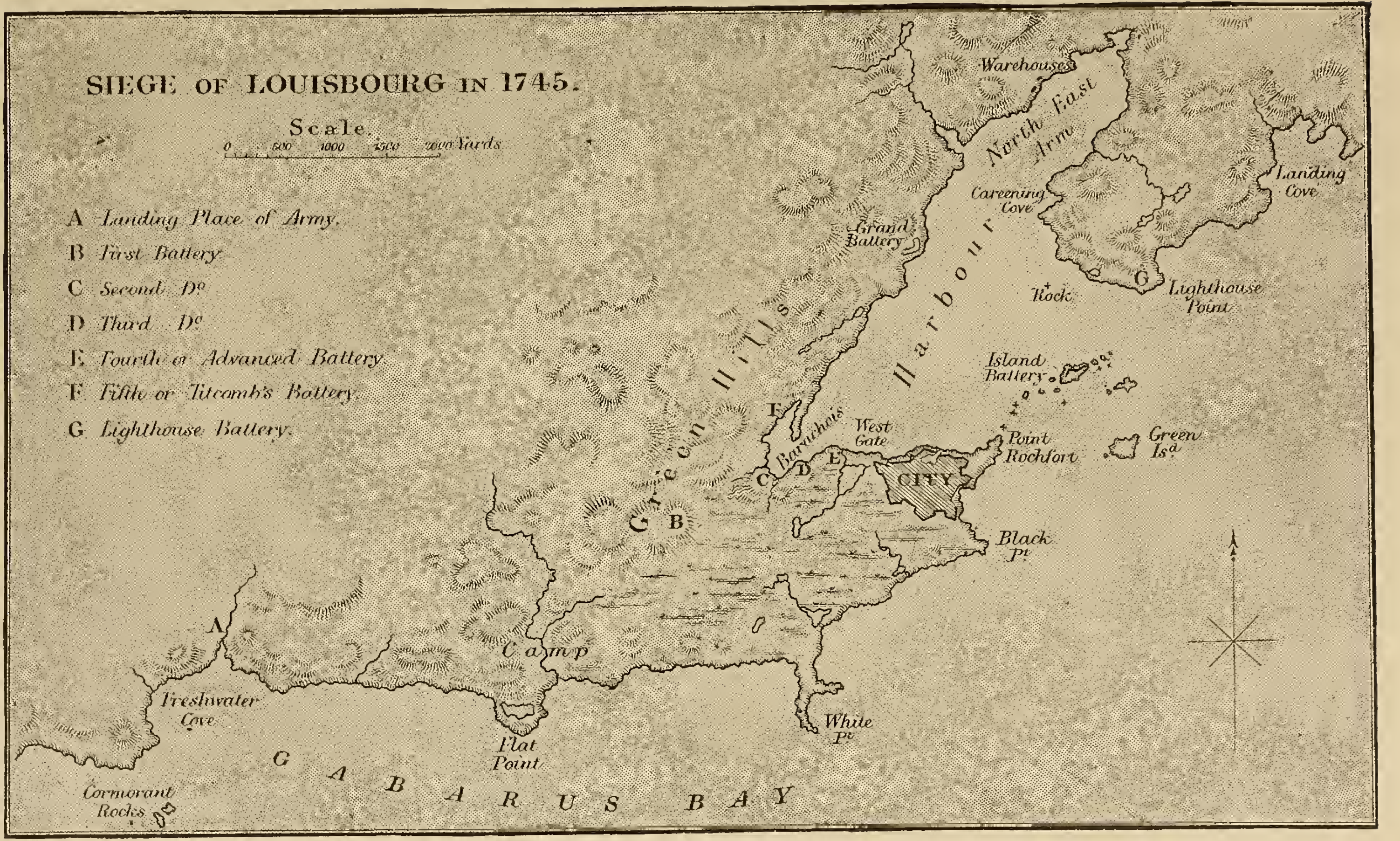
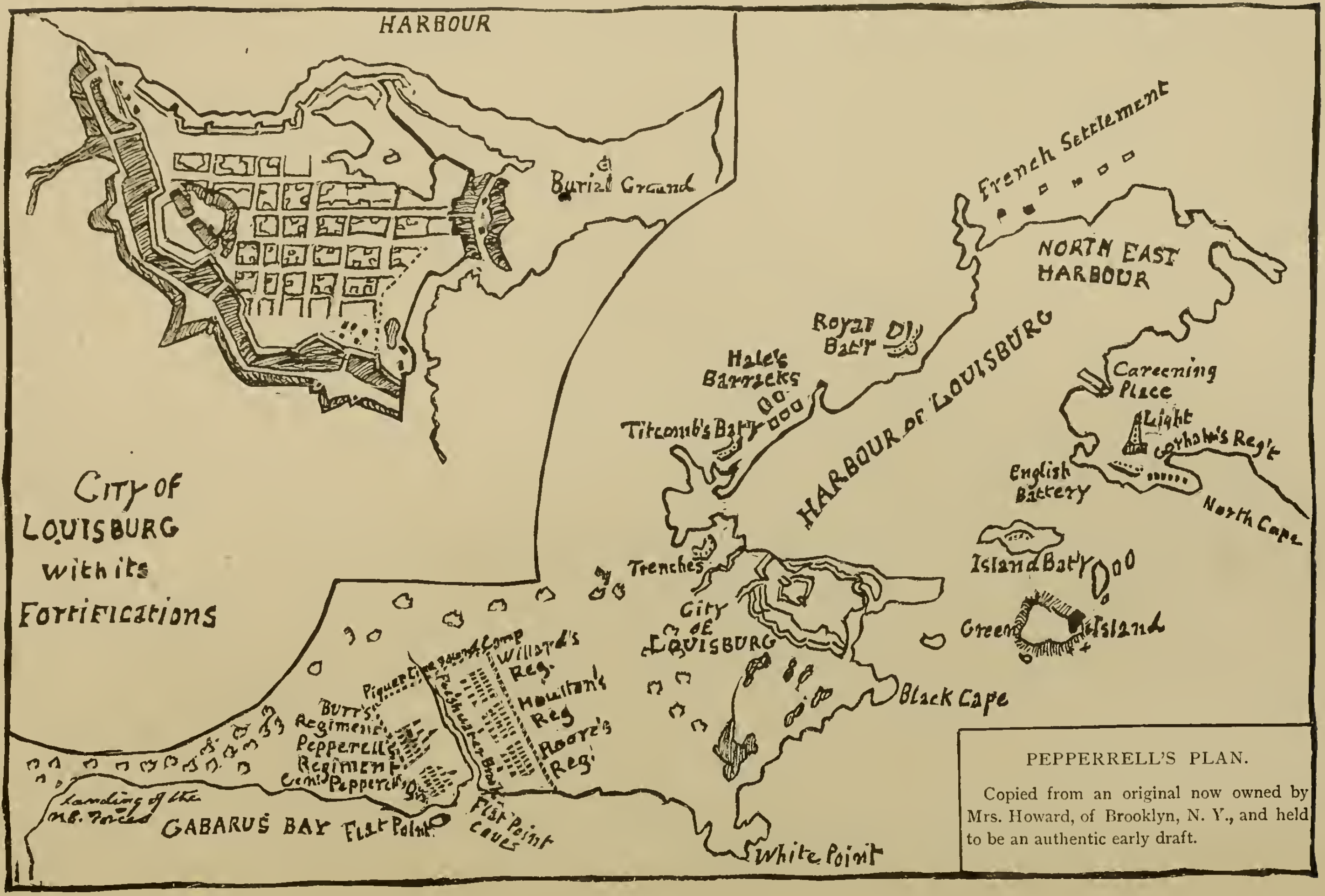
[1] Both of these works contain another map, *Plan of the City and Harbour of Louisbourg, showing the landing place of the British in* 1745 *and* 1758, *and their encampment in* 1758.

[2] The *Carter-Brown Catalogue* (iii. no. 1469) gives the date of publication 1765, and assigns its publication to "Mary Ann Rocque, topographer to his Royal Highness, the Duke of Gloucester."

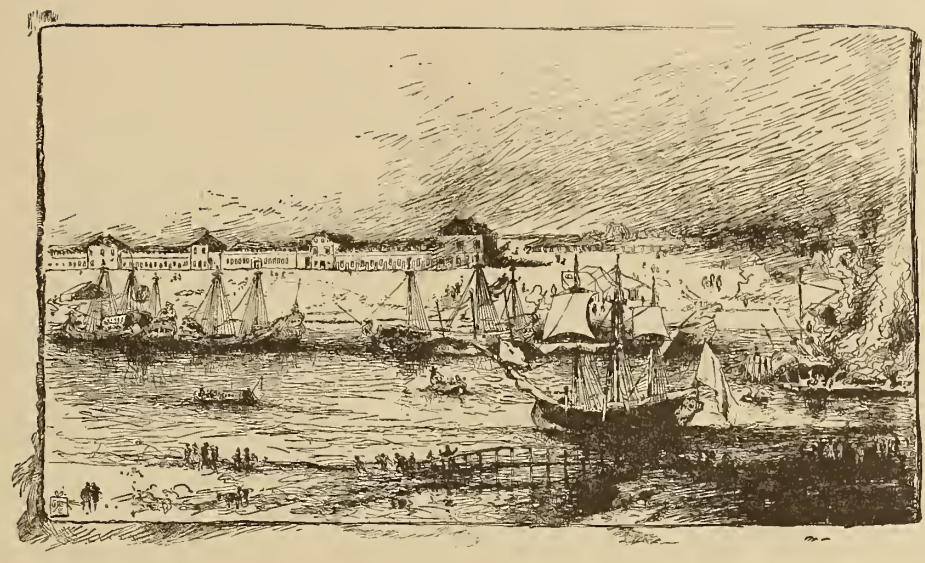


FROM BROWN'S CAPE BRETON.



PEPPERRELL'S PLAN.

Copied from an original now owned by Mrs. Howard, of Brooklyn, N. Y., and held to be an authentic early draft.



VIEW OF LOUISBOURG.[1]

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[1] A reduced sketch from a painting owned by Mrs. Anna H. C. Howard of Brooklyn, N. Y., which came to her by descent from Sir William Pepperrell. The canvas is very dark and obscure, and the artist may have missed some of the details, particularly of the walls along the shore. The point of view seems to be from the northwest side of the interior harbor, near the bridge (seen in the foreground), which spans one of the little inlets, as shown in some of the maps. This position is near what are called "Hale's Barracks" in the draft of the town and harbor on the preceding page. The dismantled ships along the opposite shore are apparently the French fleet, while an English ship is near the bridge.

The following letter describes the present condition of the ground:—

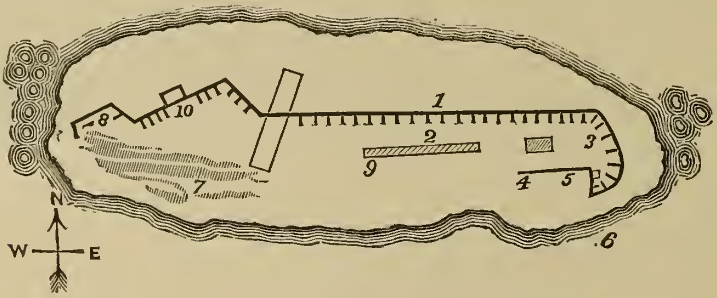
BOSTON, June 4, 1886.

MY DEAR MR. WINSOR, — It gives me great pleasure to comply with your request, and to give my recollections of Louisburg as seen in September last.

The historical town of that name, or rather the ruin of the old fortress, lies perhaps three miles from the modern town, which is a small village, situated on the northeasterly side of the bay or harbor. The inhabitants of the neighborhood live, for the most part, by fishing and other business connected with that branch of industry, eking out their livelihood by the cultivation of a rocky and barren soil. The road from the village to the old fortress runs along the western shore of the bay, passing at intervals the small houses of the fishermen and leaving on the left the site of the Royal Battery, which is still discernible. This was the first outpost of the French taken at the siege, and its gallant capture proved subsequently to be of the greatest service to the English. From this point the ruins of the fortress begin to loom up and show their real character. Soon the walls are reached, and the remains of the former bastions on the land side are easily recognized. This land front is more than half a mile in length, and stretches from the sea on the left to the bay on the right, forming a line of works that would seem to be impregnable to any and all assaults. From its crown a good idea can be gained of the size of the fortifications, which extend in its entire circuit more than a mile and a half in length, and inclose an area of a hundred and twenty acres, more or less. The public buildings within the fortress were of stone, and, with the help of a guide, their sites can easily be made out. The burying-ground, on the point of land to the eastward, where hundreds of bodies were buried, is still shown; and the sheep and cattle graze all unconscious of the great deeds that have been done in the neighborhood. Taken all in all, the place is full of the most interesting associations, and speaks of the period when the sceptre of power in America was balancing between France and England; and Louisburg forms to-day the grandest ruin in this part of the continent.

Very truly yours, SAMUEL A. GREEN.

perrell. It follows an English plan procured by Mr. Bancroft in London, and closely resembles the sketch owned by a descendant of Pepperrell, and herewith given. Haliburton in his *History of Nova Scotia* gives a similar plan, as well as a draught of the harbor. The plan of the town and the vicinity which is given by Brown in his *Cape Breton* is also reproduced herewith. The earliest of the more elaborate charts of the harbor is that published by Des Barres in Oct., 1781. We find a rude sketch of the Island battery in *Curwen's Journal* as edited by Ward (Boston, 4th ed, 1864), which was sent by that observer from Louisbourg, July 25, 1745. A reproduction of this sketch, herewith given, needs the following key:—



PLAN OF ISLAND BATTERY.

"The embrasures in the front are not more than three feet above the ground.

1. Fronting mouth of harbor: 22 embrasures; 21 guns, 36 and 48 pounders.
2. Barracks.
3. Sally-ports.
4. Wall framed of timber, and covered with plank, and filled with stone and lime, in which is an embrasure with a 48 pounder.
5. Wall, defended with two small swivels.
6. The place at which whale-boats might easily land 500 men.
7. One entire rock, perpendicular on the face, and absolutely impossible to be climbed.
8. Piquet of large timber, fastened by iron clamps, drilled into the solid rock.
9. Commandant's apartment, five feet high.
10. The gate under the wall, about four feet wide, formed like a common sally-port; not straight, but made an angle of 160 degrees. Ten men can prevent ten hundred making their way; this wall has but four guns and two swivels.

"I paced the island, and judged it to be about 56 yards wide and 150 long at the widest part, nearly."

There is in the *Collections* of the Maine Hist. Soc. (viii. p. 120) a life of Lieut.-Col. Arthur Noble, who, by order of Brigadier Waldo, led on May 23 the unsuccessful attack on this battery.

The *Catalogue of the king's maps in the British Museum* (vol. i. 718, etc.) shows plans of the town and fortifications (1745) in MS. by Durell and Bastide; others of the town and harbor (1755) by William Green; with views by Bastide (1749), Admiral Knowles (1756), Ince (1758, engraved by Canot, 1762), and Thomas Wright (1766).

Jefferys also published in copperplate *A view of the landing of the New England forces in the expedition against Cape Breton*, 1745. (Carter-Brown, iii. p. 335.) A copy of this print belongs to Dr. John C. Warren of Boston.

Three months after the fall of Louisbourg there was another treaty with the eastern Indians, Sept. 28 — Oct. 22, 1745. (*Mass. Archives*, xxix. 386.) The renewed activity of the French is shown in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. p. 3.

A little later, Dec. 12, 1745, Shirley made his first speech to the Massachusetts Assembly after his return to Boston, and communicated the King's thanks for "setting on foot and executing the late difficult and expensive enterprise against Cape Breton."[1]

The next event of importance in the Acadian peninsula was the attack of the French upon an English post, which is known as the "battle of Minas."

The English accounts (*Boston Weekly Post Boy*, March 2 and 9, 1747), which give the date Jan. 31, old style, and the French (official report), Feb. 11, new style, are edited by Dr. O'Callaghan with the articles of capitulation, in the *New Eng. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, April, 1855, p. 107. For general references see Haliburton's *Nova Scotia*, ii. 132; Williamson's *Maine*, ii. 250; Hannay (p. 349) and the other histories of Nova Scotia.

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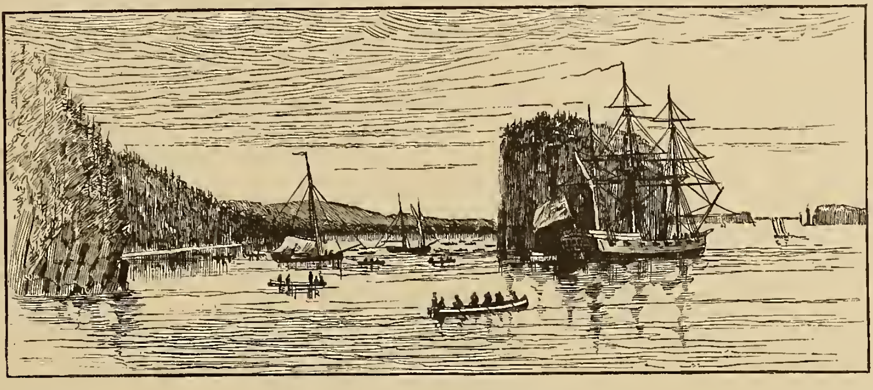
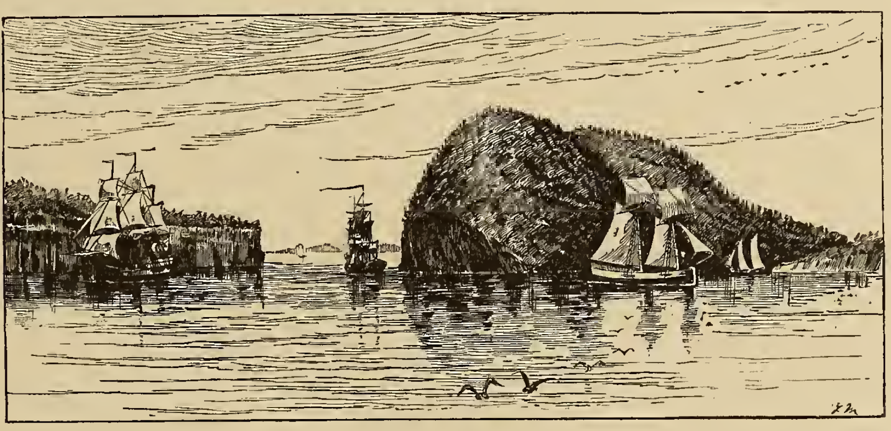
[1] *Amer. Magazine* (Boston), Dec., 1745. Some of Shirley's admirers caused his portrait to be painted, and some years later they gave it to the town of Boston, and it was hung in Faneuil Hall. *Town Records*, 1742-57, p. 26.

Douglass (*Summary*, etc., i. 316) says: "Three companies from Rhode Island were shipwrecked near Martha's Vineyard; two companies of New Hampshire went to sea, but for some trifling reason put back and never proceeded. The want of these five companies was the occasion of our forces being overpowered by the Canadians at Minas with a considerable slaughter."



ENTRANCE OF MINES BASIN.[1]



CAPE BAPTIST.[2]

The French account of these transactions of the command of Ramezay is in a "Journal de la compagne du détachement de Canada à l'Acadie et aux Mines en 1746 et 1747" (June, 1746, to March, 1747). It is in the Parkman MSS. in the Mass. Hist. Society, *New France*, i. pp. 59–153. For the attack at Minas in particular see the "Relation d'une expédition faite sur les Anglois dans les pays de l'Acadie, le 11 Fév., 1747, par un détachement de Canadiens," dated at Montreal, 28 Sept., 1747, and signed Le Chev. de la Corne. (*Ibid.*, pp. 155–163.) Cf. also *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 78, 91.

The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, Oct., 1748, was proclaimed in Boston, May 10, 1749, and a reprint of it issued there.

Shirley (June 3, 1749) writes to Gov. Wentworth that he had agreed with nine Indian chiefs, then in Boston, to hold a conference at Casco bay, Sept. 27. (*N. H. Prov. Papers*, v. 127.)

Meanwhile the English government, in pursuance of an effort to anglicize the peninsula,[1] had planned the transportation to Nova Scotia of an equipped colony under Edward Cornwallis, which arrived at Chebucto harbor in the summer of 1749, and founded Halifax. A treaty with the Indians was held there Aug. 15, 1749. (*Mass. Hist. Coll.*, ix. 220.) There is a full-size fac-simile of the document in Akins's *Public Doc. of Nova Scotia.* It was in confirmation of the Boston treaty of Dec. 15, 1725, which is embodied in the new treaty.

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[1] One of Des Barres' coast views 1779. (In Harvard College library.)

[2] One of Des Barres' coast views, marked *A view of Cape Baptist in the entrance into the basin of Mines, bearing W. by N., two miles distant.* (In Harvard College library.)

Another treaty with the eastern Indians was made at Falmouth, Oct. 16, 1749. (*Mass. Archives*, xxix. 427; xxxiv.; *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, ix. 220; *N. H. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ii. 264; Williamson's *Maine*, i. 259, taken from Mass. Council Records, 1734–57, p. 108; Hutchinson, iii. 4.)

This treaty was proclaimed in Boston, Oct. 27. Cf. *Journal of the proceedings of the commissioners appointed for managing a treaty of peace at Falmouth, Sept.* 27, 1749, *between Thomas Hutchinson, John Choate* [and others], *commissioned by Gov. Phips, and the eastern Indians*, Boston [1749]. (Brinley, i. no. 441; Harv. Col. lib. 5325.39.) This tract is reprinted in *Maine Hist. Coll.*, iv. 145.

There was another conference with the Penobscots and Norridgewocks, Aug. 3–8, 1750. (*Mass. Archives*, xxix. 429.)

A tract to encourage emigration to the new colony at Halifax was printed in London in 1750, and reprinted in Dublin: *A genuine account of Nova Scotia, to which is added his majesty's proposals as an encouragement to those who are willing to settle there.* Cf. the German tract: *Historische und Geographische Beschreibung von Neu-Schottland*, Franckfurt, 1750. (Carter-Brown, iii. no. 935.) Counter-statements not conducive to the colony's help, appeared in John Wilson's *Genuine narrative of the transactions in Nova Scotia since the settlement, June*, 1749, *till Aug.* 5, 1751 . . . *with the particular attempts of the Indians to disturb the colony*, London, 1751. (Carter-Brown, iii. no. 966.)

There are papers relating to the first settlement of Halifax in Akins's *Documents*, 495; and a paper on the first council meeting at Halifax, by T. B. Akins, in the *Nova Scotia Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. ii. See also Murdoch's *Nova Scotia*, ii. ch. 11. Various maps of Halifax and the harbor were made during the subsequent years. The *Catalogue of the king's maps* (i. 483) in the British Museum shows several manuscript draughts. A small engraved plan was published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1750, p. 295. A large map, dedicated to the Earl of Halifax, is called: *Carte du havre de Chibucto avec le plan de la ville de Halifax sur la coste de l'Accadie ou Nova Scotia, publiée par Jean Rocque, Charing Cross*, 1750.[2]

A smaller *Plan des havens von Chebucto und der stadt Halifax* was published at Hamburg, 1751. Jefferys issued a large *Chart of the Harbor of Halifax*, 1759, which was repeated in his *General Topography of North America and West Indies*, London, 1768. A "Plan de la Baye de Chibouctou nommée par les Anglois Halifax," bears date 1763. Another is in the *Set of plans and forts* (No. 7) published in London in 1763. In the Des Barres series of coast charts of a later period (1781) there is a large draft of the harbor, with colored marginal views of the coast.

In 1752–54 there were other conferences with the eastern Indians.

Instructions for treating with the eastern Indians given to the commissioners appointed for that service by the Hon. Spencer Phips . . . in 1752, Boston, 1865. Fifty copies printed from the original manuscript, for Samuel G. Drake. (Sabin, xv. 62,579; Brinley, i. no. 443.)

Journal of the proceedings of Jacob Wendell, Samuel Watts, Thomas Hubbard, and Chamber Russel, commissioners to treat with the eastern Indians, held at St. Georges, Oct. 13, 1752, *in order to renew and confirm a general peace*, Boston, 1752. (Sabin, ix. 36,736; Brinley, i. no. 442.) The original treaty is in the *Mass. Archives*, xxxiv.

A conference held at St. George's on the 20th day of September, 1753, *between commissioners appointed by* [Gov.] *Shirley and the Indians of the Penobscot* [and Norridgewock] *tribes*, Boston, 1753. (Brinley, i. no. 444; Sabin, no. 15,436; Harv. Coll. lib., 5325.42.) Cf. the treaty in *Maine Hist. Coll.*, iv. 168. The original treaties with the Penobscots at St. Georges (Sept. 21) and the Norridgewocks at Richmond (Sept. 29) are in the *Mass. Archives*, xxxiv.

A journal of the proceedings at two conferences begun to be held at Falmouth, 28th June, 1754, *between William Shirley, Governor, etc., and the Chiefs of the Norridegwock Indians, and on the 5th of July with the Chiefs of the Penobscot In-*

P. Mascarene

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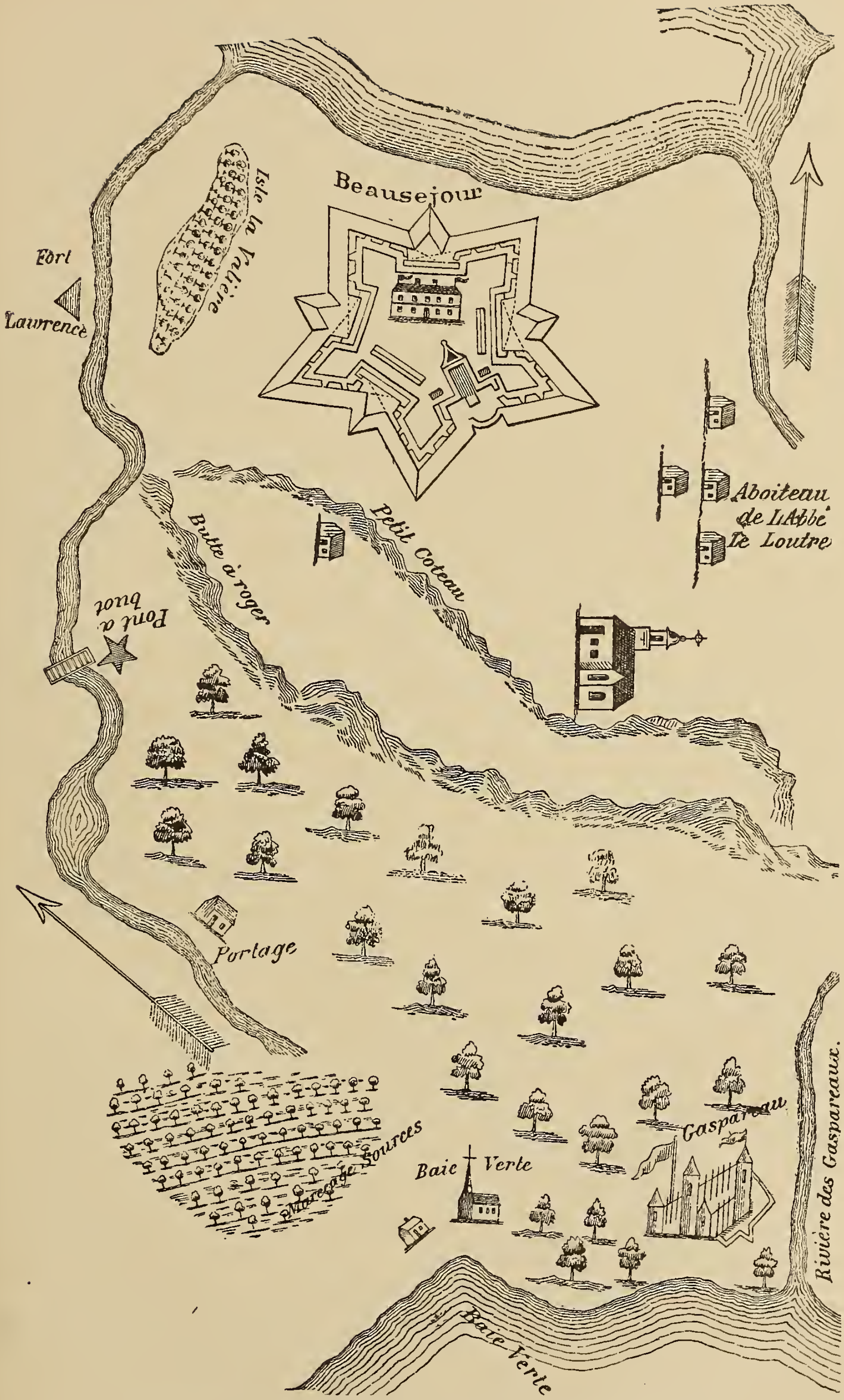
[1] Mascarene in a letter to Shirley, April 6, 1748, undertakes to show the difficulties of composing the jealousies of the English towards the Acadians. *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vi. 120.

[2] In Harv. Coll. library "Collection of Nova Scotia maps."



THE NECK OF THE ACADIAN PENINSULA. (*Note on next page.*)

dians, Boston, 1754. (Brinley, i. no. 444; Sabin, ix. 36,730; *N. H. Prov. Papers*, vi. 292.) The original treaties with the Norridgewocks, July 2, and Penobscots, July 6, 1754, are in the *Mass. Archives*, xxxiv.

E. OLD FRENCH WAR. — This was begun in April, 1755. There was a declaration of war against the Penobscots, Nov. 3, 1755. (*Mass. Archives*, xxxii. 690.)

Meanwhile, towards the end of April, 1755, Cornwallis at Halifax had sent Lawrence[1] to the neck of the peninsula[2] of Nova Scotia to fortify himself on English ground, opposite the French post at Beauséjour. Instigated by the French priest, Le Loutre, the Micmacs[3] were so threatening and the French were so alarmingly near that the English, far outnumbered, withdrew; but they returned in the autumn, better equipped, and began the erection of Fort Lawrence. The French attempted an "indirect" resistance through the Indians and some indianized Acadians, and were, in the end, driven off; but not until the houses and barns of neighboring settlers had been burned, with the aim of compelling the Acadians to fly to the French for shelter and sustenance.[4] The French now began a fort on the Beauséjour hill. A petty warfare and reprisals, not unmixed with treachery, became chronic, and were well set off with a background of more portentous rumors.[5] It happened that letters crossed each other, or nearly so, passing between Lawrence (now governor) and Shirley, suggesting an attack on Beauséjour. So the conquest was easily planned. Shirley commissioned Col. John Winslow to raise 2,000 men, and but for delay in the arrival of muskets from England this force would have cast anchor near Fort Lawrence on the first of May instead of the first of June. Monckton, a regular officer, who had been Lawrence's agent on the Boston mission, held the general command over Winslow, a provincial officer. The fort surrendered before the siege trains got fairly to work. Parkman, who gives a vivid picture of the confusion of the French, refers for his authorities to the *Mémoires sur le Canada*, 1749–1760; Pichon's *Cape Breton*, and the journal of Pichon, as cited by Murdoch in his *Hist. of Nova Scotia*.[6] The captured fort became Fort Cumberland; Fort Gaspereau, on the other side of the isthmus, surrendered without a blow. Rouse, the Boston privateersman, who had commanded the convoy from Boston, was sent to capture the fort at the mouth of the St. John, and the Indians, whom the French had deserted on Rouse's approach, joyfully welcomed him.

Chas Lawrence

Three hundred of the young Acadians, the so-called "neutral French," were found among the defenders of Beauséjour.[1] The council at Halifax had no easy question to solve in determining the next step to be taken. With the docu-

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[1] Cf. Lawrence to Monckton, 28 March, 1755, in *Aspinwall Papers* (*Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxxix. 214).

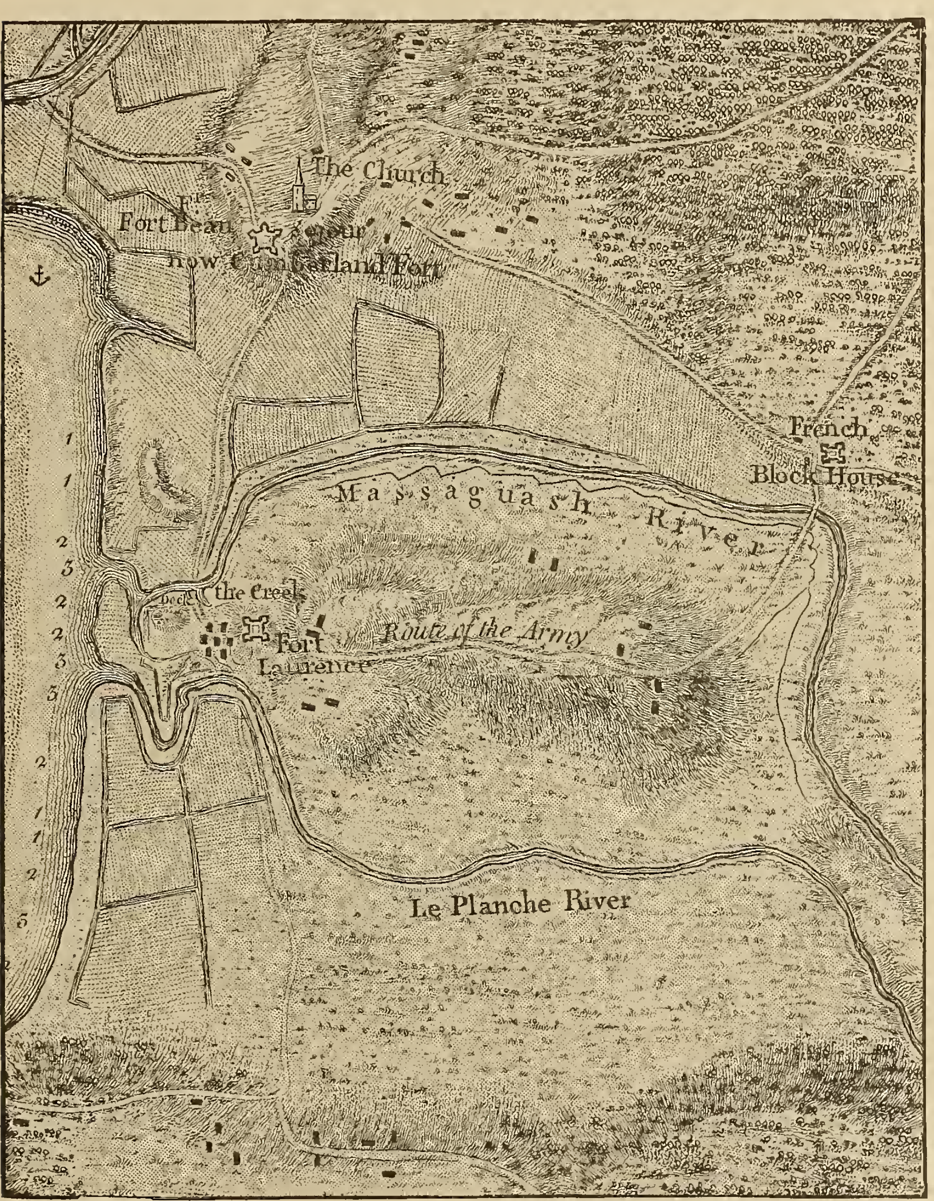
[2] The annexed plan is from the *Mémoires sur le Canada*, 1749–1760, as published by the Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Quebec (ré-impression), 1873, p. 45. The same *Mémoires* has a plan (p. 40) of Fort Lawrence. Various plans and views of Chignectou are noted in the *Catalogue of the King's Maps* (British Museum), i. 239. A "Large and particular plan of Shegnekto Bay and the circumjacent country, with forts and settlements of the French till dispossessed by the English, June, 1755, drawn on the spot by an officer," was published Aug. 16, 1755, by Jefferys, and is given in his *General Topography of North America and West Indies*, London, 1766. Cf. J. G. Bourinot's "Some old forts by the sea," in *Trans. Royal Soc. of Canada*, i. sect. 2, p. 71.

[3] A contemporary account of these Indians, by a French missionary among them, was printed in London in 1758, as *An account of the customs and manners of the Micmakis and Maricheets savage nations now dependent on the government of Cape Breton*. (Field, *Ind. Bibliog.*, no. 1,062; Quaritch, 1885, no. 29,984, £1 4*s*.)

[4] The *Life and Sufferings of Henry Grace*, Reading, 1764 [Harv. Coll. lib. 5315.5], gives the experience of one of Lawrence's men, captured by the Indians at this time.

[5] The French ministry were advising Vaudreuil, "Nothing better can be done than to foment this war of the Indians on the English, which at least delays their settlements." (*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 949.)

[6] Cf. references in Barry's *Mass.*, ii. 199. The journal of Winslow during the siege in the summer and autumn of 1755 is printed from the original MS. in the Mass. Hist. Soc. library, in the *Nova Scotia Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. iv. Tracts of the time indicate the disparagement which the provincial men received during these events from the regular officers. Cf. *Account of the present state of Nova Scotia in two letters to a noble lord, — one from a gentleman in the navy lately arrived from thence; the other from a gentleman who long resided there*, London, 1756. Cf. also *French policy defeated, being an account of all the hostile proceedings of the French against the British colonies in North America for the last seven years, . . . with an account of the naval engagement of Newfoundland and the taking of the forts in the Bay of Fundy*, London, 1755. (Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,060.)



FORT BEAUSÉJOUR AND ADJACENT COUNTRY.[2]

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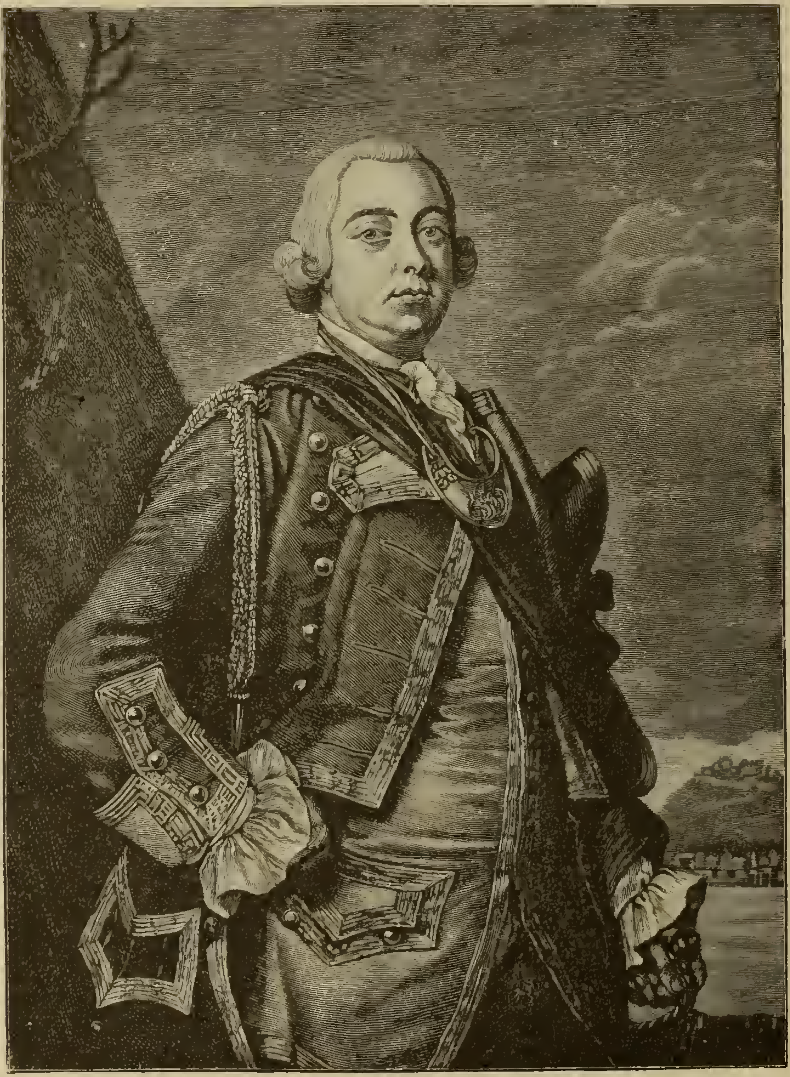
[1] On the 10th of Aug., 1754, Lawrence had sent a message to the Acadians, who had gone over to the French, that he should still hold them to their oaths, and this, as well as a letter of Le Loutre to Lawrence, Aug. 26, 1754, will be found in the Parkman MSS. in the Mass. Hist. Society, *New France*, i. pp. 271, 281.

[2] Part of a folding map, "Fort Beauséjour and adjacent country, taken possession of by Colonel Monckton, in June. 1755;" in Mante's *Hist. of the Late War* (London, 1772), p. 17. Cf. Des Barres' Environs of Fort Cumberland, 1781, and various drawn maps in *Catal. King's Library* (Brit. Mus.), i. 281.



COLONEL MONCKTON.[1]

Robt. Monckton

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[1] After a mezzotint preserved in the Amer. Antiq. Soc. library, in which he is called "Major-General, and Colonel of the Seventeenth Foot, and Governor of New York," as he later was. Cf. other mezzotints noted in J. C. Smith's *Brit. Mezzotint Portraits*, ii. 883; iv. 1,525, 1739. There is a portrait in Entick's *Hist. of the Late War*, v. 355. See account of Monckton in Akins's *Nova Scotia Docs.*, 391.

mentary evidence now in hand, chiefly the records of the French themselves, we can clearly see the condition which the English rather suspected than knew in detail.[1] They indeed were aware that the neutrals of Chignecto in 1750 had been in effect coerced to crossing the lines at the neck, while the burning of their houses and barns had been accomplished to prevent their return. They further knew that this gave an increased force of desperate and misguided men to be led by priests like Le Loutre, and encouraged by the French commanders, acting under orders of the central government at Quebec. They had good reason to suspect, what was indeed the fact, that the emissaries of the Catholic church and the civil powers in Canada were confident in the use they could in one way and another make of the mass of Acadians, though still nominally subjects of the British king.[2] Their loyalty had always been a qualified one. A reservation of not being obliged to serve in war against the French had been in the past allowed in their oath; but such reservation had not been approved by the Crown, though it had not been practically disallowed. It was a reservation which in the present conjunction of affairs Governor Lawrence thought it inexpedient to allow, and he required an unqualified submission by oath. He had already deprived them of their arms. The oath was persistently refused and the return of their arms demanded. This act was in itself ominous. The British plans had by this time miscarried in New York and Pennsylvania, and under Braddock the forces had suffered signal defeat. The terms of the New England troops in Acadia were fast expiring. With these troops withdrawn, and others of the Acadian garrisons sent to succor the defeated armies farther west, and with the Canadian government prompted to make the most of the disaffection toward the English and of the loyalty to the French flag which existed within the peninsula, there could hardly have been a hope of the retention of the country under the British flag, unless something could be done to neutralize the evil of harboring an enemy.[3] "In fact," says Parkman, "the Acadians, while calling themselves neutrals, were an enemy encamped in the heart of the province."[4] Colonel Higginson (*Larger History*, etc.) presents the antithesis in a milder form, when he says, "They were as inconvenient as neighbors as they are now picturesque in history." It has been claimed that the cruelty of deportation might have been avoided by exacting hostages of the Acadians. That involves confidence in the ability of an abjectly priest-ridden people to resist the threats of excommunication, should at any time the emissaries of Quebec find it convenient to sacrifice the hostages to secure success to the French arms. Under such a plan the English might too late learn that military execution upon the hostages was a likely accompaniment of a military disaster which it would not avert. The alternative of deportation was much surer, and self-preservation naturally sought the securest means. Simply to drive the Acadians from the country would have added to the reckless hordes allured by the French in 1750, which had fraternized with the Micmacs, and harassed the English settlements. To deport them, and scatter them among the other provinces, so that they could not combine, was a safer and, as they thought, the only certain way to destroy the Acadians as a military danger. It was a terrible conclusion, and must not be confounded with possible errors in carrying out the plan. The council, taking aid from the naval commanders, decided upon it.[5]

Grand Pre" Camp

John Winslow

The decision and its execution have elicited opinions as diverse as the characters of those who have the tender and the more rigid passions mixed in them in different degrees. The question, however, is simply one of necessity in war to be judged by laws which exclude a gentle

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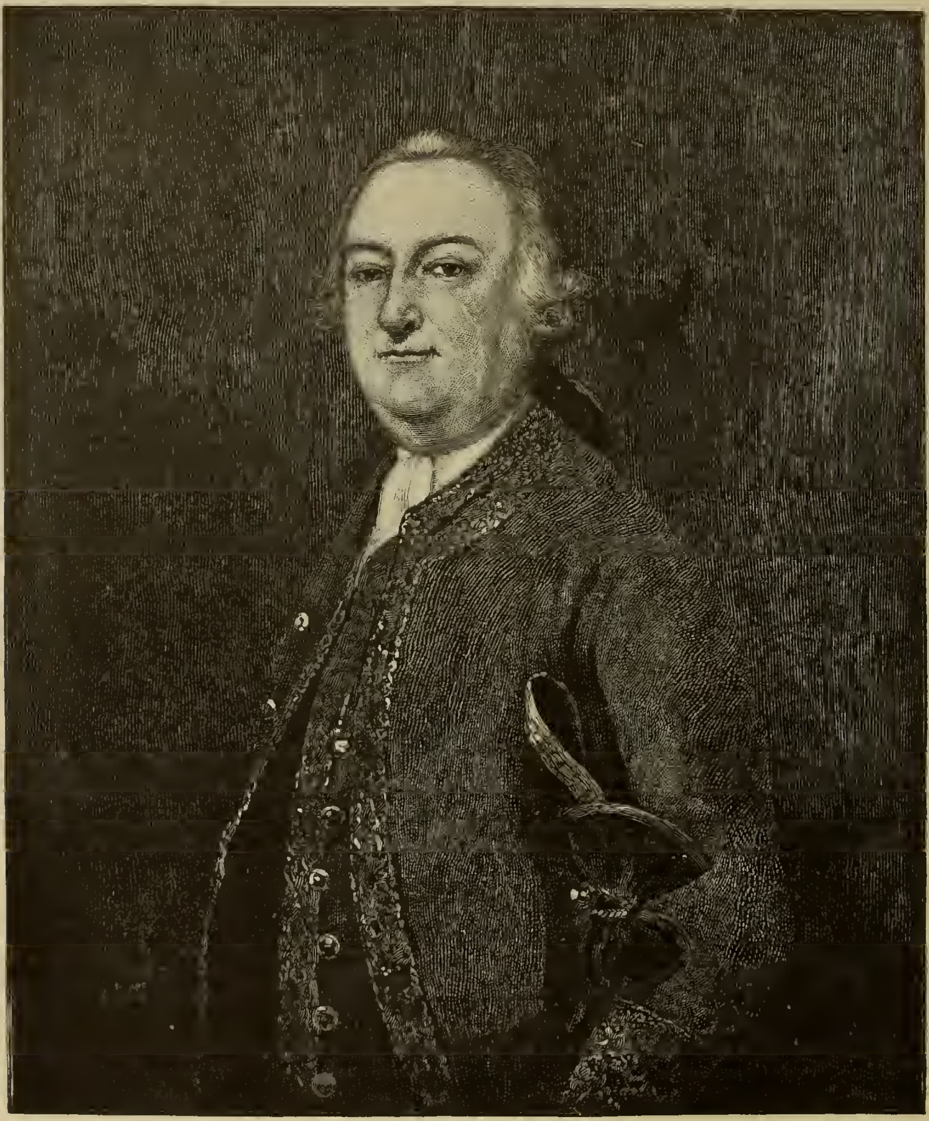
[1] Minot, without knowledge of these documents, says: "They [the Acadians] maintained, with some exceptions, the character of neutrals."

[2] Cf. Bury's *Exodus of the Western Nations*, vol. ii. ch. 7.

[3] "They call themselves neutrals, but are rebels and traitors, assisting the French and Indians at all opportunities to murder and cut our throats." Ames's *Almanac*, 1756. — a household authority.

[4] This condition was thoroughly understood by the French authorities. Cf. Vaudreuil's despatch when he heard of the deportation, Oct. 18, 1755. *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, x. 358. On Nov. 2, 1756, Lotbinière, addressing the French ministry on a contemplated movement against Nova Scotia, says: "The English have deprived us of a great advantage by removing the French families."

[5] Winslow's instructions, dated Halifax, Aug. 11, 1755, are printed in Akins's *Selections*, etc., 271. It has sometimes been alleged that a greed to have the Acadian lands to assign to English settlers was a chief motive in this decision. Letters between Lawrence and the Board of Trade (Oct. 18, 1755, etc.) indicate that the hope of such succession to lands was entertained after the event; but it was several years before the hope had fruition.



GEN. JOHN WINSLOW.[1]

forbearance in regard to smaller for the military advantages of larger communities.

Writers of the compassionate school have naturally sought to heighten the enormity of the measure by pictures of the guilelessness of the people, who were the sufferers. It was not long after the event when the Abbé Raynal played upon such sympathetic responses in his description[2] of the Acadians, setting forth an ideal simplicity and content to which Longfellow in his *Evangeline* has added the unbounded charms of his verse. That the Acadians were a prolific people might argue content, but Hannay (*Acadia*, ch. xvi.), who best traces their mutations and growth, shows evidences that this fruitfulness had not been without some admixture, at least, with the Micmacs.[1] Though it is the usual assertion that bastardy was almost unknown among them, Hannay adduces testimony to their licentiousness which he deems sufficient.[2] We may pick out the most opposite views regarding the comforts of their daily life. A French authority describes their houses as "wretched wooden boxes, without ornament or convenience;"[3] but George Bancroft[4] and many others tell us, after the Raynal ideal, that these same houses were "neatly constructed and comfortably furnished."

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[1] After an original formerly in the gallery of the Mass. Hist. Soc., but now in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth. Cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xx. 192, and *Mem. Hist. Boston*, ii. 123. The sword of General Winslow, shown in the cut (Vol. III. p. 274), has also been transferred to Plymouth, as well as the portraits of Governor Edward and Governor Josiah Winslow. (*Ibid.*, pp. 277, 282.) Other engravings of General Winslow are given in Raikes' *Hon. Artillery Co. of London* (1878), i. p. 348, and in Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. 276.

[2] Guillaume Thomas Raynal's *Histoire philosophique et politique des Etablissemens et du Commerce des*

A simple people usually find it easy to vary the monotony of their existence by bickerings and litigations; and if we may believe the French authorities whom Hannay quotes, the Acadians were no exception to the rule, which makes up for the absence of excitements in a diversified life by a counterbalance of such evils as mix and obscure the affections of society.

Their religious training prompted them to place their priests in the same scale of infallibility with their Maker, while the machinations of Le Loutre[5] ensnared them and became, quite as much as that "scrupulous sense of the indissoluble nature of their ancient obligation to their king,"[6] a great cause of their misfortunes. To glimpses of the character of the Acadians which we get in the published documents, French and English, of their own day, we can add but few estimates of observers who were certainly writing for the eye of the public. There is a rather whimsical, but, as Parkman thinks, a faithful description of them, earlier in the century, to be found in the *Relation* of Diéreville.

Let us now observe some of the mutations of opinion to which allusion has been made. Gov. Lawrence, in his circular letter to the other colonies, naturally set forth the necessity of the case in justification. Edmund Burke, not long after, judged the act a most inhumane one, and "we did," he says, "upon pretences not worth a farthing, root out this poor, innocent, deserving people, whom our utter inability to govern or to reconcile gave us no sort of right to extirpate." But this was in the guise of a running commentary from a party point of view, and in ignorance of much now known. The French, English, and American historians nearest the event take divergent positions. Raynal started the poetic ideal, to which reference has been made. It must not be forgotten, however, that the Abbé had a purpose in his picture, aiming as he did to set off by a foil the condition of the French peasantry at a period preceding the French Revolution.[7] Entick[8] commends the measure, but not the method of its execution. A pamphlet published in London in 1765, setting forth the sacrifices of the province during the French and Indian wars, referring to the deportation, says: "This was a most wise step," but the exiles "have been and still remain a heavy bill of charge to this province."[9] Hutchinson[10] simply allows that the authors of the movement supposed

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Européens dans les deux Indes, Paris, 1770; Geneva, 1780 (in 5 vols. 4to, and 10 vols. 8vo.); revised, Paris, 1820. (Rich, after 1700, p. 290; H. H. Bancroft, *Mexico*, iii. 648.)

[1] M. Pascal Poirier in the *Revue Canadienne* (xi. pp. 850, 927; xii. pp. 71, 216, 310, 462, 524) discusses the question of mixed blood, and gives reasons for the mutual attachments of the Acadians and Abenakis, confronting the views of Rameau. He follows the Acadian story down, and traces the migrations of families.

[2] A writer in the *Amer. Cath. Q. Rev.* (1884), ix. 592, defends the "Acadian confessors of the faith," and charges Hannay with "monstrous and barefaced perversions of history." Cf. among the Parkman MSS. (Mass. Hist. Society, *New France*, i. p. 165) a paper called "Etat présent des missions de l'Acadie. Efforts impuissants des gouverneurs anglois pour détruir la religion catholique dans l'Acadie."

[3] *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, x. p. 5.

[4] *United States*, final revision, ii. 426.

[5] These are set forth in Hannay's *Acadia*, ch. xx.; *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, x. p. 11, etc.; Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, i. 114, 266, etc.; Akins's *Selections from the Pub. Docs. of Nova Scotia* (with authorities there cited); *Mémoires sur le Canada*, 1749–1760 (Quebec, 1838). Le Loutre was a creature of whom it is difficult to say how much of his conduct was due to fanaticism, and how much to a heartless villainy. The French were quite as much inclined as any one to consider him a villain. The Acadians themselves had often found that he could use his Micmacs against them like bloodhounds.

[6] Minot, i. 220.

[7] Rameau (*La France aux Colonies*, p. 97) allows Raynal's description to be a forced fantasy to point a moral; but he contends for a basis of fact in it. Cf. Antoine Marie Cerisier's *Remarques sur les erreurs de l'histoire philosophique et politique de Mr. Guillaume Thomas Raynal, par rapport aux affaires de l'Amérique septentrionale*, Amsterdam, 1783.

[8] *The General History of the Late War*, London, 1763, etc.

[9] *A Brief State of the Services and Expenses of the Massachusetts Bay*, London, 1765, p. 17.

[10] *Hist. of Mass. Bay*, iii. 39.

that self-preservation was its sufficient excuse. When Minot[1] surveyed the subject, he was quite as chary of an opinion. He probably felt, as indeed was the case, that no one at that time had access to the documents on which a safe judgment could be based. The first distinct defence of the English came when Raynal's views were printed, in translation, in Nova Scotia in 1791. Secretary Bulkely and Judge Deschamps now published a vindication of the English government, but it was necessarily inadequate in the absence of proof. It served not much purpose, however, in diverting the general opinion from the channels of compassion. In 1787, the Rev. Andrew Brown, a Scotchman, was called to settle over a church in Halifax. He remained till 1795, when he returned to Scotland, where he lived till 1834, a part of the time occupying the chair of rhetoric in the University of Edinburgh, which had been previously filled by Dr. Blair. During his sojourn in Nova Scotia, and down to so late a period as 1815, he collected materials for a history of the province. His papers, including original documents, were discovered serving ignoble purposes in a grocer's shop in Scotland, and bought for the collections of the British Museum. Transcripts from the most interesting of them relating to the expulsion of the Acadians have been made at the instance of the Nova Scotia Record Commission, and have been printed in the second volume of the *Collections* of the Nova Scotia Historical Society. They consist of letters and statements from people whom Brown had known, and who had taken part in the expulsion, with other contemporary papers regarding the condition of the Acadians just previous to their removal. Brown's own opinion of the act classed it, for atrocity, with the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

Robert Walsh, in his *Appeal from the Judgment of Great Britain* (2d ed. 1819, p. 86), says: "It has always appeared to me that the reason of state was never more cheaply urged or more odiously triumphant than on this occasion." He follows Minot in his account.

Judge Thomas C. Haliburton approached the subject when he might have known, among the very old people of the province, some whose earliest recollections went back to the event, or to its train of succeeding incidents. Haliburton's sympathy is unmistakably aroused, and failing to find in the records of the secretary's office at Halifax any traces of the deportation, his deduction is that the particulars were carefully concealed. For such an act he finds no reason, save that the parties were, "as in truth they well might be," ashamed of the transaction. "I have therefore," he adds, "had much difficulty in ascertaining the facts." He seems to have depended almost wholly upon Hutchinson, Raynal, and Minot, and through the latter he got track of the journal of Winslow. Haliburton's *Nova Scotia* was published in 1829,[2] and Hutchinson's third volume had only the year before (1828) been printed in England from his manuscript. Of Winslow's journal he seems to have made but restricted use.[3] Haliburton's allegations in respect to the archives of Halifax were founded on a misconception. The papers which he sought in vain in fact existed, but were stored away in boxes, and the archive-keepers of Haliburton's day apparently had little idea of their importance. A recent writer (Smith's *Acadia*, p. 164) hastily infers that this careless disposition of them was intentional. Parkman says that copies of the council records were sent at the time to England and are now in the Public Record Office; but it does not appear that Haliburton sought them; and had he done so, if we may judge from the printed copy which we now have of them, he would have discovered no essential help between July, 1755, and January, 1756. It was not till 1857 that the legislative assembly of Nova Scotia initiated a movement for completing and arranging the archives at Halifax, and for securing in addition copies of documents at London and Quebec, — the latter being in fact other copies from papers in the archives at Paris.

Between 1857 and 1864, Thomas B. Akins, Esq., acting as record commissioner of the province, bound and arranged, as appears by his *Report* of Feb. 24, 1864, and deposited in the legislative library of the province, over 200 volumes of historical papers. The most important of these volumes for other than the local historian, and covering the period of the present volume appear to be the following: —

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[1] *Massachusetts*, ch. i. x.

[2] Vol. IV. p. 156. Cf. Morgan, *Bibliotheca Canadensis*, p. 168.

[3] Cf. *Mem. Hist. Boston*, ii. 123. This journal is in three volumes, the first opening with a letter of proposals by Winslow, addressed to Shirley, followed by a copy of Winslow's commission as lieutenant-colonel, Feb. 10, 1755. Transcripts then follow of instructions, letters, accounts, orders, rosters, log-books, reports, down to Jan., 1756. This volume is mostly, if not wholly, in Winslow's own hand. It has been printed in vol. iii. of the *Nova Scotia Hist. Soc. Collections*, beginning with a letter from Grand Pré, Aug. 22, 1755. The second volume (Feb.–Aug., 1756) has a certificate that it is, "to the best of my skill and judgment, a true record of original papers committed to my care for that purpose." This is signed "Henry Leddel, Secretary to General Winslow." The third volume (Aug.–Dec., 1756) is similarly certified. There is in the Mass. Hist. Soc. another collection of Winslow's papers (cf. *Proc.*, iii. 92) covering 1737–1766, being mostly of a routine military character.

Despatches from the Lords of Trade to the governor at Annapolis, 1714–48; and to the governor at Halifax, 1749–99.
Despatches from the governors of Nova Scotia to the Lords of Trade, 1718–1781; and to the Secretaries of State, 1720–1764 (all from the State Paper Office).
Despatches from the governor at Louisbourg to the Sec. of State, 1745–48 (from State Paper Office).
Despatches from the governor of Mass. to the Sec. of State, 1748–51 (State Paper Office).
Documents from the files of the legislative council, 1760–1829; and of the assembly, 1758–1831, with
Miscellaneous papers, 1748–1841.
Acadia under French rule, 1632–1748 (copied from the transcripts in Canada from the Paris archives[1]).
Tyrell's (Pichon's) paper relating to Monckton's capture of Fort Cumberland, 1753–1755.
Council minutes at Annapolis, 1720–49.
Crown prosecutions for treason, 1749–88.
Royal instructions to the governors, 1720–1841.
Royal proclamations, 1748–1807.
Orders of the Privy Council, 1753–1827.
Indians, 1751–1848.

But before this arranging of the Halifax Archives was undertaken, Bancroft in his *United States*[2] had used language which he has allowed to stand during successive revisions: "I know not if the annals of the human race keep the records of sorrows so wantonly inflicted, so bitter and so perennial, as fell upon the French inhabitants of Acadia." About the same time the Canadian historian, Garneau,[3] simply quotes the effusions of Raynal. The publication of the *Neutral French*, by Catharine R. Williams, in 1841, a story in which the writer's interest in the sad tale had grown with her study of the subject on the spot,[4] followed by the *Evangeline* of Longfellow in 1847, which readily compelled attention, drew many eyes upon the records which had been the basis of these works of fiction. The most significant judgment, in consequence, made in America was that of the late President Felton, of Harvard University, in the *North American Review* (Jan., 1848, p. 231), wherein he called the deportation "a most tyrannical exercise of superior force, resting for its justification not upon sufficient proofs, but upon an alleged inevitable state necessity." This gave direction to current belief.[5] Barry (*Massachusetts*, ii. 200) wrote as if Raynal had compassed the truth. *Chambers' Journal* (xxii. 342, or *Living Age*, xliv. 51) called an article on the subject "The American Glencoe." In 1862, Mr. Robert Grant Haliburton, a son of Judge Haliburton, gave token of a new conception in the outline of a defence for the British government, which he drew in an address, *The Past and the Future of Nova Scotia* (Halifax, 1862). A more thorough exposition was at hand. Mr. Akins had been empowered to prepare for publication a selection of the more important papers among those which he had been arranging. In 1869 a volume of *Selections*, etc., appeared. In his preface Mr. Akins says: "Although much has been written on the subject, yet until lately it has undergone little actual investigation, and in consequence the necessity for their removal has not been clearly perceived, and the motives which led to its enforcement have been often misunderstood." The views which he enforces are in accord with this remark. Mr. W. J. Anderson followed up this judgment in the *Transactions*[6] of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, and termed the act "a dreadful necessity." The old view still lingered. It was enforced by Célestin Moreau in his *Histoire de l'Acadie Françoise de* 1598 *à* 1755 (Paris, 1873), and Palfrey, in the *Compendious Hist. of New England* (1873), which carried on the story of his larger volumes, leaves his adhesion to a view adverse to the English to be inferred. As to the character of the Acadians, while he allows for "a dash of poetry" in the language of Raynal, he mainly adopts it.[7]

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[1] Compare the enumeration of MSS. on Acadia, as indexed in the *Catalogue of the Library of Parliament*, Toronto, 1858, p. 1451. There are preserved in the office of the registrar of the Province of Quebec ten volumes of MS. copies of documents relating to the history of Canada, covering many pertaining to Acadia. A list of their contents was printed in 1883, entitled *Réponse à un ordre de la chambre, demandant copie de la liste des documents se rapportant à l'histoire du Canada, copiés et conservés au département du régistraire de la Province de Québec. J. Blanchet, Secrétaire.* Cf. "Evangeline and the Archives of Nova Scotia," in *Trans. Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Quebec*, 1869–70.

[2] Orig. ed. (1852), iv. 206. In writing his first draft of the transaction in 1852, Bancroft, referring seemingly to Haliburton's statement, says: "It has been supposed that these records of the council are no longer in existence; but I have authentic copies of them." (Orig. ed., iv. 200).

[3] Ed. 1882, vol. ii. 225.

[4] "The publications of C. R. Williams, with notes concerning them," in *R. I. Hist. Tracts*, no. xi. For other accounts concerning the condition of the "Evangeline Country," see E. B. Chase's *Over the Border, Acadia, the home of Evangeline* (Boston, 1884), with various views; J. De Mille in *Putnam's Magazine*, ii. 140; G. Mackenzie in *Canadian Monthly*, xvi. 337; C. D. Warner's *Baddeck* (Boston, 1882); and the view of Grandpré in *Picturesque Canada*, ii. 789.

[5] There is a sample of this purely sympathetic comment in Whittier's *Prose Works*, ii. 64.

[6] New series, vol. vii. (1870).

[7] Palfrey (*Compend. Hist. New England*, iv. 209) says: "There appears to be no doubt that they were

In 1879 Mr. James Hannay, perceiving the necessity of a well-ordered history, to embody in more readable shape the vast amount of material which Beamish Murdoch in his *History of Nova Scotia*[1] had thrown into the form of annals, published his *History of Acadia from its first discovery to its surrender to England by the Treaty of Paris* (St. John, N. B., 1879). Hannay embodied in this book the most elaborate account which had yet been written of the deportation, and referring to it in his preface he says: "Very few people who follow the story to the end will be prepared to say that it was not a necessary measure of self-preservation on the part of the English authorities in Nova Scotia."

Still the old sympathies were powerful. Henry Cabot Lodge in his *Short History of the English Colonies*[2] (1881) finds the Acadians "harmless." Hannay's investigations were not lost, however, on Dr. George E. Ellis, who in his *Red Man and White Man in North America* (Boston, 1882) prefigured the results which two years later were to be adduced by Parkman.

Meanwhile, Mr. Philip H. Smith published at Pawling, N. Y., a book, doubly his own, for he inserted in it rude wood-cuts of his own graving. The book, which was coarsely printed on an old Liberty job press, was called *Acadia, a lost chapter in American history*, — why lost is not apparent, in view of the extensive literature of the subject. He refers vaguely to fifty authorities, but without giving us the means to track him among them, as he in an uncompromising way condemns the course of the British government. He is found, however, to draw largely from Judge Haliburton, and to adopt that writer's assertion of the loss or abstraction of records. A few months later Mr. Parkman published the first volume of his *Montcalm and Wolfe*, using some material, particularly from the French Archives, which his predecessors had not possessed.[3] In referring to the deportation, he says that its causes have not been understood[4] by those who follow or abet the popular belief. Though he does not suggest any alternative action, he sets forth abundantly the reasons which palliate and explain a measure "too harsh and indiscriminate to be wholly justified."[5]

Widely different statements as to the number of those deported have been made. Lawrence in his circular letter,[6] addressed (Aug. 11, 1755) to the governors of the English colonies, says that about 7,000 is the number to be distributed, and it is probably upon his figures that the Lords of Trade in addressing the king, Dec. 20, 1756, place the number at near 7,000. "Not less than 6,000 at least" is the language of a contemporary letter.[7] That these figures were approximately correct would appear from the English records, which

A Murray

Fort Edward 26th Sept 1755

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a virtuous, simple-minded, industrious, unambitious, religious people. They were rich enough for all their wants. They lived in equality, contentment, and brotherhood; the priest or some trusted neighbor settled whatever differences arose among them."

[1] Halifax, 1865–67, vol. ii. ch. 20. Cf. Vol. IV. p. 156.

[2] Page 369.

[3] Ch. iv. and viii.

[4] *Montcalm and Wolfe*, i. 90.

[5] He does intimate, in some later published letters, that a taking of hostages might perhaps have sufficed. The controversy of which these letters are a part began with the anticipatory publication by Mr. Parkman of his chapter on the Acadians in *Harper's Monthly*, Nov., 1884. This drew out from Mr. Philip H. Smith a paper in the *Nation*, Oct. 30, 1884, in which incautiously, and depending on Haliburton, he charged the English with rifling their archives to rid them of the proofs of the atrocity of the deportation. Parkman exposed his error, in the same journal, Nov. 6, 1884, and also in the *N. Y. Evening Post*, Jan. 20, 1885, and *Boston Evening Transcript*, Jan. 22. Smith transferred his challenge to the *Boston Evening Transcript* of Feb. 11, 1885, making a good point in quoting the Philadelphia Memorial of the Acadians, which affirmed that papers which could show their innocence had been taken from them; but he unwisely claimed for the exiles the literary skill of that memorial, which seems to have been prepared by some of their Huguenot friends in Philadelphia. A few more letters appeared in the same journal from Parkman, Akins, and Smith, but added nothing but iteration to the question. (Cf. *Transcript*, Feb. 25, by Parkman; March 19 by Akins; March 23, April 3, by Smith.)

[6] Akins' *Select. from Pub. Doc.*, 277; Smith's *Acadia*, 219.

[7] *A letter from a gentleman in Nova Scotia to a person of distinction in the continent, describing the present state of government in that colony*, 1756, p. 7.

foot up together for the several centres of the movement — Beaubassin, Fort Edward, Minas, and Annapolis — a little over 6,000, as Parkman shows. The Canadian government in making a retrospective census in 1876, figured the number of Acadians within the peninsula in 1755 at 8,200. In giving 18,000 as the number of Acadians in 1755, Haliburton must have meant to include all of that birth in the maritime provinces, for he accepts Lawrence's statement that 7,000 were deported. P. H. Smith[1] uses these figures (18,000) so loosely that he seems to believe that all but a few hundred of them were removed. Rameau, a recent French authority, makes the number 6,000.[2] Hannay, a late New Brunswick writer, allows only 3,000, but this number seems to have been reached by ignoring some part of the four distinct movements, as conducted by Monckton, Winslow, Murray, and Handfield. Minot accepts this same 3,000, and he is followed by Gay in the *Popular Hist. of the United States*, and by Ellis in his *Red Man and White Man in North America.*

Gov. Lawrence agreed with some Boston merchants, Apthorp and Hancock, to furnish the transports for conveying the exiles away.[3] These contractors furnished the necessary flour, bread, pork, and beef for the service. The delay of the vessels to arrive seems to have arisen from Lawrence's not giving timely notice to the contractors, for fear that the Acadians might learn of the intention.[4] Winslow had told those who came under his supervision, that he would do everything in his power to transport "whole families in the same vessel." Parkman thinks (i. 279) that the failures in this respect were not numerous. Smith, with little regard for the confusion which the tardy arrival of the transports occasioned, thinks they indicate that Winslow violated his word as a soldier. One of the actors in the movement, as reported in the Brown Papers (*Nova Scotia Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ii. 131), says that "he fears some families were divided, notwithstanding all possible care was taken to prevent it."

Hutchinson (iii. 40) says: "Five or six families were brought to Boston, the wife and children only, without the husbands and fathers, who by advertisements in the newspapers came from Philadelphia to Boston, being till then utterly uncertain what had become of their families."

Miss Caulkins (*New London*, p. 469) says more were landed at New London than at any other New England port. The *Connecticut Colony Records* (vol. x. pp. 452, 461, 615) show how the Acadians were distributed throughout the towns, and that some were brought there from Maryland.

The journals of the House of Representatives in Massachusetts (1755-56) note the official action which was taken in that province respecting them. There are two volumes in the *Mass. Archives* (vols. xxiii., xxiv.) marked "French Neutrals," which explain that for fifteen years (1755-1769) the charge of their support entered more or less into the burdens of the towns among which they were then scattered.[5] A committee was in charge of benefactions which were bestowed upon them, and papers relating to their doings make part of the collection of old documents in the Charity Building in Boston.

Hutchinson (iii. 40), who had personal knowledge of the facts, says of their sojourn in Massachusetts: "Many of them went through great hardships; but in general they were treated with humanity." He also tells us (iii. 41) that he interested himself in drafting for them a petition to the English king to be allowed to return to their lands or to be paid for them; but they refused to sign it, on the ground that they would thereby be cut off from the sympathy of the French king.

When in the spring of 1756 Major Jedediah Preble returned with some of the New England troops to Boston, he was directed by Lawrence to stop at Cape Sable and seize such Acadians as he could find.[6] Though Smith (p. 252) says he did not see fit to obey the order, a letter from him, dated April 24, 1756, printed in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1876, p. 19, shows that he carried out the order and burnt the houses. When these newer exiles arrived at Boston, the provincial authorities declined to receive them. A vessel was hired to convey them to North Carolina, but the captives refused (May 8, 1756) to reëmbark. (*Ibid.*, p. 18.) In 1762 the work of deportation was still going on, and five more transports arrived in Boston, but these seem largely to have been gathered outside the peninsula. They were returned by the Massachusetts authorities to Halifax, with the approval of the Lords of Trade and General Amherst, who thought there was no longer occasion to continue the deportation.[1]

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[1] *Boston Transcript*, Feb. 11, 1885. In his *Acadia*, p. 256, he says 15,000 were "forcibly extirpated" [sic], but he probably includes later deportations, mainly from the northern side of the Bay of Fundy.

[2] *Une Colonie féodale en Amérique* (Paris, 1877). To this 6,000 Rameau adds 4,000 as the number previously removed to the islands of the gulf, 4,000 as having crossed the neck to come under French protection, and 2,000 as having escaped the English, — thus making a total of 16,000, which he believes to have been the original population of the peninsula. Cf. on Rameau, Daniel's *Nos Gloires*, ii. 345.

[3] See Lawrence's letter to Monckton in the "Aspinwall Papers," *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xxxix. 214.

[4] Lawrence's letter to Hancock, Sept. 10, 1755, in *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, 1876, p. 17.

[5] There are large extracts from these Archives in the *Winslow Papers* (Mass. Hist. Soc.). *North Amer. Rev.*, 1848, p. 231. There is usually scant, if any, mention of them in the published town histories of Massachusetts. In Bailey's *Andover* (p. 297) there is some account of those sent to that town, and a copy of a petition (*Mass. Archives*, xxiii. 49) from those in Andover and adjacent towns to the General Court, urging that their children should not be bound out to service. Cf. also Aaron Hobart's *Abington*, App. F., and "Lancaster in Acadie and Acadiens in Lancaster," by H. S. Nourse, in *Bay State Monthly*, i. 239; *Granite Monthly*, vii. 239. More came to Boston in the first shipment than were expected, and New Hampshire was asked to receive the excess. *N. H. Prov. Records*, vi. 445, 446.

[6] *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, 1862, p. 142.

The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of Sept. 4, 1755, the day before the action of Winslow at Minas, informed that province of the intended action in Nova Scotia. The exiles were hardly welcome when they came. Governor Morris wrote to Shirley (*Penna. Archives*, ii. 506; *Col. Rec.*, vi. 712) that he had no money to devote to their support, and that he should be obliged to retain, for guarding them, some recruits which he had raised for the field.[2] There were kind people, however, in Philadelphia, of kindred blood, among the descendants of Huguenot emigrants, and their attention to the distresses of the exiles renders it possible for Akins to say: "They appear to have received better treatment at the hands of the government of Philadelphia than was accorded to them in some of the other provinces." (*Select. from Pub. Docs. of Nova Scotia*, p. 278.) Haliburton (i. 183), averred that the proposition was made in Pennsylvania to sell the neutrals into slavery. Mr. William B. Reed, in a paper on "The Acadian exiles, or French neutrals in Pennsylvania (1755-57)," published in *Memoirs* (vol. vi. p. 283) of the Penna. Hist. Soc.,[3] refutes the assertion. The poor people seem to have had less fear of provoking the ill-will of France than their brethren in Massachusetts had shown, and a petition to the king of Great Britain is preserved, apparently indited for them, as Robert Walsh, Jr., in his *Appeal from the Judgment of Great Britain respecting the United States* (Philadelphia, 1829, p. 437), printed it "from a draft in the handwriting of Benezet," one of the Philadelphia Huguenots. It is reprinted in the appendix of Smith's *Acadia* (p. 369). Another document is preserved to us in *A Relation of the Misfortunes of the French Neutrals as laid before the Assembly of the Province of Pennsylvania by John Baptist Galerm, one of the said People.* It constitutes a broadside extra of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of about February, 1756, — the document being dated Feb. 11. It sets forth the history of their troubles, but did not specifically ask for assistance, which was, however, granted when the neutrals were apportioned among the counties. It is reprinted in the *Memoirs* (vi. 314) of the Penna. Hist. Soc., in Smith's *Acadia* (p. 378), and in *Penna. Archives*, iii. 565. Walsh (p. 90) says that, notwithstanding charitable attentions, more than half of those in Pennsylvania died in a short time.

Daniel Dulany, writing of the Acadians arriving in Maryland in 1755, says that they insist on being treated as prisoners of war, — thereby claiming to be no subjects. "They have almost eat us up," he adds; "as there is no provision for them, they have been supported by private subscription. Political considerations may make this [the deportation] a prudent step, for anything I know, and perhaps their behavior may have deservedly brought their sufferings upon them; but 't is impossible not to compassionate their distress."[4]

In Virginia Governor Dinwiddie received them with alarm, at a time when their countrymen were scalping the settlers on the western frontiers. He seemed to suppose from Lawrence's letter that 5,000 were coming, but only 1,140 actually arrived. He writes that they proved lazy and contentious, and caballed with the slaves, and tried to run away with a sloop at Hampton. He managed to maintain them till the assembly met, when he recommended that provision should be made for their support; but the clamor against them throughout the colony was so great that the legislature directed their reshipment to England at a cost of £5,000. When Governor Glen, of Carolina, sent fifty more of them to Virginia, Dinwiddie sent them north.[1]

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[1] Jasper Mauduit's letter to the House of Representatives, relating to a reimbursement of the expense of supporting the French neutrals, 1763. *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vi. 189. Among the Bernard Papers (*Sparks MSS.*), ii. 279, is a letter from Bernard to Capt. Brookes, dated Castle William, Sept. 26, 1762, forbidding the landing of Acadians from his "transports." There is also in *Ibid.*, ii. 83, a letter of Gov. Bernard, July 20, 1763, in which he speaks of a proposition which had been made to the French neutrals then in the province, to go to France on invitation of the French government. "Many of these people," he adds, "are industrious, and would, I believe, prefer this country and become subjects of Great Britain in earnest, if they were assured of liberty of conscience." The governor accordingly asks instructions from the Lords of Trade. The number of such people intending to go was, as he says, 1,019 in all, which he considers very near if not quite the whole number in the province. Bernard expressed a hope that he could induce them to settle rather at Miramichi, as he had formed a high opinion of their industry and frugality (p. 86). When some of them wished to migrate to Saint Pierre, the small island near the St. Lawrence Gulf, then lately confirmed to France, the governor and council tried to persuade them to remain.

[2] See further in *Penna. Archives*, ii. 513, 581; *Penna. Col. Recs.*, vii. 45, 55, 239-241, 408-410.

[3] Cf. also his *Contributions to Amer. History* (1858), and *Philad. American and Gazette*, Mar. 29, 1856.

[4] *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, iii. 147. Cf. also Scharf's *Maryland*, i. 475-79; Johnston's *Cecil County* (1881), p. 263.

In the Carolinas and Georgia they were not more welcome. Jones[2] says that the 400 received in Georgia went scattering away. Dinwiddie reports[3] that in these southern colonies vessels were given them, and that at one time several hundreds of them were coasting north in vessels and canoes, so that the shores of the Dominion were opened to their descents for provision as they voyaged northward. When Dinwiddie sent a sloop after some who had been heard of near the capes, they eluded the search. When Lawrence learned of this northern coursing, he sent another circular letter to the continental governors, begging them to intercept the exiles and destroy their craft.[4] Some such destruction did take place on the Massachusetts coast,[5] and others were intercepted on the shores of Long Island.[6]

In Louisiana many of them ultimately found a permanent home, and 50,000 "Cajeans," as they are vulgarly called, constitute to-day a separate community along the "Acadian coast" of the Mississippi, in the western parts of the State.[7] After the peace and during the next few years they wandered thither through different channels: some came direct from the English colonies,[8] others from Santo Domingo, and still others passed down the Mississippi from Canada, where their reception had been even worse than in the English colonies.[9]

Until recent years have given better details, the opinions regarding the ultimate fate of most of the Acadians have remained erroneous. So little did Hutchinson know of it that he speaks (iii. 42) of their being in a manner extinct, the few which remained being mixed with other subjects in different parts of the French dominions. Later New England writers have not been better informed. Hildreth (*United States*, ii. 459) says that "the greater part, spiritless, careless, helpless, died in exile." Barry (ii. 204) says, "They became extinct, though a few of their descendants, indeed, still live at the South!" The later Nova Scotia authorities have come nearer the truth. Murdoch says very many of them returned within a few years. Rameau, in his *Une Colonie féodale*, speaks of 150 families from New England wandering back by land. Some of them, pushing on past their old farms, reached the bay of St. Mary's, and founded the villages which their descendants now occupy. Those which returned, joined to such as had escaped the hunt of the English, counted 2,500, and in 1871 their numbers had increased to 87,740 souls. Rameau, in an earlier work, *La France aux Colonies: Études sur le développement de la race française hors de l'Europe: Les Français en Amérique, Acadiens et Canadiens* (Paris, 1859), had reached the same conclusion (p. 93) about the entire number of Acadians within the peninsula (16,000) as already mentioned, and held that while 6,000 were deported (p. 144), about 9,000 escaped the proscription (p. 62). He traces their wanderings and enumerates the dispersed settlements.

A more recent writer, Hannay (pp. 406, 408), says: "The great bulk of the Acadians, however, finally succeeded in returning to the land of their birth. . . . At least two thirds of the 3,000 (?) removed eventually returned."

The guide-books and a chapter in Smith's *Acadia* tell of the numerous settlements now existing along the Madawaska River, partly in New Brunswick and partly in Maine, which are the villages of the progeny of such as fled to the St. John, and removed to these upper waters of that river when, after the close of the American Revolution, they retired before the influx of the loyalists which settled in the neighborhood of the present city of St. John.[10]

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[1] *Dinwiddie Papers*, ii. 268, 280, 293, 306, 347, 360, 363, 379, 380, 396, 408, 444, 538.

[2] *Hist. Georgia*, i. 505.

[3] *Dinwiddie Papers*, ii. 410, 412, 417, 463, 479, 544.

[4] Akins' *Selections*, etc., 303; *R. I. Col. Rec.*, v. 529.

[5] In July, 1756, Governor Spencer Phips gave orders to detain seven boats, containing ninety persons.

[6] *Doc. Col. Hist. N. Y.*, vii. 125.

[7] R. L. Daniels in *Scribner's Monthly*, xix. 383.

[8] From January to May, 1765, 650 arrived from the English colonies. Gayarré, *Louisiana, its history as a French colony* (N. Y., 1852), pp. 122, 132.

[9] Parkman, i. 282–3. There are various papers of uncertain value in the Parkman MSS. in the Mass. Hist. Society, *New France*, vol. i., respecting the fate and numbers of the exiles. One paper dated at London in 1763 says there were 866 in England, 2,000 in France, and 10,000 in the English colonies. Another French document of the same year places the number in France at from three thousand to thirty-five hundred. There are among these papers plans for establishing some at Guiana, with letters from others at Miquelon and at Cherbourg.

[10] Cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xiii. 77.

Lord Loudon's abortive attempt on Louisbourg has been mentioned in another place.[1] Parkman gives the authorities. (*Montcalm and Wolfe*, i. 473; cf. Barry's *Massachusetts*, ii. 223.)

An agreement (Sept. 12) for the supply of arms, etc., between sundry merchants and others of Maine and certain men, "for an intended scout or cruise for the killing and captivating the Indian enemy to the eastward," to be under the command of Joseph Bayley, Jr., for sixty days from Sept. 20, 1757, is in the *Maine Hist. and Geneal. Recorder*, i. p. 11.

The journal (1758) of Captain Gorham's rangers and other forces under Major Morris, in a marauding expedition to the Bay of Fundy, is given in the *Aspinwall Papers*, in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxxix. 222.

E. Boscawen.[2]

Franquet, who a year or two before the war began was sent by the French to strengthen Louisbourg and inspect the defences of Canada, kept a journal, which Parkman uses in his *Montcalm and Wolfe*.

Admiral Knowles, in the memorial for back pay which he presented in 1774 to the British government, claimed the credit of having planned the movements for this second capture of Louisbourg.

The most authoritative contemporary account of the siege of 1758, on the English side, is contained in the despatches of Amherst and Boscawen sent to Pitt, extracts from which were published as *A journal of the landing of his majesty's forces on the island of Cape Breton, and of the siege and surrender of Louisbourg* (22 pp.). What is called a third edition of this tract was printed in Boston in 1758.[3] The so-called journal of Amherst was printed in the *London Magazine*, and is included in Thomas Mante's *Hist. of the Late War in North America* (London, 1772).

Of the contemporary French accounts, Parkman says he had before him four long and minute diaries of the siege. The first is that of Drucour, the French commander, containing his correspondence with Amherst, Boscawen, and Desgouttes, the naval chief of the French. Tourville, who commanded the "Capricieux," one of the French fleet, kept a second of these diaries. A third and fourth are without the names of their writers. They agree in nearly all essential particulars.[4] The *Parkman MSS.*, in the Mass. Hist. Society's library, contain many letters from participants in the siege, which were copied from the Paris Archives de la Marine. The manuscript of Chevalier Johnstone, a Scotch Jacobite serving with the French, gives an account of the siege, which is described elsewhere (*post*, in chapter viii.) and has been used by Parkman. The *Documents Collected in France — Masachussetts Archives* (vol. ix. p. i.) contains one of the narratives.

The printed materials on the French side are

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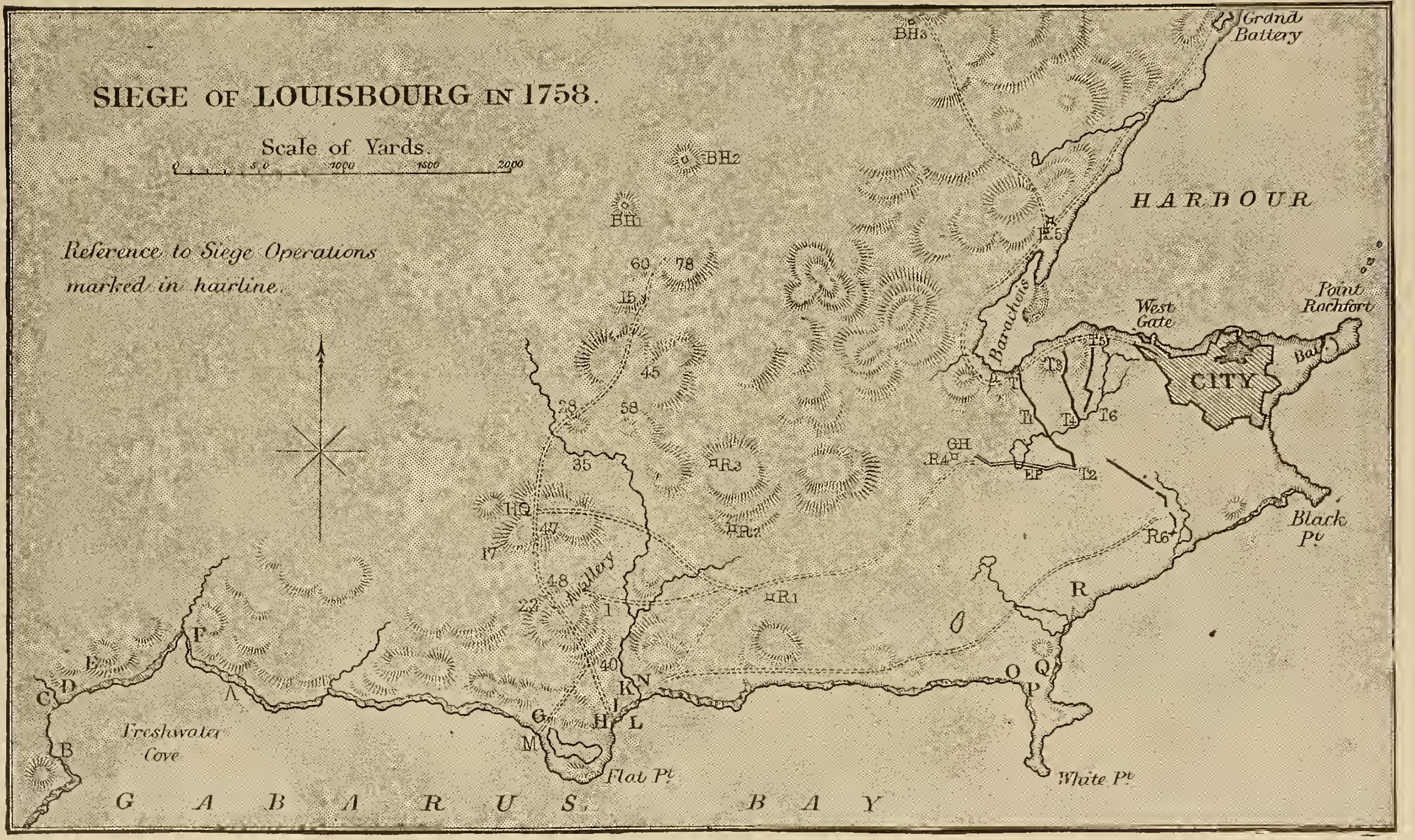
[1] See chapter viii.

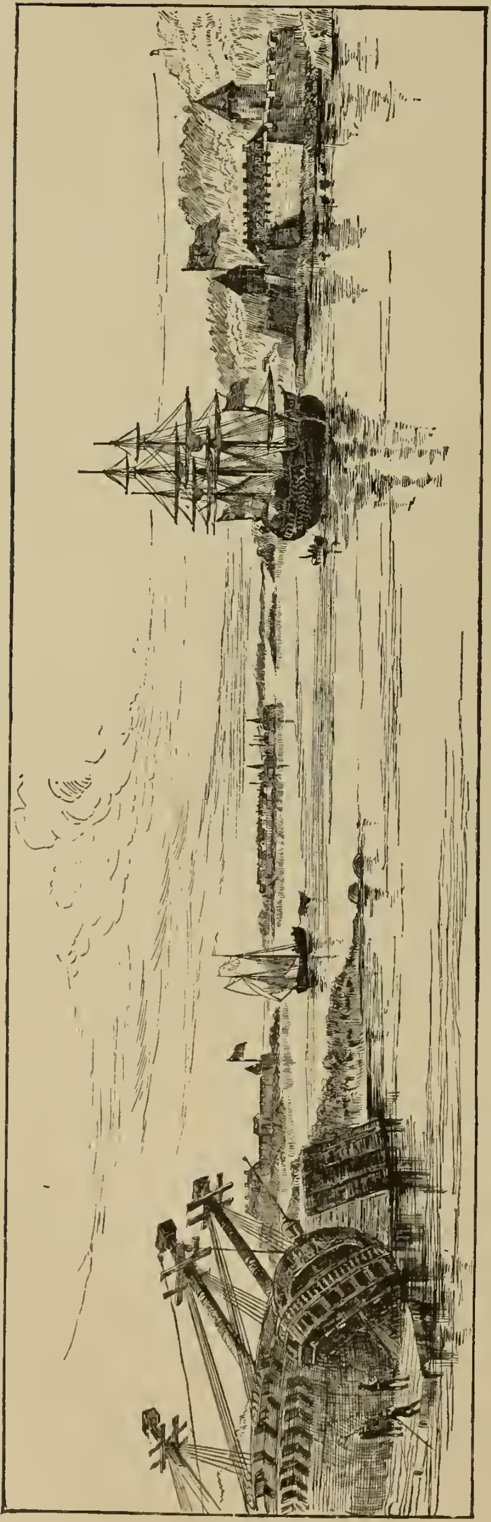
[2] After an engraving by Ravenet. Cf. David Ramsay's *Mil. Memoirs of Great Britain, or a History of the War*, 1755–1763 (Edinburgh, 1779), p. 192; and John Entick's *Hist. of the Late War*, iii. p. 443.

[3] Sabin, ix. 36,727; Boston Public Library, 4426.17; Harvard Coll. lib., 4375.39; Haven, *Ante Rev. Bibliog.*, p. 540. Parkman (*Montcalm and Wolfe*, ii. 81) refers to five letters from Amherst to Pitt, written during the siege, which he got from the English Public Record Office, copies of which are in the Parkman MSS. in the Mass. Hist. Soc. Library. Cf. *Proc.*, 2d ser., i. p. 360.

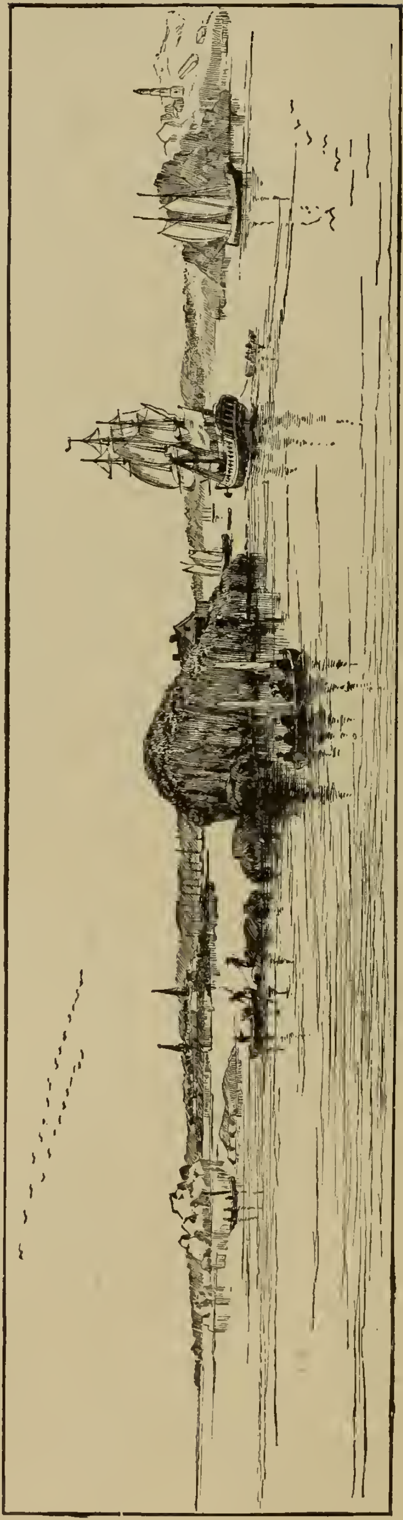
[4] There is an abstract in English of the journal of a French officer during the siege, in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1881, p. 179.



FROM BROWN'S CAPE BRETON.



VIEW OF LOUISBOURG.* (See opposite page.)



ENTRANCE TO LOUISBOURG HARBOR.† (See opposite page.)

not nearly so numerous as on the English. Of importance is Thomas Pichon's[1] *Lettres et Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du Cap Breton* (a la Haye, 1760), of which there is an English translation, of the same year, purporting to be copied from the author's original manuscript.[2]

Of individual experiences and accounts there are, on the English side, John Montresor's journal, in the *Coll. of the N. Y. Hist. Soc.*, 1881 (p. 151);[3] *An Authentic Account of the Reduction of Louisbourg in June and July*, 1758, *by a Spectator* (London, 1758),[5] which Parkman calls excellent, and says that Entick, in his *General History of the Late War* (London, 1764),[6] used it without acknowledgment. The same authority characterizes as admirable the account in John Knox's *Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America*, 1757–1760[7] (vol. i. p. 144), with its numerous letters and orders relating to the siege. Wright, in his *Life of Wolfe*, gives various letters of that active officer. Parkman also uses a diary of a captain or subaltern in Amherst's army, found in the garret of an old house at Windsor, Nova Scotia. Some contemporary letters will be found in the *Grenville Correspondence* (vol. i. pp. 240–265);[8] and other views of that day respecting the event can be gleaned from Walpole's *Memoirs of George the Second* (2d ed., vol. iii. 134).[9] Of the modern accounts, the most considerable are those in Warburton's *Conquest of Canada* (N. Y., 1850, vol. ii. p. 74), Brown's *History of Cape Breton*, and the story as recently told with unusual spirit and acquaintance with the sources in Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe* (vol. ii. chap. xix).

WOLFE.[4]

Amherst had wished to push up to Quebec immediately upon the fall of Louisbourg, but the news from Abercrombie and some hesitancy of Boscawen put an end to the hope. *Chatham Correspondence*, i. 331–333.

The reports of the capture reached London August 18. (*Grenville Correspondence*, i. p. 258.)

Jenkinson writes (Sept. 7, 1758), "Yesterday the colours that were taken at Louisbourg were carried in procession to Saint Paul's; the mob was immense." (*Grenville Corresp.*, i. 265.)

Speaking of Amherst's success at Louisbourg, Burrows, in his *Life of Lord Hawke* (London, 1883, p. 340), says: "So entirely has the impor-

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[1] He sometimes called himself Thomas Signis Tyrrell, after his mother's family. Cf. Akins' *Select. from Pub. Doc. of N. Scotia*, p. 229, where some of Pichon's papers, preserved at Halifax, are printed.

[2] Sabin, xv. 62,610–11; Brinley, i. no. 71; Carter-Brown, iii. nos. 1,274–75. There are in the *Collection de Manuscrits* (Quebec, 1883, etc.) Drucour's account of the defences of Louisbourg (iv. 145); Lahoulière's account of the siege, dated Aug. 6, 1758 (iv. 176), and other narratives (iii. 465–486).

[3] Also, *Ibid.*, p. 188, is a journal of a subsequent scout of Montresor's through the island.

[4] After the print in Entick's *Gen. Hist. of the Late War*, 3d ed., vol. iv. p. 90. See the engraving from Knox's journal, on another page, in ch. viii.

[5] Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,184.

[6] Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,389.

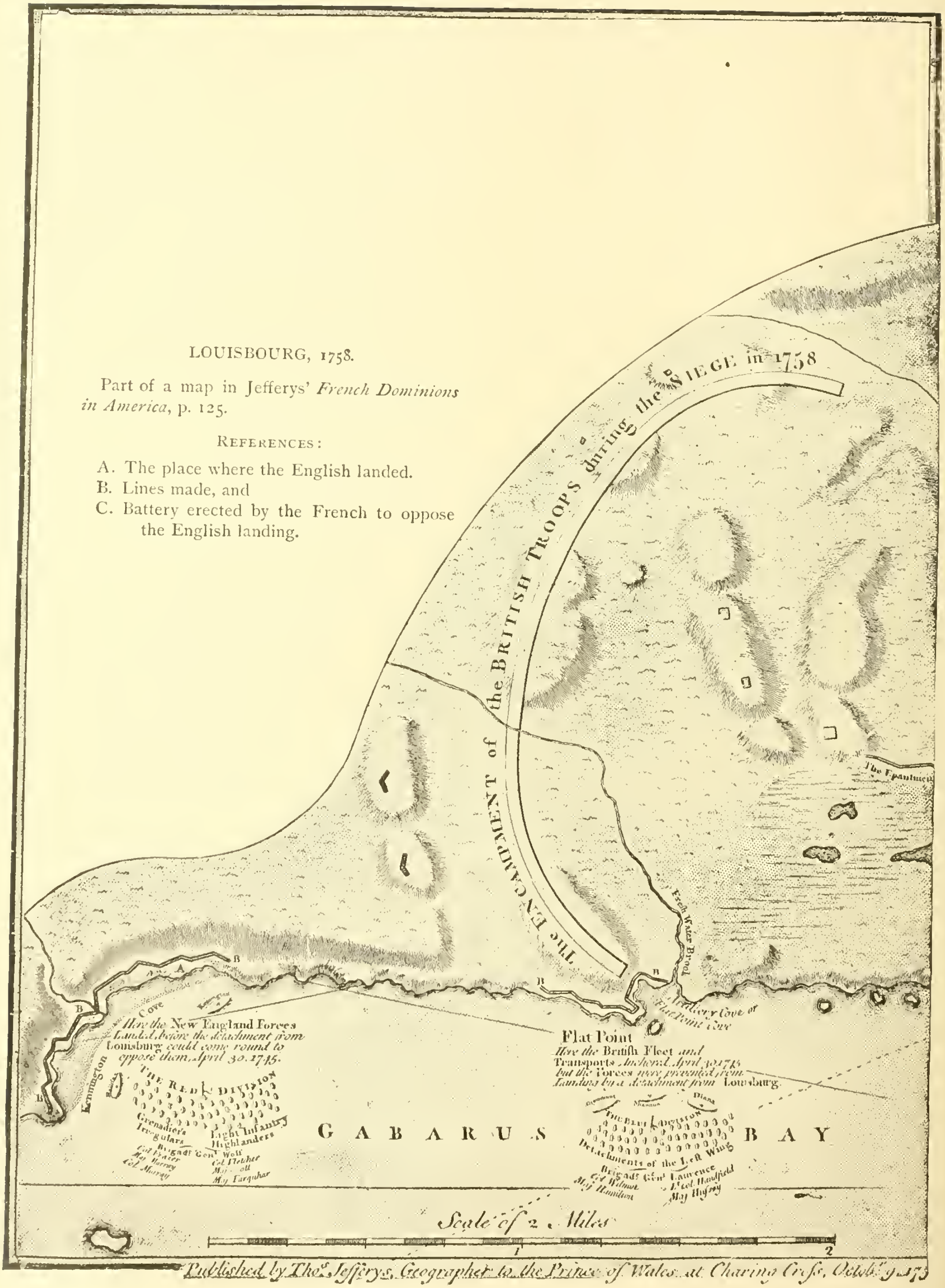
[7] Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,680.

[8] Particularly letters of Nathaniel Cotton, a chaplain on one of the ships.

[9] Cf. references in Barry's *Massachusetts*, ii. p. 230. There are some letters in the *Penna. Archives*, ii. 442, etc.

* From the northeast. One of Des Barres' coast views. (In Harvard College library.) Dr. A. H. Nichols, of Boston, possesses a plan of Louisbourg made by Geo. Follings, of Boston, a gunner in the service. He has also a contemporary sketch of the fort at Canso.

† One of Des Barres' coast views, 1779. (In Harvard College library.) A contemporary view showing the town from a point near the light-house is given in *Cassell's United States*, i. 528.



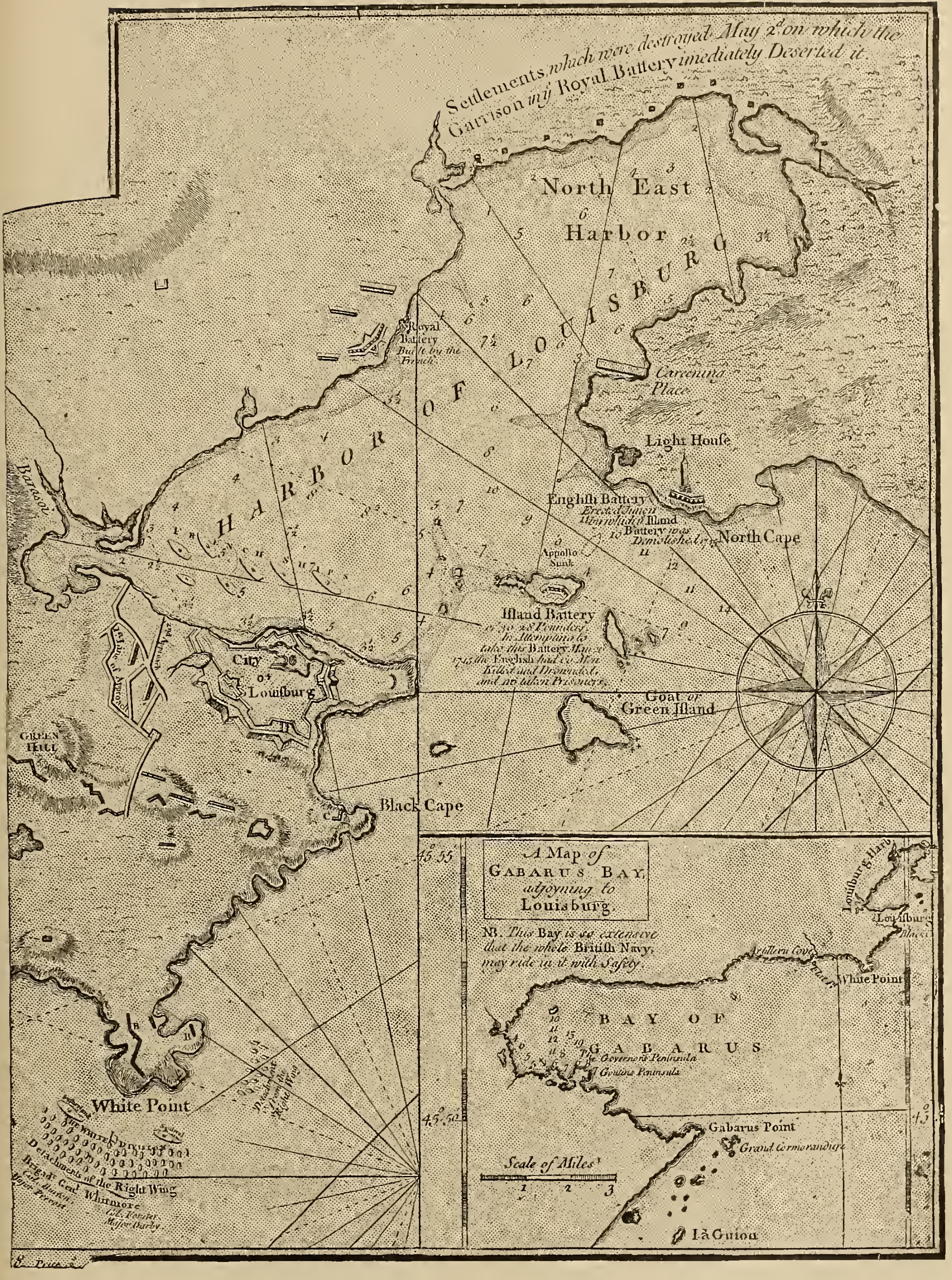
LOUISBOURG, 1758.

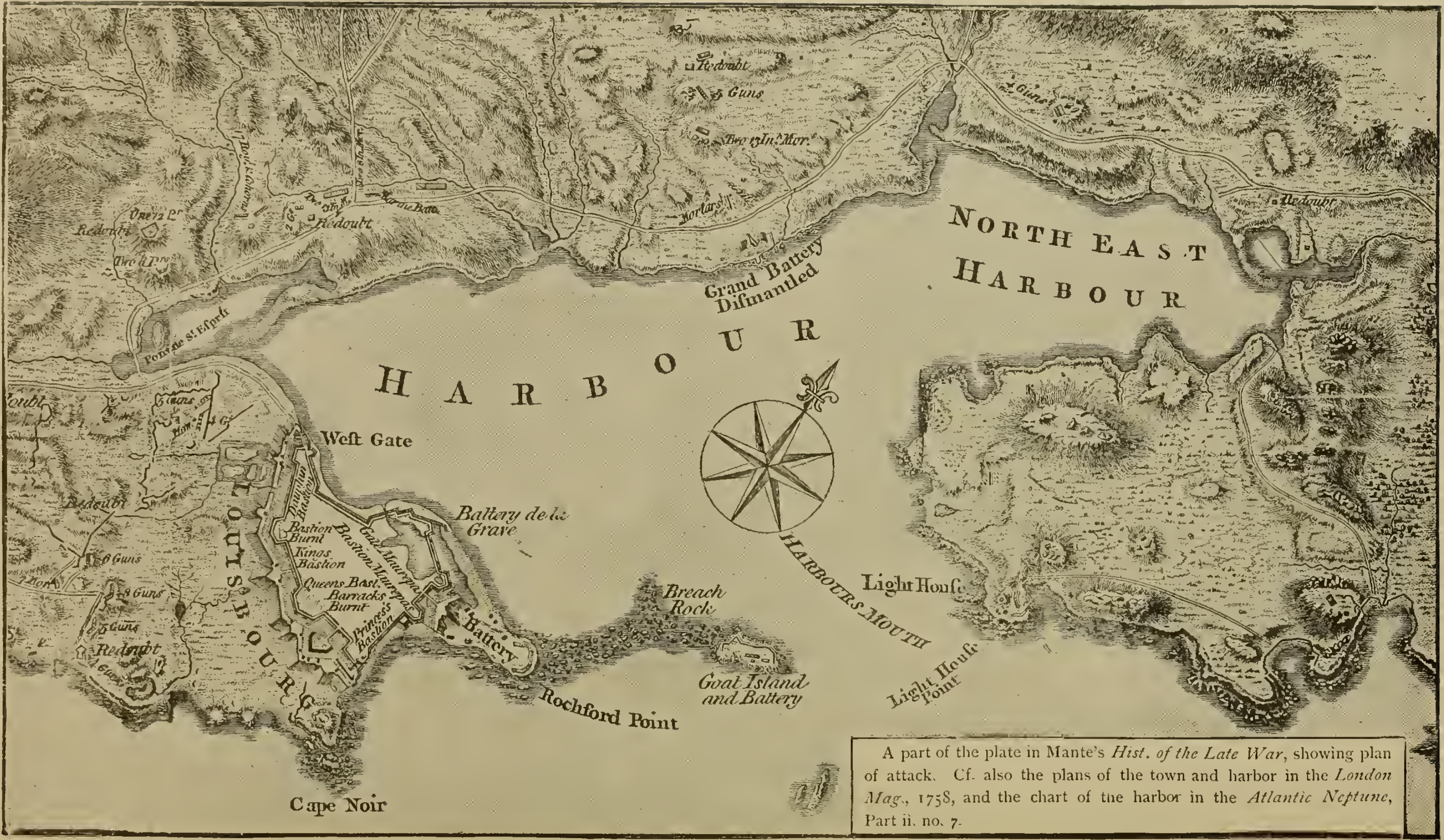
Part of a map in Jefferys' *French Dominions in America*, p. 125.

REFERENCES:

A. The place where the English landed.
B. Lines made, and
C. Battery erected by the French to oppose the English landing.

The ENCAMPMENT of the BRITISH TROOPS during the SIEGE in 1758
The Epauleme
Fresh Water Brook
Artillery Cove or Flat Point Cove
Flat Point
Here the Britiſh Fleet and Transports Anchored April 30 1745 but the Forces were prevented from Landing by a detachment from Louisburg.
Diana
Shannon
THE BLUE DIVISION
Detachments of the Left Wing
Brigad^r Gen^l Laurence
Col. Wilmot
Maj. Hamilton
L^t Col. Handfield
Maj. Hussey
Cove
Here the New England Forces Landed, before the detachment from Louisburg could come round to oppose them, April 30. 1745.
Kennington
THE RED DIVISION
Grenadiers
Irregulars
Light Infantry
Highlanders
Brigad^r Gen^l Wolf
Col. Frazer
Maj. Murray
Col. Murray
Col. Fletcher
Maj. Scott
Maj. Farquhar
A
B
GABARUS BAY
Scale of 2 Miles
1
2
Published by Tho^s Jefferys, Geographer to the Prince of Wales, at Charing Croſs, Octob^r 9. 175


Settlements, which were destroyed May 2d on which the Garrison in ye Royal Battery imediately Deserted it.
North East Harbor
HARBOR OF LOUISBURG
Royal Battery Built by the French
Careening Place
Light House
English Battery Erected Juen 11th in which ye Island Battery was Demolished
North Cape
Appollo Sunk
Island Battery of 30 28 Pounders In Attempting to take this Battery May 1745 the English had 60 Men Killed and Drownded, and 116 taken Prisoners
Goat or Green Island
City of Louisburg
Baroon
1st Line of Approach
2nd Approach
Green Hill
Black Cape
White Point
The White Division
Detachments of the Right Wing
Brigdr. Genl. Whitmore
Col. Burton
Major Prevost
Col. Forster
Major Darby
45.55
45.50
A Map of GABARUS BAY, adjoyning to Louisburg.
NB. This Bay is so extensive that the whole British Navy may ride in it with Safety.
BAY OF GABARUS
The Governor's Peninsula
Goulins Peninsula
Artillery Cove
Flat Pt.
White Point
Louisburg Harb.
Louisburg
Black
Gabarus Point
Grand Cormorandiere
La Guiou
Scale of Miles
1
2
3
45
Price



A part of the plate in Mante's *Hist. of the Late War*, showing plan of attack. Cf. also the plans of the town and harbor in the *London Mag.*, 1758, and the chart of the harbor in the *Atlantic Neptune*, Part ii. no. 7.

tance of this place receded into the background that it requires an effort to understand why the success of Boscawen and Amherst should have been thought worthy of the solemn thanks of Parliament, and why the captured colors of the enemy should have been paraded through the streets of London."

Mr. William S. Appleton, in the *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, vol. xi. pp. 297, 298, describes three medals struck to commemorate the siege of 1758. Cf. also *Trans. Quebec Lit. and Hist. Soc.*, 1872–73, p. 79.

A view of Louisburg in North America, taken from near the light-house, when that city was besieged in 1758, is the title of a contemporary copper-plate engraving published by Jefferys. (Carter-Brown, iii. p. 335.) Cf. the view in Cassell's *United States*, i. 528.

The plan of the siege, here presented, is reproduced from Brown's *Hist. of Cape Breton* (p. 297): —

KEY: The French batteries to oppose the landing were as follows: —

C. One swivel.
D. Two swivels.
E. Two six-pounders.
F. One twenty-pounder and two six-pounders.
G. One seven-inch and one eight-inch mortar.
H. Two swivels.
I. Two six-pounders.
K. Two six-pounders.
N. Two twelve-pounders.
O. Two six-pounders.
P. Two twenty-four pounders.
Q. Two six-pounders.
R. Two twelve-pounders.

The points of attack were as follows: —

A. Landing of the first column.
B. Landing of the second column.

These troops carried the adjacent batteries and pursued their defenders towards the city. The headquarters of the English were now established at H Q, while the position of the various regiments is marked by the figures corresponding to their numbers. Three redoubts (R 1, 2, 3) were thrown up in advance, and two block-houses (B H 1, 2) were built on their left flank; and later, to assist communication with Wolfe, who had been sent to the east side of the harbor, a third block-house (B H 3) was constructed. Then a fourth redoubt was raised at Green Hill (G H R 4) to cover work in the trenches. Meanwhile the English batteries at the light-house had destroyed the island battery, and the French had sunk ships in the channel to impede the entrance of the English fleet. The first parallel was opened at T, T1, T2, and a rampart was raised, E P, to protect the men passing to the trenches. Wolfe now erected a new redoubt at R 5, to drive off a French frigate near the Barachois, which annoyed the trenches; and another at R 6, which soon successfully sustained a strong attack. The second (T 3, 4) and third (T 5, 6) parallels were next established. A boat attack from the English fleet outside led to the destruction and capture of the two remaining French ships in the harbor, opening the way for the entrance of the English fleet. At this juncture the town surrendered.

Cf. also the plans in Jefferys' *Natural and Civil Hist. of the French Dominions in North America* (1760), and in Mante's *Hist. of the War* (annexed). Parkman, in his *Montcalm and Wolfe*, ii. 52, gives an eclectic map. *Father Abraham's Almanac*, published at Philadelphia and Boston in 1759, has a map of the siege.

Treaty at Halifax of Governor Lawrence with the St. John and Passamaquoddy Indians, Feb. 23, 1760. (*Mass. Archives*, xxxiv.; Williamson, i. 344.)

Conference with the Eastern Indians at Fort Pownall, Mar. 2, 1760. (*Mass. Archives*, xxix. 478.)

Pownall's treaty of April 29, 1760. Brigadier Preble's letter, April 30, 1760, respecting the terms on which he had received the Penobscots under the protection of the government. (*Mass. Archives*, xxxiii.) Conference with the Penobscots at the council chamber in Boston, Aug. 22, 1763. (*Mass. Archives*, xxix. 482.) Cf. on the Indian treaties, *Maine Hist. Soc. Collections*, iii. 341, 359. The treaty of Paris had been signed Feb. 10, 1763.

THE MAPS AND BOUNDS OF ACADIA.

By the Editor.

The cartography of Acadia begins with that coast, "discovered by the English," which is made a part of Asia in the map of La Cosa in 1500.[1] The land is buried beneath the waves, west of the land of the king of Portugal, in the Cantino map of 1502.[2] It lies north of the "Plisacus Sinus," as a part of Asia, in the Ruysch map of 1508.[3] It is a vague coast in the map of the Sylvanus Ptolemy of 1511.[4] For a long time the eastern coast of Newfoundland and neighboring shores stood for about all that the early map-makers ventured to portray; called at one time Baccalaos, now Corterealis, again Terra Nova; sometimes completed to an insular form, occasionally made to face a bit of coast that might pass for Acadia, often doubtless embracing in its insularity an indefinite extent that might well include island and main together, vaguely expressed, until in the end the region became angularly crooked as a part of a continental coast line. The maps which will show all this variety have been given in previous volumes. The Homem map of 1558[5] is the earliest to give the Bay of Fundy with any definiteness. There was not so much improvement as might be expected for some years to come, when the map-makers followed in the main the types of Ruscelli and Ortelius, as will be seen by sketches and fac-similes in earlier volumes.

In 1592 the Molineaux globe of the Middle Temple[6] became a little more definite, but the old type was still mainly followed. In 1609 Lescarbot gave special treatment to the Acadian region[7] for the first time, and his drafts were not so helpful as they ought to have been to the more general maps of Hondius, Michael Mercator, and Oliva, all of 1613, but Champlain in 1612[8] and 1613[9] did better. The Dutch and English maps which followed began to develop the coasts of Acadia, like those of Jacobsz (1621),[10] Sir William Alexander (1624),[11] Captain Briggs in Purchas (1625),[12] Jannson's of 1626, and the one in Speed's *Prospect*, of the same year.[13] The Dutch De Laet began to establish features that lingered long[14] with the Dutch, as shown in the maps of Jannson and Visscher; while Champlain, in his great map of 1632,[15] fashioned a type that the French made as much of as they had opportunity, as, for instance, Du Val in 1677. Dudley in 1646[16] gave an eclectic survey of the coast. After this the maps which pass under the names of Covens and Mortier,[17] and that of Visscher with the Dutch, and the Sanson epochal map of 1656[18] among the French, marked some, but not much, progress. The map of Heylin's *Cosmographie* in 1663, the missionary map of the same year,[19] and the new drafts of Sanson in 1669 show some variations, while that of Sanson is followed in Blome (1670). The map in Ogilby,[20] though reëngraved to take the place of the maps in Montanus and Dapper,[21] does not differ much.

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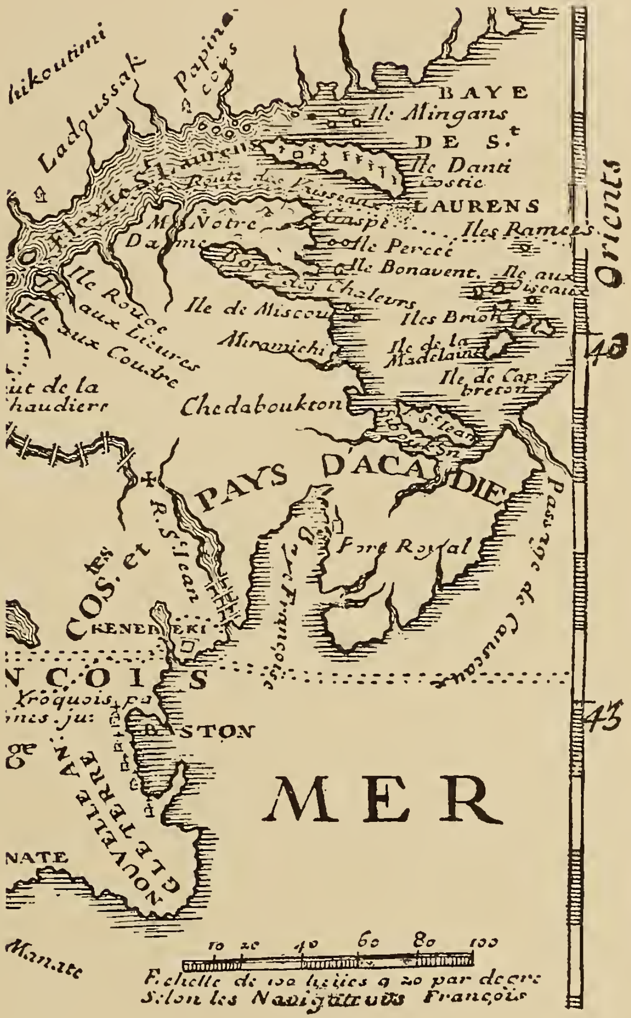
[1] Vol. III. p. 8.
[2] Vol. II. p. 108.
[3] Vol. III. p. 9.
[4] Vol. II. p. 122.
[5] Vol. IV. p. 92.
[6] Vol. III. p. 213.
[7] Vol. IV. pp. 107, 152. This is the earliest map given in the blue book, *North American boundary*, Part I. London, 1840.
[8] Vol. IV. p. 380.
[9] Vol. IV. p. 382.
[10] Vol. IV. p. 383.
[11] Vol. III. p. 306.
[12] Vol. IV. p. 383.
[13] Vol. IV. p. 384.
[14] Vol. IV. p. 384.
[15] Vol. IV. p. 386.
[16] Vol. IV. p. 388.
[17] Vol. IV. p. 390.
[18] Vol. IV. p. 391.
[19] Vol. IV. p. 148.
[20] Vol. IV. p. 393.

[21] The cartography of these three books deserves discrimination. In *De Nieuwe en onbekende Weereld* of Montanus (Amsterdam, 1670–71) the map of America, "per Gerardum a Schagen," represents the great lakes beyond Ontario merged into one. The German version, *Die unbekante Neue Welt*, of Olfert Dapper has the same map, newly engraved, and marked "per Jacobum Meursium." Ogilby's English version, *America, being an accurate description of the New World* (London, 1670), though using for the most part the plates of Montanus, has a wholly different map of America, "per Johannem Ogiluium." This volume has an extra map of the Chesapeake, in addition to the Montanus one, beside English maps of Jamaica and Barbadoes, not in Montanus. These maps are repeated in the second edition, which is made up of the same sheets, to which an appendix is added, and a new title, reading, *America, being the latest and most accurate description of the new world.* It will be remembered that Pope, in the *Dunciad* (i. 141), mocked at Ogilby for his ponderous folio, —

"Here swells the shelf with Ogilby the Great."



ACADIA.

To complete the two centuries from La Cosa, we may indicate among the French maps a missionary map of 1680,[1] that of Hennepin,[2] the great map of Franquelin (1684),[3] the "partie orientale" of Coronelli's map of 1688–89,[4] and the one given by Leclercq in the *Établissement de la Foy* (1691). The latest Dutch development was seen in the great Atlas of Blaeu in 1685.[5]

With the opening of the eighteenth century, we have by Herman Moll, a leading English geographer of his day, a *New Map of Newfoundland, New Scotland, the isles of Breton, Anticoste, St. Johns, together with the fishing bancks*, which appeared in Oldmixon's *British Empire in America*, in 1708,[1] and by Lahontan's cartographer the *Carte générale de Canada*, which appeared in the La Haye edition (1709) of his travels, repeated in his *Mémoires* (1741, vol. iii.). A section showing the southern bounds as understood by the French to run on the parallel of 43° 30′, is annexed.

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[1] Vol. III. p. 383.

[2] Vol. IV. p. 249.

[3] Vol. IV. p. 228.

[4] See Vol. IV. p. 229. This map was also reproduced in the *North American boundary*, Part i. London, 1840.

[5] For further references, see sections v. and vi. of "The Kohl Collection of Maps," published in *Harvard Univ. Bulletin*, 1884–85. Cf. also the *Mémoire pour les limites de la Nouvelle France et de la Nouvelle Angleterre* (1689) in *Collection de Manuscrits relatifs à l'histoire de la Nouvelle France*, Quebec, 1883, vol. i. p. 531. In later volumes of this *Collection* will be found (vol. iii. p. 49) "Mémoire sur les limites de l'Acadie envoyé à Monseigneur le Duc d'Orléans par le Père Charlevoix," dated at Quebec, Oct. 29, 1720 (iii. p. 522); "Mémoire sur les limites de l'Acadie," dated 1755. There is an historical summary of the French claim (1504–1706) in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, ix. 781.

From 1714 to 1722 we have the maps of Guillaume Delisle, which embody the French view of the bounds of Acadia.

In 1718 the Lords of Trade in England recognized the rights of the original settlers of the debatable region under the Duke of York, — which during the last twenty years had more than once changed hands, — and these claimants then petitioned to be set up as a province, to be called "Georgia."[2]

In 1720, Père Anbury wrote a *Mémoire*, which confines Acadia to the Nova Scotia peninsula, and makes the region from Casco Bay to Beaubassin a part of Canada.[3]

In March, 1723, M. Bohé reviewed the historical evidences from 1504 down, but only allowed the southern coast of the peninsula to pass under the name of Acadia.[4]

In 1731 the crown took the opinion of the law-officers as to the right of the English king to the lands of Pemaquid, between the Kennebec and the St. Croix, because of the conquest of the territory by the French, and reconquest causing the vacating of chartered rights; and this document, which is long and reviews the history of the region, is in Chalmers' *Opinions of Eminent Lawyers*, i. p. 78, etc.

In 1732 appeared the great map of Henry Popple, *Map of the British Empire in America and the French and Spanish settlements adjacent thereto*. It was reproduced at Amsterdam about 1737. Popple's large MS. draft, which is preserved in the British Museum,[5] is dated 1727. When in 1755 some points of Popple told against their claim, the English commissioners were very ready to call the map inaccurate. We have the Acadian region on a small scale in Keith's *Virginia*, in 1738. The Delisle map of North America in 1740 is reproduced in Mills' *Boundaries of Ontario* (1873). The *English Pilot* of 1742, published at London, gives various charts of the coast, particularly no. 5, "Newfoundland to Maryland," and no. 13, "Cape Breton to New York."

Much better drafts were made when Nicolas Bellin was employed to draw the maps for Charlevoix's *Nouvelle France*,[6] which was published in 1744. These were the *Carte de la partie orientale de la Nouvelle France ou du Canada* (vol. i. 438), a *Carte de l'Accadie dressée sur les manuscrits du dépost des cartes et plans de la marine* (vol. i. 12),[7] and a *Carte de l'Isle Royale* vol. ii.) p. 385), beside lesser maps of La Heve, Milford harbor, and Port Dauphin. These are reproduced in Dr. Shea's English version of Charlevoix. Bellin's drafts were again used as the basis of the map of Acadia and Port Royal (nos. 26, 27) in *Le petit atlas maritime*, vol. i., *Amérique Septentrionale, par le S. Bellin* (1764).

The leading English and French general maps showing Acadia at this time are that of America in Bowen's *Complete System of Geography* (1747)[8] and D'Anville's *Amérique Septentrionale* (Paris), which was reëngraved, with changes, at Nuremberg in 1756, and at Boston (reprinted, London) 1755, in Douglass's *Summary of the British Settlements in North America*. It is here called "improved with the back settlements of Virginia."[1]

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[1] Moll's maps were used again in the 1741 edition of Oldmixon. Moll combined his maps of this period in an atlas called *The world displayed, or a new and correct set of maps of the several empires*, etc., the maps themselves bearing dates usually from 1708 to 1720.

[2] This memorial was printed by Bradford in Philadelphia about 1721. Hildeburn's *Century of Printing*, no. 170. There was a claim upon the Kennebec, arising from certain early grants to Plymouth Colony, and in elucidation of such claims *A patent for Plymouth in New England, to which is annexed extracts from the Records of the Colony, etc.*, was printed in Boston in 1751. There is a copy among the *Belknap Papers*, in the Mass. Hist. Soc. (61, c. 105, etc.), where will be found a printed sheet of extracts from deeds, to which is annexed an engraved plan of the coast of Maine between Cape Elizabeth and Pemaquid, and of the Kennebec valley up to Norridgewock, which is called *A true copy of an ancient plan of E. Hutchinson's, Esq^{r}., from Jos. Heath, in* 1719, *and Phin^{s}. Jones' Survey in* 1751, *and from John North's late survey in* 1752. *Attest, Thomas Johnston.* The Belknap copy has annotations in the handwriting of Thomas Prince, and with it is a tract called *Remarks on the plan and extracts of deeds lately published by the proprietors of the township of Brunswick*, dated at Boston, Jan. 26, 1753. This also has Prince's notes upon it.

[3] *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, ix. 894. Cf. *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., vi. 93.

[4] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, ix. 915.

[5] *Brit. Mus. MSS.*, no. 23,615 (fol. 72).

[6] Charlevoix was brought to the attention of New England in 1746, by copious extracts in a tract printed at Boston, *An account of the French settlements in North America . . . claimed and improved by the French king. By a gentleman.*

[7] Jefferys reproduced this map in the *Gentleman's Mag.* in 1746.

[8] Among the more popular maps is that of Thomas Kitchin, in the *London Mag.*, 1749, p. 181.

The varying territorial claims of the French and English were illustrated in a *Geographical History of Nova Scotia*, published at London in 1749; a French version of which, as *Histoire géographique de la Nouvelle Écosse*, made by Étienne de Lafargue, and issued anonymously, was published at Paris in 1755, but its authorship was acknowledged when it was later included in Lafargue's *Œuvres*.[2] The *Mémoire* which Galissonière wrote in December, 1750, claimed for France westward to the Kennebec, and thence he bounded New France on the watershed of the St. Lawrence and Mississippi.[3] In 1750–51 Joseph Bernard Chabert was sent by the French king to rectify the charts of the coasts of Acadia, and his *Voyage fait par ordre du Roi en* 1750 *et* 1751 *dans l'Amérique Septentrionale pour rectifier les cartes des côtes de l'Acadie, de l'isle Royale, et de l'isle de Terre Neuve*, Paris, 1753, has maps of Acadia and of the coast of Cape Breton.[4]

In 1753 the futile sessions of the commissioners of England and France began at Paris. Their aim was to define by agreement the bounds of Acadia as ceded to England by the treaty of Utrecht (1713),[5] under the indefinite designation of its "ancient limits." What were these ancient limits? On this question the French had constantly shifted their grounds. The commission of De Monts in 1603 made Acadia stretch from Central New Brunswick to Southern Pennsylvania, or between the 40th and 46th degrees of latitude; but, as Parkman says, neither side cared to produce the document. When the French held without dispute the adjacent continent, they never hesitated to confine Acadia to the peninsula.[6] Equally, as interest prompted, they could extend it to the Kennebec, or limit it to the southern half of the peninsula. Cf. the *Mémoire sur les limites de l'Acadie* (joint à la lettre de Begon, Nov. 9, 1713), in the Parkman MSS. in Mass. Hist. Soc., *New France*, i. p. 9.

In July, 1749, La Galissonière, in writing to his own ministry, had declared that Acadia embraced the entire peninsula; but, as the English knew nothing of this admission, he could later maintain that it was confined to the southern shore only. Cf. again *Fixation des limites de l'Acadie, etc.*, 1753, among the Parkman MSS. in Mass. Hist. Soc., *New France*, i. pp. 203–269.

On this question of the "ancient limits," the English commissioners had of course their way of answering, and the New England claims were well sustained in the arguing of the case by Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts,[7] who with William Mildmay was an accredited agent of the English monarch. The views of the opposing representatives were irreconcilable,[8] and in 1755 the French court appealed to the world by presenting the two sides of the case, as shown in the counter memoirs of the commissioners, in a printed work, which was sent to all the foreign courts. It appeared in two editions, quarto (1755) and duodecimo (1756), in three and six volumes respectively, and was entitled *Mémoires des Commissaires du Roi et de ceux de sa Majesté Britannique*. Both editions have a preliminary note saying that the final reply of the English commissioners was not ready for the press, and so was not included.[9] This omission gave occasion to the English, when, the same year (1755), they published at London their *Memorials of the English and French commissaries concerning the limits of Nova Scotia or Acadia*, to claim that, by including this final response of the English commissioners, their record of the conference was more complete. This London quarto volume[1] contained various documents.[2]

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[1] Sabin, xii. no. 47,552.

[2] See Vol. IV. p. 154.

[3] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 220.

[4] Rich, *Bibl. Amer.* (after 1700), p. 103; Leclerc, no. 691.

[5] The articles of the treaty of Utrecht touching the American possessions of England are cited and commented upon in William Bollan's *Importance and Advantage of Cape Breton*, etc. (London, 1746.) The diplomacy of the treaty of Utrecht can be followed in the *Miscellaneous State Papers*, 1501–1726, in two volumes, usually cited by the name of the editor, as the *Hardwicke Papers*. Cf. also *Actes, mémoires et autres pièces authentiques concernant la paix d'Utrecht, depuis l'année* 1706 *jusqu'à présent*. Utrecht, 1712–15, 6 vols. J. W. Gerard's *Peace of Utrecht, a historical review of the great treaty of* 1713–14, *and of the principal events of the war of the Spanish succession* (New York, etc., 1885) has very little (p. 286) about the American aspects of the treaty.

[6] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, ix. 878, 894, 913, 932, 981.

[7] To Shirley was dedicated a tract by William Clarke, of Boston, *Observations on the late and present conduct of the French, with regard to their encroachments upon the British colonies in North America; together with remarks on the importance of these colonies to Great Britain*, Boston, 1755, which was reprinted in London the same year. Cf. Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, nos. 234, 235; Hildeburn's *Century of Printing*, no. 1,407; *Catal. of works rel. to Franklin in Boston Pub. Lib.*, p. 13. The commissioners seem also to have used an account of Nova Scotia, written in 1743, which is printed in the *Nova Scotia Hist. Coll.*, i. 105.

[8] The correspondence of the Earl of Albemarle, the British minister at Paris, with the Newcastle administration, to heal the differences of the conflicting claims, is noted as among the Lansdowne MSS. in the *Hist. MSS. Com. Report*, iii. 141.

[9] The three quarto volumes were found on board a French prize which was taken into New York, and from them the French claim was set forth in *A memorial containing a summary view of facts with their authorities in answer to the Observations sent by the English ministry to the courts of Europe. Translated from*

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the French. New York, 1757. The 2d volume of the original 4to ed. and the 3d volume of the 12mo edition contain the following treaties which are not in the London edition, later to be mentioned:—

1629, Apr. 24, between Louis XIII. and Charles I., at Suze.
1632, Mar. 29, between Louis XIII. and Charles I., at Saint Germain-en-Laye.
1655, Nov. 3, between France and England, at Westminster.
1667, July 21–31, between France and England, at Breda; and one of alliance between Charles II. and the Netherlands.
1678, Aug. 10, between Louis XIV. and the Netherlands, at Nimégue.
1686, Nov. 16. Neutrality for America, between France and England, at London.
1687, Dec. 1–11. Provisional, between France and England, concerning America, at Whitehall.
1697, Sept. 20, between France and England, at Ryswick.
[This treaty is also in the *Collection de Manuscrits relatifs à l'histoire de la Nouvelle France* (Quebec, 1884), vol. ii.]
1712, Aug. 19. Suspension of arms between France and England, at Paris.
1713, Mar. 31–11 Apr. Peace between France and England, and treaty of navigation and commerce, at Utrecht.
1748, Oct. 18, between France, England, and the Netherlands, at Aix-la-Chapelle.

The *Bedford Correspondence* (3 vols., 1842) is of the first importance in elucidating the negotiations which led to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The *Mémoires* of Paris and the *Memorials* of London also track the dispute over the St. Lucia (island) question, but in the present review that part need not be referred to.

[1] It is said to have been arranged by Charles Townshend. Cf. Vol. IV. index.

[2] 1. Memorial describing the limits, etc. (in French and English), signed Sept. 21, 1750, by W. Shirley and W. Mildmay.

2. "Mémoires sur l'Acadie" of the French commissioners, Sept. 21 and Nov. 16, 1750.

3. Memorial of the English commissioners (in French and English), Jan. 11, 1751.

4. Memoir of the French commissioners (en réponse), Oct. 4, 1751. The "preuves" are cited at the foot of each page.

5. Memorial of the English commissioners (in French and English) in reply to no. 4. The "authorities" are given at the foot of the page. It is signed at Paris, Jan. 23, 1753, by William Mildmay and Ruvigny de Cosne.

6. "Pièces justificatives," supporting the memoir of the English commissioners, Jan. 11, 1751, viz.:—

Concession of James I. to Thomas Gates, Apr., 1606 (in French and English).
Concession of James I. to Sir Wm. Alexander, Sept., 1621 (in Latin), being the same as that of Charles I., July 12, 1625.
Occurrences in Acadia and Canada in 1627–28, by Louis Kirk, as found in the papers of the Board of Trade (in French and English).
Lettres patentes au Sieur d'Aulnay Charnisay, Feb., 1647.
Lettres patentes au Sieur de la Tour, 1651. [There are various papers on the La Tour-D'Aulnay controversy in *Collection de Manuscrits*, Quebec, 1884, ii. 351, etc.]
Extract from Memoirs of Crowne, 1654 (in French and English).
Orders of Cromwell to Capt. Leverett, Sept. 18, 1656 (in French and English).
Acte de cession de l'Acadie au Roi de France, 17 Feb., 1667–8 (in French and English).
Letters of Temple, 1668 (in French and English).
Lettre du Sieur Morillon du Bourg, dated "à Boston, le 9 Nov., 1668."
Order of Charles II. to Temple to surrender Acadia, Aug. 6, 1669 (in French and English).
Temple's order to Capt. Walker to surrender Acadia, July 7, 1670 (in French and English).
Act of surrender of Pentagoet by Walker, Aug. 5, 1670 (in French and English).
Procès verbal de prise de possession du fort de Gemisick, Aug. 27, 1670.
Certificate de la redition de Port Royal, Sept. 2, 1670.
Ambassadeur de France au Roi d'Angleterre, Jan. 16, 1685.
Vins saisis à Pentagoet, 1687.
John Nelson to the lord justices of England, 1697 (in French and English).
Gouverneur Villebon à Gouverneur Stoughton, Sept. 5, 1698.
Vernon to Lord Lexington, Ap. 29, 1700 (in French and English).
Board of Trade to Queen Anne, June 2, 1709 (in French and English).
Promesse du Sieur de Subercase, Oct. 23, 1710.
Premières Propositions de la France, Ap. 22, 1711.
Réponses de la France. Oct. 8, 1711, aux demands de la Grand Bretagne (in French and English).
Instruction to British plenipotentiaries for making a treaty with France, Dec. 23, 1711 (in French and English).

In 1757 a fourth volume was added to the quarto Paris edition, containing the final reply of the English commissioners, and completing the record of the two years' conference. The four volumes are a very valuable repository of historical material; and, from printing at length the documents offered in evidence, it is a much more useful gathering than the single English volume, which we have already described. The points of difference between the two works are these: —

The memorial of Shirley and Mildmay (Jan. 11, 1751), given in French only in the Paris edition, and accompanied by observations of the French commissioners in foot-notes, is here given in French and English, but without the foot-notes. The English memorial of Jan. 23, 1753, lacks the observations of the French commissioners which accompany it in their vol. iv.[1]

Among the "pièces justificatives" in the London edition, various papers are omitted which are given in the Paris edition. The reason of the omission is that they already existed in print. Such are the texts of various treaties, and extracts from printed books.

The London edition prints, however, the MS. sources among these proofs, but does not give the observations of the French commissioners which accompany them in the Paris edition. Among the papers thus omitted in the London edition are the provincial charter of Massachusetts Bay and Gen. John Hill's manifesto, printed at Boston from Charlevoix.

Vol. iv. of the Paris edition has various additional "pièces produites par les commissaires du Roi," including extracts from Hakluyt, Peter Martyr, Ramusio, Gomara, Fabian, Wytfliet, as well as the English charters of Carolina (1662–63, 1665) and of Georgia (1732).

The Paris edition was also reprinted at Copenhagen, with a somewhat different arrangement, under the title *Mémoires des commissaires*

Mémoire de M. St. Jean, May 24, 1712 (in French and English).
Réponses du Roi au mémoire envoyé de Londres, June 5–10, 1712.
Offers of France, Demands for England, the King's Answers, Sept. 10, 1712 (in French and English).
Treaty of Utrecht, art. xii. (in Latin and French).
Acte de cession de l'Acadie par Louis XIV., May, 1713.

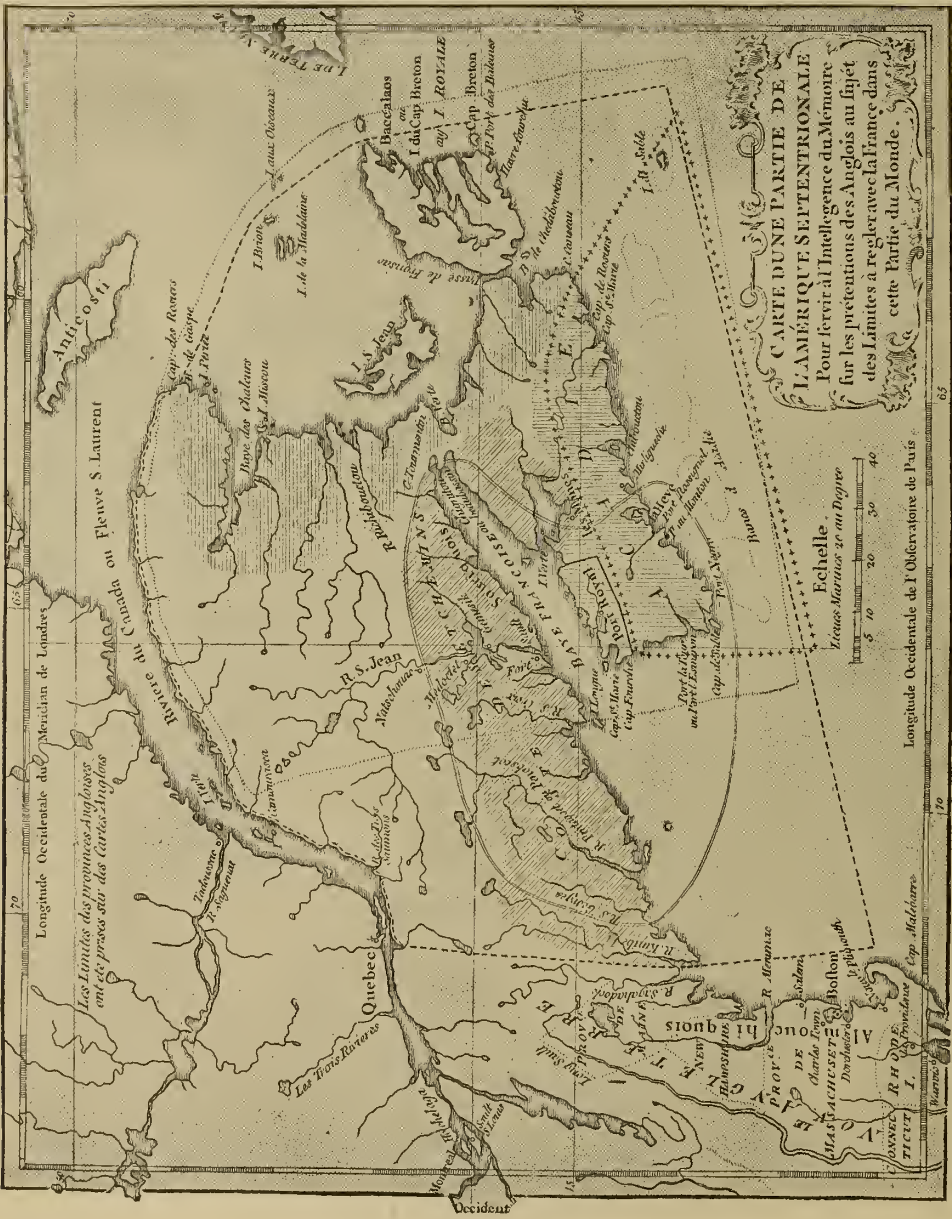
7. Table des Citations, etc., dans le mémoire des Com. Français, Oct. 4, 1751, viz.: —

Ouvrages imprimés: Traités, 1629–1749; Mémoires, etc., par les Com. de sa Majesté Britannique; Titres et pièces communiquées aux Com. de sa Majesté Britannique.

Pièces manuscrites: —

1632, May 19. Concession à Rasilly.
1635, Jan. 15. Concession à Charles de St. Étienne.
1638, Feb. 10. Lettre du Roy au Sieur d'Aunay Charnisay.
1641, Feb. 13. Ordre du Roi au Sieur d'Aunay Charnisay.
1645, Mar. 6. Arrêt.
1645, June 6. Commission du Roi au Sieur de Montmagny.
1651, Jan. 17. Provisions en faveur du Sieur Lauson.
1654, Jan. 30. Provision pour le Sieur Denis.
1654, Aug. 16. Capitulation de Port Royal.
1656, Aug. 9. Concession faite par Cromwell.
1657, Jan. 26. Lettres patentes en faveur du Vicomte d'Argenson.
1658, Mar. 12. Arrêt (against departing without leave).
1663, Jan. 19. Concession des isles de le Madelaine, etc., au Sieur Doublet.
1663, May 1. Lettres patentes au Gov. de Mezy.
1664, Feb. 1. Concession au Sieur Doublet (discovery in St. Jean Island).
1668, Nov. 29. Lettre du Temple au Sieur du Bourg.
1669, Mar. 8. Ordre du Roi d'Angleterre au Temple pour restituer l'Acadie.
1676, Oct. 16. Concession de la terre de Soulanges par Frontenac et Duchesneau.
1676, Oct. 16. Concession au Sieur Joibert de Soulanges du fort de Gemisik par Frontenac et Duchesneau.
1676, Oct. 24. Concession de Chigneto au Sieur le Neuf de la Vallière par Frontenac et Duchesneau.
1684. M. de Meules au Roi.
1684. Requête des habitans de la Coste du sud du fleuve St. Laurent.
1684, Sept. 20. Concessions des Sieurs de la Barre et de Meules au Sieur d'Amour Ecuyer, de la rivière de Richibouctou, et au Sieur Clignancourt, de terres à la rivière St. Jean.
1686. Mémoire de M. de Meules sur la Baye de Chedabouctou.
1689, Jan. 7. Concession à la rivière St. Jean au Sieur du Breuil.
1710, Oct. 3. Lettre de Nicholson à Subercase.

[1] This document was also published at the Hague in 1756, as *Répliques des Commissaires Anglois: ou Mémoire présenté, le 23 Janvier*, 1753, with a large folding map.


CARTE D'UNE PARTIE DE L'AMÉRIQUE SEPTENTRIONALE Pour servir à l'Intelligence du Mémoire sur les prétentions des Anglois au sujet des Limites à regler avec la France dans cette Partie du Monde.
Echelle.
Lieues Marines 20 au Degré
5 10 20 30 40
Longitude Occidentale de l'Observatoire de Paris
Longitude Occidentale du Meridien de Londres
Les Limites des provinces Angloises ont été prises sur des Cartes Angloises
Rivière du Canada ou Fleuve S. Laurent
Anticosti
Quebec
Les Trois Rivières
Montreal
R. S. Jean
Baye des Chaleurs
I. S. Jean
Baccalaos ou I. du Cap Breton auj. I. ROYALE
Cap Breton
I. de Sable
I. de la Madelaine
I. Brion
I. aux Oiseaux
Port Royal
Boston
Occident

THE FRENCH CLAIM, 1755.[1]

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[1] KEY OF THE FRENCH MAP: Limits proposed by English commissaries, Sept. 21, 1750, and Jan. 11, 1751 (exclusive of Cape Breton), - - - - - -

By the treaty of Utrecht, + + + + + +

Port Royal district, by the same treaty. ————

Grant to Sir William Alexander, Sept. 10, 1621, ...

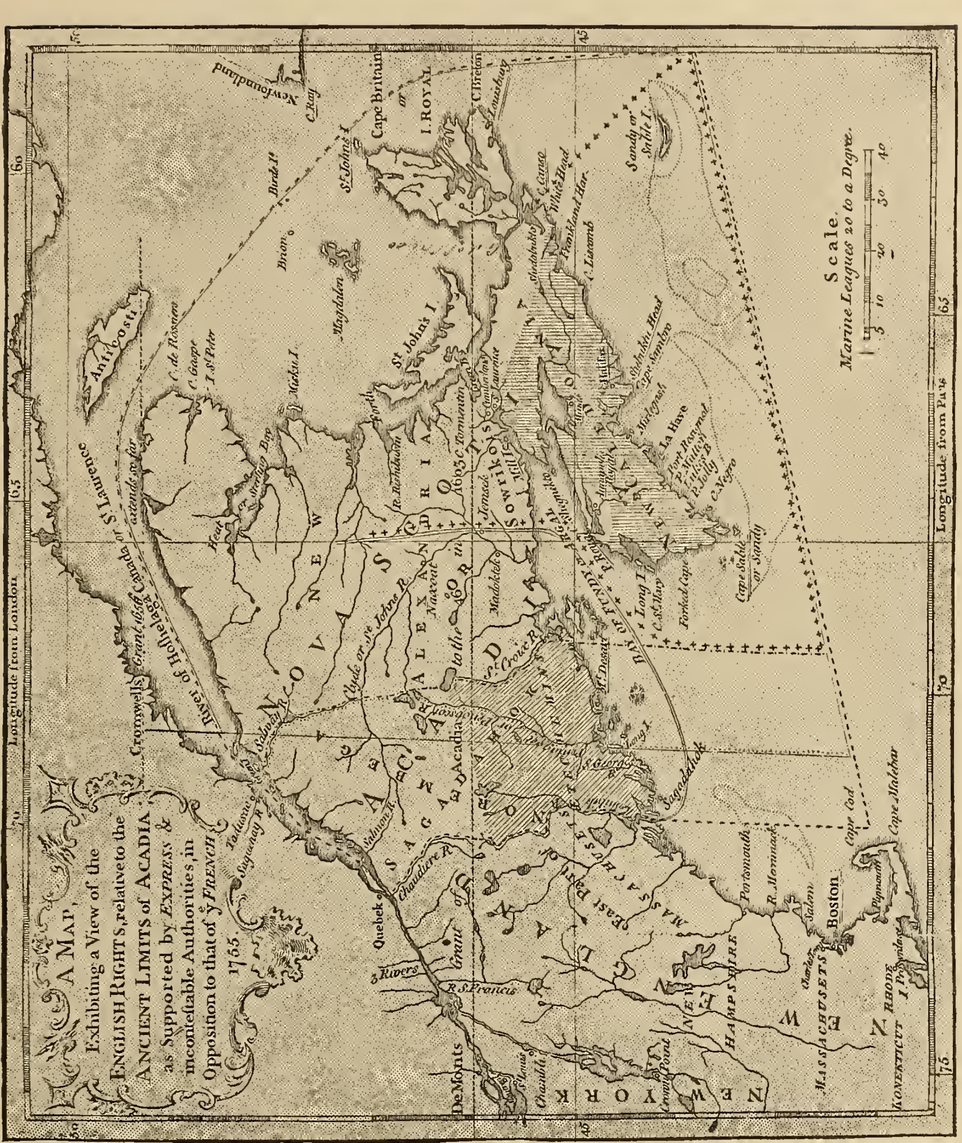
Cromwell's grant to La Tour, Crown, and Temple, Aug. 9, 1656, ══════

What was restored to France by the treaty of Breda includes Cromwell's grant and the country from Mirlegash to Canseau.

Denys' government (1654), *shaded horizontally.*

Charnesay's government (1638), *shaded obliquely.*

La Tour's government (1638), *shaded perpendicularly.*



THE ENGLISH CLAIM, 1755.[1]

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[1] KEY OF THE ENGLISH MAP: Claim of the English under the treaty of Utrecht (1713), marked – – – – –

Grant to Sir William Alexander (1621), and divided by him into Alexandria and Caledonia, being all east of line marked • – • – • –

According to Champlain (1603–1629), all, excepting Cape Breton, east of this line, ...

Grants of Louis XIII. and XIV. (1632–1710), the same as the claim of the English for Nova Scotia or Acadia.

Nova Scotia, enlarged westward to the Kennebec, as granted to the Earl of Sterling (Alexander).

Acadia proper, as defined by Charlevoix in accordance with the tripartite division, *shaded perpendicularly.*

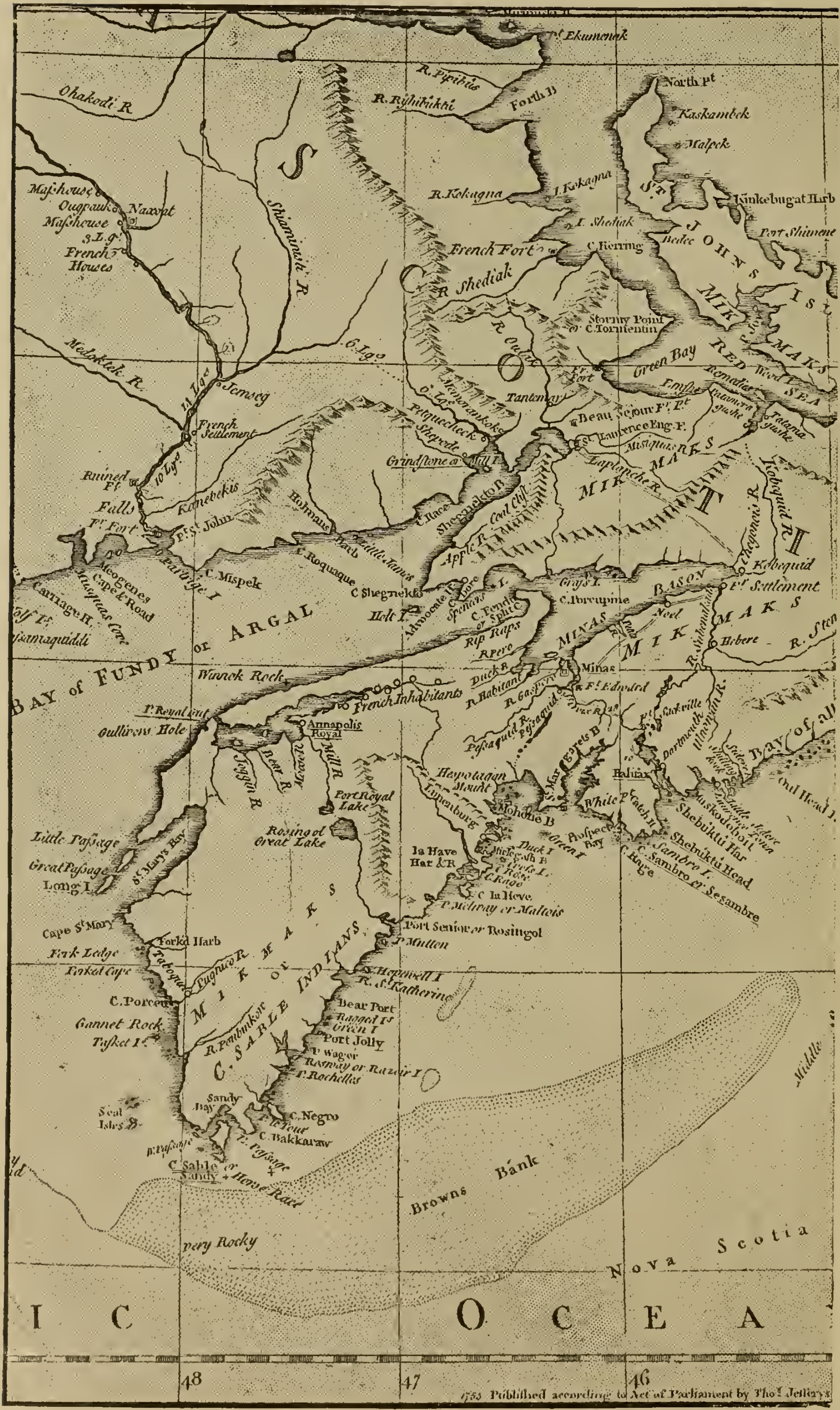
Charnesay's government (1638), ═══════

La Tour's government (1638), + + + + + + +

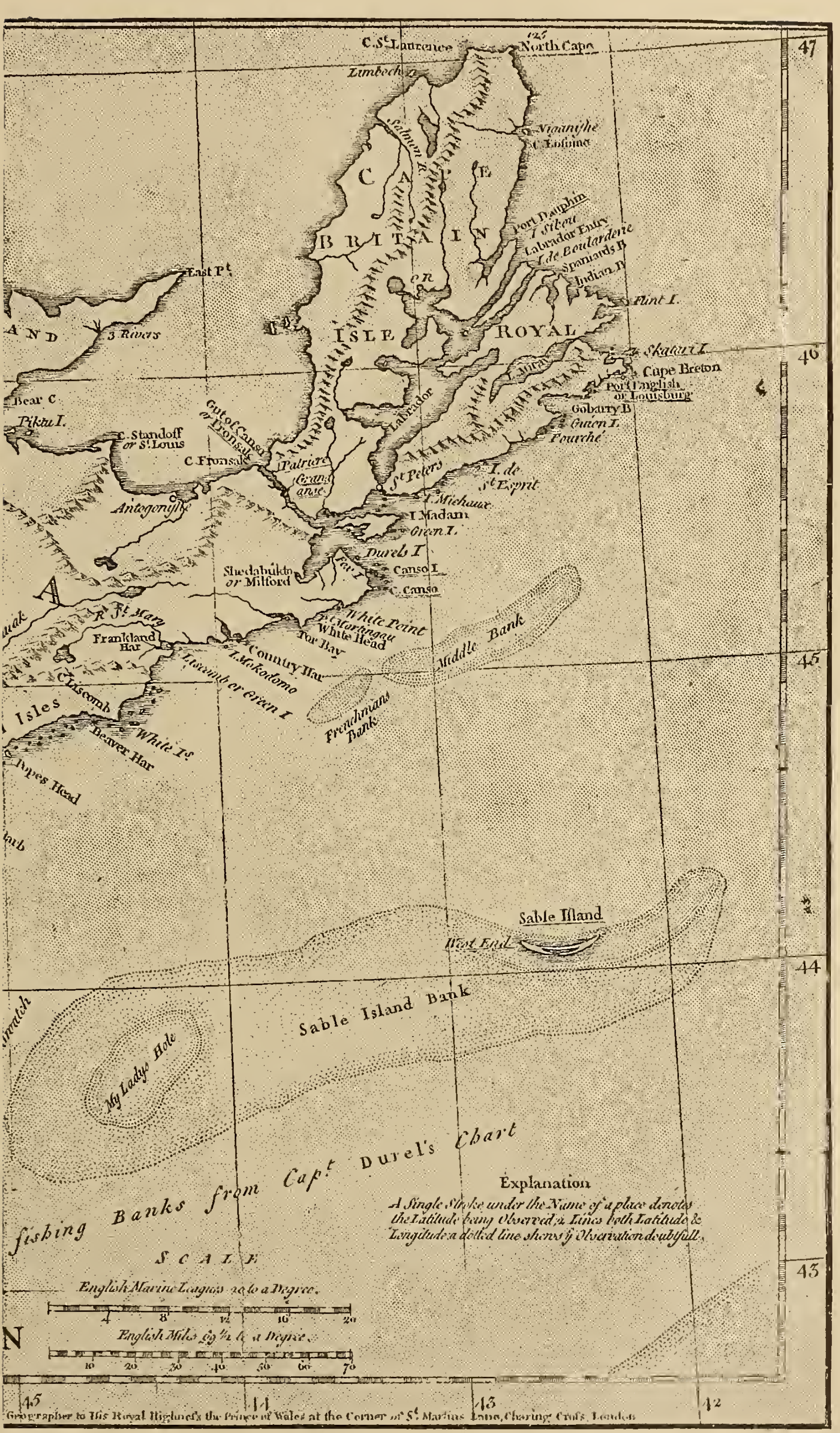
Cromwell's grant to La Tour, Crown, and Temple, being the same ceded to France by the treaty of Breda (1667), ————

Norembega, according to Montanus, Dapper, and Ogilby, is the country between the Kennebec and Penobscot.

The Etechemin region, as defined by Champlain and Denys, *shaded obliquely.*



JEFFERYS' NOVA SCOTIA (*Westerly Part*).



JEFFERYS' NOVA SCOTIA (*Easterly Part*).

de sa Majesté très chrétienne et de ceux de sa Majesté Britannique. À Coppenhague, 1755.

All three of the editions in French have a map, marking off the limits of Acadia under different grants, and defining the claims of France. It is engraved on different scales, however, in the two Paris editions, and shows a larger extent of the continent westerly in the Copenhagen edition. The fourth volume of the quarto Paris edition has also a map, in which the bounds respectively of the charters of 1620, 1662, 1665, and 1732 (Virginia, Carolina, and Georgia), claimed by the English to run through to the Pacific, are drawn.[1]

Thomas Jefferys, the English cartographer, published at London in 1754 his *Conduct of the French with regard to Nova Scotia from its first settlement to the present time. In which are exposed the falsehood and absurdity of their arguments made use of to elude the force of the treaty of Utrecht, and support their unjust proceedings. In a letter to a member of Parliament.*[2]

The map of the French claims and another of the English claims are copied herewith from Jefferys' reproduction of the former and from his engraving of the latter, both made to accompany his later *Remarks on the French Memorials concerning the limits of Acadia, printed at the Royal Printing-House at Paris, and distributed by the French ministers at all the foreign courts of Europe, with two maps exhibiting the limits: one according to the system of the French, the other conformable to the English rights. To which is added An Answer to the Summary Discussion,*[3] *etc.* London, T. Jefferys, 1756.[4]

Both of these Jefferys maps were included by that geographer in his *General Topography of North America and the West Indies*, London, 1768, and one of them will also be found in the *Atlas Amériquain*, 1778, entitled "Nouvelle Écosse ou partie orientale du Canada, traduitte de l'Anglais de la Carte de Jefferys publiée à Londres en May, 1755. A Paris par Le Rouge." Jefferys also included in the London edition of the *Memorials* (1755) a *New map of Nova Scotia and Cape Britain, with the adjacent parts of New England and Canada*,[5] which is also found in his *History of the French Dominion in North and South America*, London, 1760, and also in his *General Topography*, etc. A section of this map, showing Acadia, is reproduced herewith.[6]

The great map of D'Anville in 1755[7] enforced the extreme French claim, carrying the boundary line along the height of land from the Connecticut to Norridgewock, thence down the Kennebec to the sea. The secret instructions to Vaudreuil this same year (1755) allow that the French claim may be moved easterly from the Sagadahock to the St. Georges, and even to the Penobscot, if the English show a conciliatory disposition, but direct him not to waver if the watershed is called in question at the north.[8]

A German examination of the question appeared at Leipzig in 1756, in *Das Brittische Reich in Amerika . . . nebst nachricht von den Gränzstreitigkeiten und Kriege mit den Franzossen.* It is elucidated with maps by John Georg Schrübers.[9]

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[1] The maps of Huske and Mitchell (1755), showing the claims of the French and English throughout the continent, are noted on a previous page (*ante*, p. 84), and that of Huske is there sketched. In a *New and Complete Hist. of the Brit. Empire in America*, London, 1756, etc., are maps of "Newfoundland and Nova Scotia," and of "New England and parts adjacent," showing the French claim as extending to the line of the Kennebec, and following the watershed between the St. Lawrence and the Atlantic.

[2] Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,028. A French translation appeared the next year: *Conduite des François par rapport à la Nouvelle Ecosse, depuis le premier établissement de cette colonie jusqu'à nos jours. Traduit de l'Anglois avec des notes d'un François* [George Marie Butel-Dumont]. Londres, 1755. The next year (1756) a reply, said to be by M. de la Grange de Chessieux, was printed at Utrecht, *La Conduite des François justifiée.* (Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,129.)

[3] *Discussion sommaire sur les anciennes limites de l'Acadie* [par Matthieu François Pidansat de Mairobert]. Basle, 1755. (Stevens, *Nuggets*, no. 2,972.) Cf. also *A fair representation of his Majesty's right to Nova Scotia or Acadie, briefly stated from the Memorials of the English Commissaries, with an answer to the French Memorials and to the treatise Discussion sommaire par les anciennes limites de l'Acadie*, London, 1756. (Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,130).

[4] Stevens, *Nuggets*, no. 2,973.

[5] It includes, for the most distant points, Boston, Montreal, and Labrador.

[6] Various maps of Nova Scotia, drawn by order of Gov. Lawrence (1755), are noted in the *British Museum, King's Maps* (ii. 105), as well as others of date 1768. Of this last date is an engraved *Map of Nova Scotia or Acadia, with the islands of Cape Breton and St. John, from actual surveys by Capt. Montresor, Eng'r.* There is a map of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland in *A New and Complete Hist. of the Brit. Empire in America*, Lond., 1756; and one of New England and Nova Scotia by Kitchin, in the *London Magazine*, Mar., 1758. In the Des Barres series of British Coast Charts of 1775–1776, will be found a chart of Nova Scotia, and others on a larger scale of the southeast and southwest coasts of Nova Scotia.

[7] On three sheets, each 22½ × 18½ inches, and called *Louisiane et Terres Angloises.*

[8] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 293.

[9] Stevens, *Bibl. Geog.*, no. 451.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE GREAT VALLEYS OF NORTH AMERICA.

BY JUSTIN WINSOR,

The Editor.

THE death of Frontenac[1] and the peace of Ryswick (September, 1697) found France in possession of the two great valleys of North America, — that of the St. Lawrence, with the lakes, and that of the Mississippi, with its affluents.[2] In 1697 the Iroquois were steadfast in their adherence to Corlear, as they termed the English governor, while they refused to receive French missionaries. In negotiations which Bellomont was conducting (1698) with the Canadian governor, he tried ineffectually to induce a recognition of the Five Nations as subjects of the English king.[3] Meanwhile, the French were omitting no opportunity to force conferences with these Indians, and Longueil was trying to brighten the chain of amity with them as far west as Detroit, where in July, 1701, La Motte Cadillac began a French post. Within a month the French ratified at Montreal (August 4, 1701) a treaty with the Iroquois just in time to secure their neutrality in the war which England declared against France and Spain the next year (1702). So when the outbreak came it was the New England frontiers which suffered (1703–4),[4] for the Canadians were careful not to stir the blood of the Iroquois. The French jealously regarded the English glances at Niagara, and proposed (1706) to anticipate their rivals by occupying it. When, in 1709, it was determined to retaliate for the ravages of the New England borders, the Iroquois, at a conference in Albany[5] (1709), were found ready to aid in the expedition which Francis Nicholson tried to organize, but which proved abortive. Already Spotswood, of Virginia, was urging the home government to push settlers across the Alleghanies into the valley of the Ohio.[6] But attention was rather drawn to the petty successes in Acadia,[7] and the spirit of conquest seethed again, when Sir Hovenden Walker appeared at Boston,[8] and a naval expedition in the summer of 1711 was well under way to capture the great valley of the St. Lawrence. Stupidity and the elements sent the fleet of the English admiral reeling back to Boston, leaving Quebec and Canada once more safe. The next year (1712) the distant Foxes tried to wrest Detroit from the French; but its garrison was too enduring. France had maintained herself all along her Canadian lines, and she was in fair hopes of gaining the active sympathy of the Iroquois, when the treaty of Utrecht (1713) brought the war to a close.

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[1] See Vol. IV. p. 356.

[2] The Indians held the Ohio to be the main stream, the Upper Mississippi an affluent. Hale, *Book of Rites*, 14.

[3] Cf. also *Propositions made by the Five Nations of Indians to the Earl of Bellomont*, 20 *July*, 1698, New York, 1698 (22 pp.). Sabin, xv. 66,061. Brinley's copy brought $410.

[4] See chapters ii. and vii.

[5] There is a contemporary MS. record of this conference in the Prince Collection, Boston Public Library. (*Catal.*, p. 158.)

[6] For the movement instituted by Spotswood, and his inspection of the country beyond the Blue Ridge, see chapter iv., and the authorities there cited.

[7] See chapter vii.

[8] See chapter ii.

FRENCH SOLDIER (1700).[3]

The language of this treaty declared that the "Five Nations[1] were subject to the dominion of England." The interpretation of this clause was the occasion of diplomatic fence at once. The French claimed a distinction between the subjectivity of the Indians and domination over their lands. The English insisted that the allegiance of the Five Nations carried not only their own hereditary territory, but also the regions of Iroquois conquests, namely, all west of the Ottawa River and the Alleghany Mountains to the Mississippi River.[2] The peace of Utrecht was but the prelude to a struggle for occupying the Ohio Valley, on the part of both French and English. Spotswood had opened a road over the Blue Ridge from Virginia in 1716, and he continued to urge the Board of Trade to establish a post on Lake Erie. Governor Keith, of Pennsylvania, reported to the board (1718) upon the advances of the French across the Ohio Valley, and the English moved effectually when, in 1721, they began to plant colonists on the Oswego River. By 1726 they had completed their fort on the lake, and Montreal found its Indian trade with the west intercepted. Meanwhile, New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia strengthened their alliance with the Iroquois by a conference at Albany in September, 1722, and in 1726 the Indians confirmed the cession of their lands west and north of Lake Erie.

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[1] This Indian confederacy of New York called themselves Hodenosaunee (variously spelled); the French styled them Iroquois; the Dutch, Maquas; the English, the Five Nations; the Delawares, the Menwe, which last the Pennsylvanians converted into Mingoes, later applied in turn to the Senecas in Ohio. Dr. Shea, in his notes to Lossing's ed. of Washington's diaries, says: "The Mengwe, Minquas, or Mingoes were properly the Andastes or Gandastogues, the Indians of Conestoga, on the Susquehanna, known by the former name to the Algonquins and their allies, the Dutch and Swedes; the Marylanders knew them as the Susquehannas. Upon their reduction by the Five Nations, in 1672, the Andastes were to a great extent mingled with their conquerors, and a party removing to the Ohio, commonly called Mingoes, was thus made up of Iroquois and Mingoes. Many treat Mingo as synonymous with Mohawk or Iroquois, but erroneously."

[2] The inscription on Moll's *Map of the north parts of America claimed by France* (1720) makes the Iroquois and "Charakeys" the bulwark and security of all the English plantations. This map has a view of the fort of "Sasquesahanock." A map of the region of the Cherokees, from an Indian draught, by T. Kitchen, is in the *London Mag.*, Feb., 1760.

[3] After a water-color sketch in the *Mass. Archives: Documents collected in France*, v. p. 271 The coat is red, faced with brown.

When Vaudreuil, in 1725, not long before his death (April 10) suggested to the ministry in Paris that Niagara should be fortified, since, with the Iroquois backing the English, he did not find himself in a position openly to attack them, the minister replied that the governor could at least craze the Indians by dosing them with brandy. Shortly afterwards the commission of his successor, Beauharnois, impressed on that governor the necessity of always having in view the forcible expulsion of the Oswego garrison. In 1727 the French governor tried the effect of a summons of the English post, with an expressed intention "to proceed against it, as may seem good to him," in case of refusal; but it was mere gasconade, and the minister at home cautioned the governor to let things remain as they were.

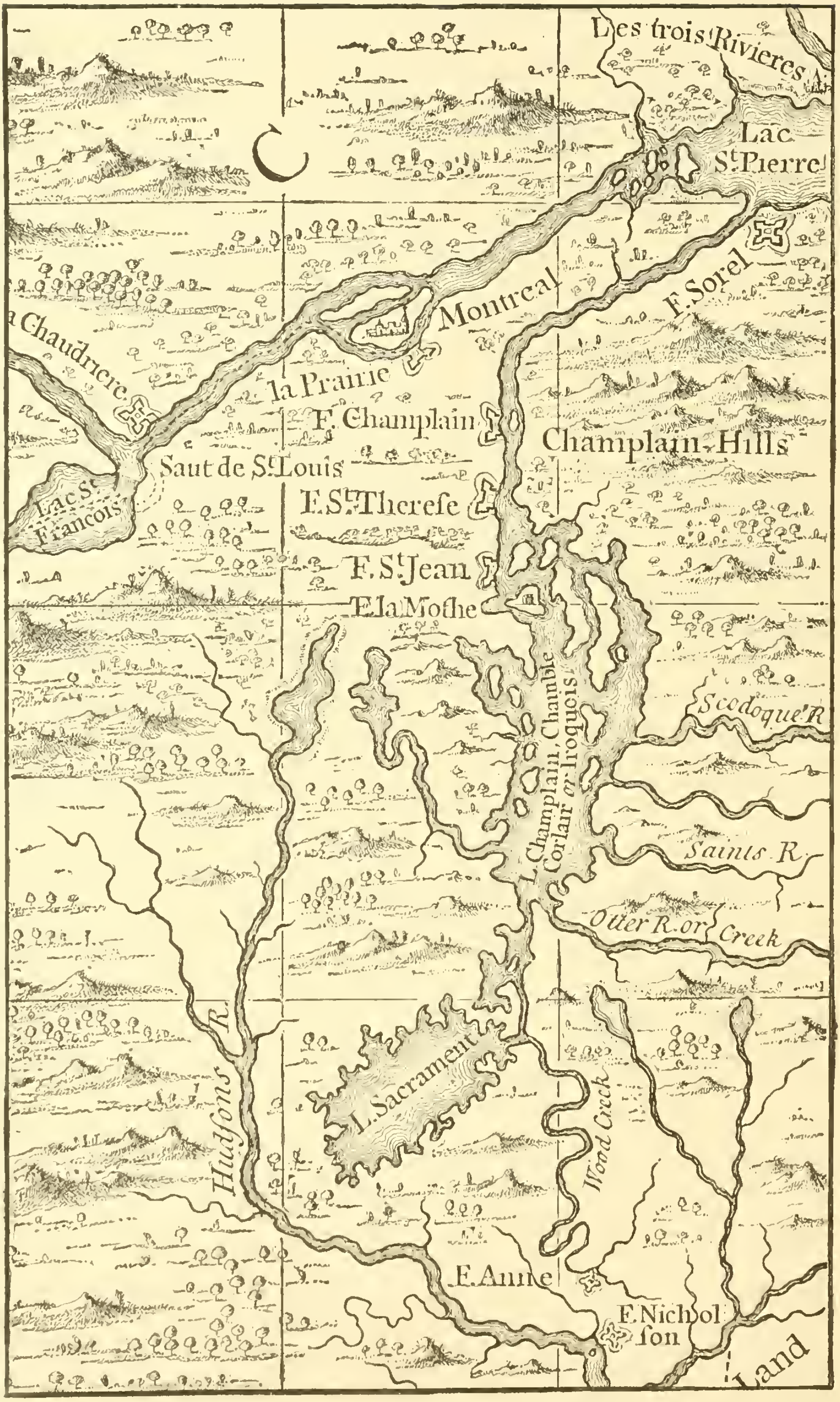
BRITISH INFANTRY SOLDIER (1725).[1]

NOTE TO ANNEXED MAP. — In the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, ix. 1021, is a fac-simile of a map in the Archives of the Marine and Colonies, called *Carte du lac Champlain avec les rivières depuis le fort de Chambly jusques à Orangeville* [Albany] *de la Nouvelle Angleterre, dressé sur divers mémoires.* It is held to have been made about 1731. There is in the *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, vol. i. p. 557, a *Carte du lac Champlain depuis le fort Chambly jusqu'au fort St. Frederic, levée par le Sr. Anger, arpenteur du Roy en* 1732, *fait à Quebec le* 10 *Oct.*, 1748, — *Signé de Lery.*

Nicolas Bellin made his *Carte de la rivière de Richelieu et du lac Champlain* in 1744, and it appeared in Charlevoix's *Nouvelle France*, i. 144, reproduced in Shea's ed., ii. 15. There is also a map of Lake Champlain in Bellin's *Petit Atlas Maritime*, 1764.

There were surveys made of Lake Champlain, in 1762, by William Brassier, and of Lake George by Captain Jackson, in 1756. These were published by order of Amherst in 1762, and reproduced in 1776. (Cf. *American Atlas*, 1776.) The original drawings are noted in the *Catal. of the King's Maps* (Brit. Mus.), i. 223. The Brassier map is also given in Dr. Hough's edition of Rogers's *Journals*. The same British Museum *Catalogue* (i. 489) gives a drawn *Map of New Hampshire* (1756), which shows the route from Albany by lakes George and Champlain to Quebec. Cf. the *Map of New Hampshire*, by Col. Joseph Blanchard and Rev. Samuel Langdon, engraved by Jefferys, and dated 21 Oct., 1761, which shows the road to Ticonderoga in 1759.

[1] Fac-simile of a cut in Grant's *British Battles*, i. p. 564.



FROM POPPLE'S BRITISH EMPIRE IN AMERICA, 1732.

A few years later a sort of flank movement was made on Oswego, as well as on New England, by the French pushing up Lake Champlain, and establishing themselves in the neighborhood of Crown Point (1731), where they shortly after built Fort St. Frederick. The movement alarmed New England more than it did New York.

The French persisted in seeking conferences with the Six Nations, — as they had been called since the Tuscaroras joined them about 1713, — and in 1734 succeeded in obtaining a meeting with the Onondagas. They ventured in 1737 to ask the Senecas to let them establish a post at Irondequot, farther west on Lake Ontario than Oswego. The Iroquois would not permit, however, either side to possess that harbor. For some years Oswego was the burden of the French despatches, and the English seemed to take every possible occasion for new conferences with the fickle Indians.

The most important of these treaties was made at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1744, when an indefinite extent of territory beyond the mountains was ceded to the English in the form of a confirmation of earlier implied grants. A fresh war followed. The New Englanders took Louisbourg,[1] but New York seemed supine, and let French marauding parties from Crown Point fall upon and destroy the fort at Saratoga without being aroused.[2] Oswego was in danger, but still the New York assembly preferred to quarrel with the governor; and tardily at best it undertook to restore the post at Saratoga, while the Albanians were suspected of trading clandestinely through the Caughnawagas with the French in Canada. Both sides continued in their efforts to propitiate the Iroquois, while a parade of arming was made for an intended advance on Crown Point and Montreal. Governor Shirley, from Boston, had urged it, since a demonstration which had been intended by way of the St. Lawrence had to be given up, because the promised fleet did not arrive from England. To keep the land levies in spirits, Shirley had written to Albany that he would send them to join in an expedition by the Lakes, and had even despatched a 13-inch mortar by water to New York.[3] Before the time came, however, the rumors of D'Anville's fleet frightened the New Englanders, and they thought they had need of their troops at home.[4] It was some time before Governor Clinton knew of this at Albany, and preparations went on. Efforts to enlist the Iroquois in the enterprise halted, for the inaction of the past year had had its effect upon them, and it needed all the influence of William Johnson, who now first appears as Indian commissioner, to induce them to send a sufficient delegation to a conference at Albany. The

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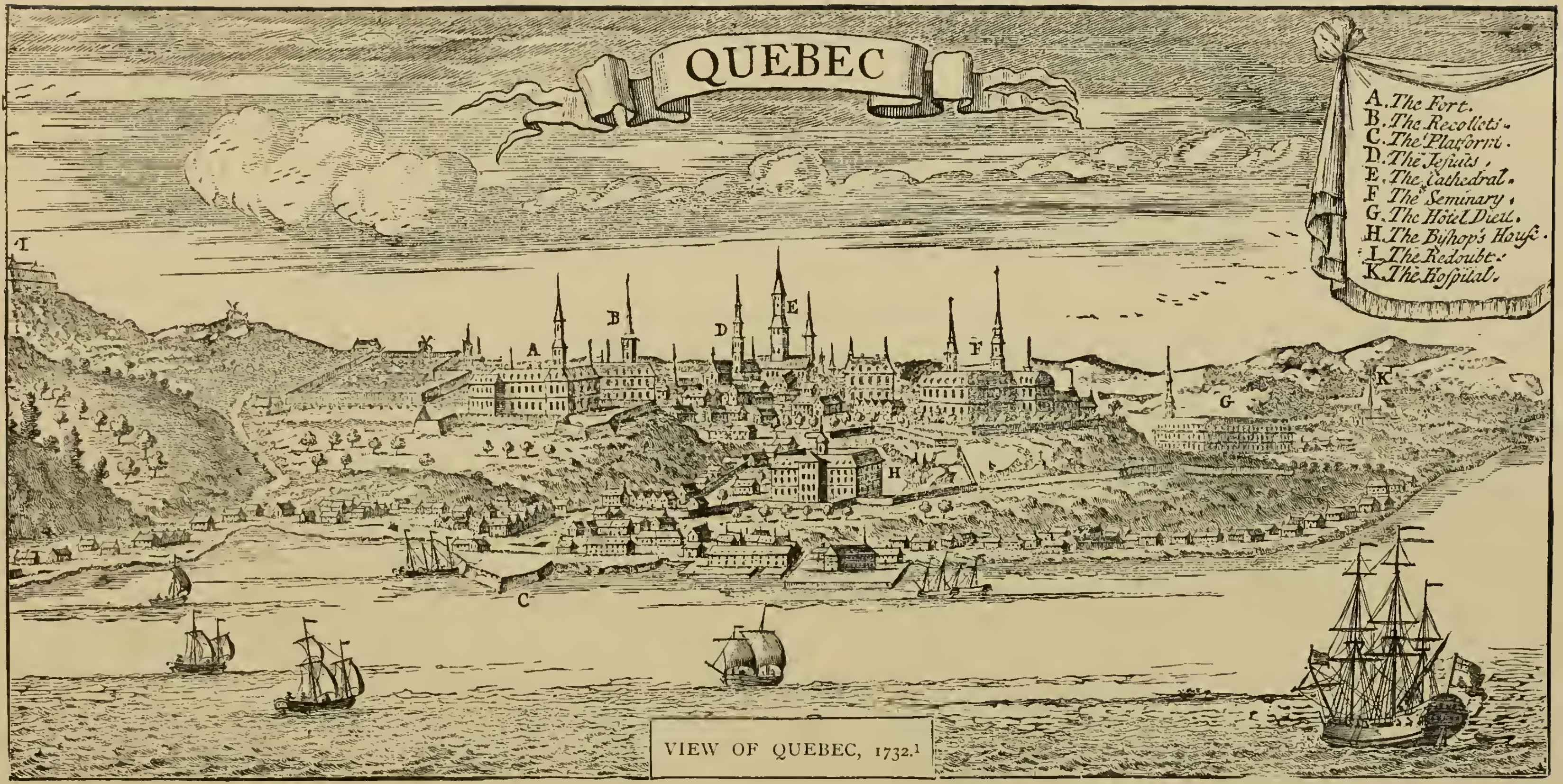
[1] Chapter vii.

[2] This fort had been built in 1739, and called Fort St. Frederick. G. W. Schuyler (*Colonial N. Y.*, ii. pp. 113, 114) uses the account of the adjutant of the French force, probably found in Canada at the conquest. The fort stood on the west side of the Hudson, south of Schuylerville, while Fort Clinton, built in 1746, was on the east side. (*Ibid.*, ii. pp. 126, 254.) A plan of this later fort (1757) is noted in the *King's Maps* (Brit. Museum), ii. 300. See no. 17 of *Set of Plans*, etc., London, 1763.

[3] *American Mag.* (Boston), Nov., 1746.

[4] Chapter ii. p. 147.



VIEW OF QUEBEC, 1732.[1]

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[1] From Popple's *British Empire in America.* It is repeated in fac-simile in Cassell's *United States*, p. 372; and in Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. 307. Cf. The view from La Potherie in Vol. IV. p. 320; also reproduced in Shea's *Charlevoix*, vol. v. Kalm described the town in 1749 (*Travels*, London, 1771, ii. p. 258). See views under date of 1760 and 1761, noted in the *Cat. of the King's Maps* (Brit. Mus.), ii. 220. Cf. De Lery's report on the fortifications of Quebec in 1716, in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 872.

business still further dragged; the withdrawal of New England became in the end known, and by September 16 Clinton had determined to abandon the project, and the French governor had good occasion to twit old Hendrick, the Mohawk chief, when he ventured with more purpose than prudence to Montreal in November.[1]

Early the next summer (June, 1747) the French had some experience of a foray upon their own borders, when a party of English and Indians raided upon the island of Montreal, — a little burst of activity conspicuous amid the paralysis that the quarrels of Clinton and De Lancey had engendered.

BRITISH FOOTGUARD, 1745.[2]

FRENCH SOLDIER, 1745.[3]

Shirley had formed the plan of a winter attack upon Crown Point, intending to send forces up the Connecticut, and from Oswego towards Frontenac, by way of distracting the enemy's councils; but the New York assembly refused to respond.

The next year (1748) the French, acting through Father Picquet, made renewed efforts to enlist Iroquois converts, while Galissonière was urging the home government to send over colonists to occupy the Ohio Valley. A number of Virginians, on the other hand, formed themselves into the

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[1] *N. E. Hist. Geneal. Reg.*, 1866, p. 237.

[2] This sketch of a footguard, with grenade and match, is taken from Grant's *British Battles*, ii. 60. Cf. *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, i. 462; and the uniform of the forty-third regiment of foot (raised in America), represented from a drawing in the British Museum, in *The Century*, xxix. 891.

[3] After a water-color sketch in the *Mass. Archives: Documents collected in France*, viii. p. 129. The coat is red, faced with blue; the breeches are blue.

Ohio Company, and began to send explorers into the disputed valley. In order to anticipate the English, the French governor had already despatched Céloron de Bienville to take formal possession by burying lead plates, with inscriptions, at the mouths of the streams.[1]

For the present, there was truce. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, entered upon in May, and signed in October (1748), had given each side time to manœuvre for an advantage. Picquet established a new barrier against the English at La Presentation, where Ogdensburg now is;[2] and in 1749 Fort Rouillé was built at the present Toronto.[3]

The Virginians, meanwhile, began to push their traders farther and farther beyond the mountains. The Pennsylvanians also sent thither a shrewd barterer and wily agent in George Croghan, and the French emissaries whom he encountered found themselves outwitted.[4] The Ohio Company kept out Christopher Gist on his explorations. Thus it was that the poor Ohio Indians were distracted. The ominous plates of Céloron meant to them the loss of their territory; and they appealed to the Iroquois, who in turn looked to the government of New York. That province, however, was apathetic, while Picquet and Jean Cœur, another Romish priest, who believed in rousing the Indian blood, urged the tribes to maraud across the disputed territory and to attack the Catawbas. William Johnson, on the one side, and Joncaire, on the other, were busy with their conferences, each trying to checkmate the other (1750); while the English legislative assemblies haggled about the money it cost and the expense of the forts. The Iroquois did not fail to observe this; nor did it escape them that the French were building vessels on Ontario and strengthening the Niagara fort (1751).

While Charles Townshend was urging the English home government (1752) to seize the Ohio region forcibly, the French were attacking the English traders and overcoming the allied Indians, on the Miamis. Virginia, by a treaty with the Indians at Logstown, June 13, 1752, got permission to erect a fort at the forks of the Ohio; but the undertaking was delayed.

In the spring of 1753 Duquesne, the governor of Canada, sent an expedition[5] to possess by occupation the Ohio Valley, and the party ap-

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[1] See *ante*, p. 9.

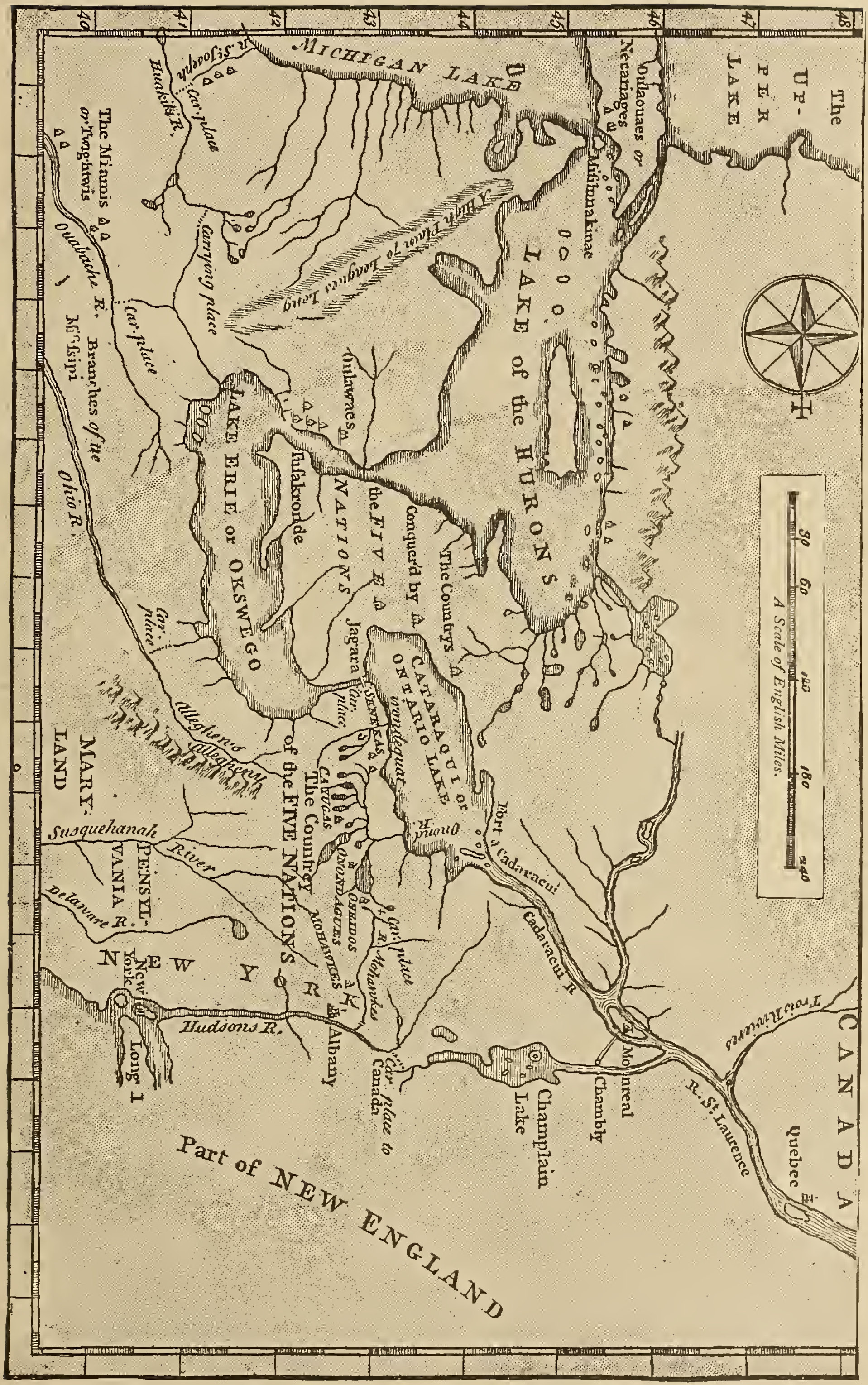
[2] See *ante*, p. 3.

[3] *Canadian Antiquarian*, vii. 97.

[4] He was accompanied by Andrew Montour, a conspicuous frontiersman of this time. Cf. Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, i. 54; Schweinitz's *Zeisberger*, 112; Thomas Cresap's letter in Palmer's *Calendar, Va. State Papers*, 245; and on his family the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, iii. 79, iv. 218.

In 1750 John Pattin, a Philadelphia trader, was taken captive among the Indians of the Ohio Valley, and his own narrative of his captivity, with a table of distances in that country, is preserved in the cabinet of the Mass. Historical Society, together with a letter respecting Pattin from William Clarke, of Boston, dated March, 1754, addressed to Benjamin Franklin, in which Clarke refers to a recent mission of Pattin, prompted by Gov. Harrison, of Pennsylvania, into that region, "to gain as thorough a knowledge as may be of the late and present transactions of the French upon the back of the English settlements."

[5] The English got word of this movement in May. *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi. 779.


The UP-PER LAKE
MICHIGAN LAKE
Outaouaes or Necariages
Missilimakinac
LAKE of the HURONS
A High Plain 70 Leagues Long
R. St. Joseph
Car. place
Huakiki R.
Carrying place
The Miamis or Twightwis
Ouabache R.
Branches of the Missisipi
Car. place
Outawaes
Sulakronde
The Countrys Conquer'd by the FIVE NATIONS
LAKE ERIE or OKSWEGO
Car. place
Ohio R.
Jagara
Car. place
CATARAQUI or ONTARIO LAKE
Irondequat
Oswego R.
SENEKAS
CAYUGAS
The Country of the FIVE NATIONS
ONONDAGUES
OSWEGOS
Car. place
R. Mohawkes
MOHAWKES
Fort Cadaracui
Cadaracui R.
Allegheny
Allegheny
MARY-LAND
Susquehanah River
PENSYL-VANIA
Delaware R.
NEW YORK
New York
Hudsons R.
Albany
Long I.
Car. place to Canada
Montreal
Chambly
Champlain Lake
R. St. Laurence
Trois Rivieres
Quebec
CANADA
A Scale of English Miles.
30
60
120
180
240
Part of NEW ENGLAND
40
41
42
43
44
45
46
47
48

proached it by a new route.[1] They landed at Presquisle, built a log fort,[2] carried their munitions across to the present French Creek, and built there another defence called Fort Le Bœuf.[3] This put them during high water in easy communication by boat with the Alleghany River. French tact conciliated the Indians, and where that failed arrogance was sufficient, and the expedition would have pushed on to found new forts, but sickness weakened the men, and Marin, the commander now dying, saw it was all he could do to hold the two forts, while he sent the rest of his force back to Montreal to recuperate. Late in the autumn Legardeur de Saint-Pierre arrived at Le Bœuf, as the successor of Marin. He had not been long there, when on the 11th of December a messenger from Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, with a small escort, presented himself at the fort. The guide of the party was Christopher Gist; the messenger was George Washington, then adjutant-general of the Virginia militia.[4] Their business was to inform the French commander that he was building forts on English territory, and that he would do well to depart peaceably. Washington had been made conscious of the aggressive character of the French occupation, as he passed through the Indian town of Venango, at the confluence of French Creek and the Alleghany River, for he there had seen the French flag floating over the house of an English trader, Fraser, which the French had seized for an outpost of Le Bœuf, and there he had found Joncaire in command.[5] Washington had been received by Joncaire hospitably, and over his wine the Frenchman had disclosed the unmistakable purpose of his government. At Le Bœuf Washington tarried three days, during which Saint-Pierre framed his reply, which was in effect that he must hold his post, while Dinwiddie's letter was sent to the French commander at Quebec. It was the middle of February, 1754, when Washington reached Williamsburg on his return, and made his report to Dinwiddie.

Duquesne

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[1] See papers on the early routes between the Ohio and Lake Erie in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, i. 683, ii. 52 (Nov., 1877, and Jan., 1878); and also in Bancroft's *United States*, orig. ed., iii. 346. For the portage by the Sandusky, Sciota, and Ohio rivers, see Darlington's ed. of Col. James Smith's *Remarkable Occurrences*, p. 174. The portages from Lake Erie were later discovered than those from Lake Michigan. For these latter earlier ones, see Vol. IV. pp. 200, 224. Cf. the map from Colden given herewith.

[2] The ruins of this fort are still to be seen (1855) within the town of Erie. Sargent's *Braddock's Expedition*, p. 41. Cf. Egle's *Pennsylvania.*

[3] Now Waterford, Erie Co., Penna.

[4] The road over the mountains followed by Washington is identified in Lowdermilk's *Cumberland*, p. 51.

[5] Sargent says the ruins of the fort which the French completed in 1755 at Venango were still (1855) to be seen at Franklin, Penna.; it was 400 feet square, with embankments then eight feet high. Sargent's *Braddock's Exped.*, p. 41; Day, *Hist. Coll. Penna.*, 312, 642. There is a notice of the original engineer's draft of the fort in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, ix. 248–249. Cf. S. J. M. Eaton's *Centennial Discourse in Venango County*, 1876; and Egle's *Pennsylvania*, pp. 694, 1122, where there is (p. 1123) a plan of the fort.

The result was that Dinwiddie drafted two hundred men from the Virginia militia, and despatched them under Washington to build a fort at the forks of the Ohio. The Virginia assembly, forgetting for the moment its quarrel with the governor, voted £10,000 to be expended, but only under the direction of a committee of its own. Dinwiddie found difficulty in getting the other colonies to assist, and the Quaker element in Pennsylvania prevented that colony from being the immediate helper, which it might from its position have become.

Meanwhile, some backwoodsmen had been pushed over the mountains and had set to work on a fort at the forks. A much larger French force under Contrecœur soon summoned them,[1] and the English retired. The French immediately began the erection of Fort Duquesne.

Contrecœur

While this was doing, Dinwiddie was toiling with tardy assemblies and their agents to organize a regiment to support the backwoodsmen. Joshua Fry was to be its colonel, with Washington as second in command. The latter, with a portion of the men, had already pushed forward to Will's Creek, the present Cumberland. Later he advanced with 150 men to Great Meadows, where he learned that the French, who had been reinforced, had sent out a party from their new fort, marching towards him. Again he got word from an Indian — who, from his tributary character towards the Iroquois, was called Half-King, and who had been Washington's companion on his trip to Le Bœuf — that this chieftain with some followers had tracked two men to a dark glen, where he believed the French party were lurking. Washington started with forty men to join Half-King, and under his guidance they approached the glen and found the French. Shots were exchanged. The French leader, Jumonville, was killed, and all but one of his followers were taken or slain.

Jumonville

The mission of Jumonville was to scour for English, by order of Contrecœur, now in command of Duquesne, and to bear a summons to any he could find, warning them to retire from French territory. The precipitancy of Washington's attack gave the French the chance to impute to Washington the crime of assassination; but it seems to have been a pretence on the part of the French to cover a purpose which Jumonville had of summoning aid from Duquesne, while his concealment was intended to shield him till its arrival. Rash or otherwise, this onset of the youthful Washington began the war.

The English returned to Great Meadows, and while waiting for reinforcements from Fry, Washington threw up some entrenchments, which he called Fort Necessity. The men from Fry came without their leader, who had sickened and died, and Washington, succeeding to the command of the regiment, found himself at the head of three hundred men, increased soon by an independent company from South Carolina.

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[1] This summons is in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vi. 141. Cf. *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi. 840.

Washington again advanced toward Gist's settlement, when, fearing an attack, he sent back for Mackay, whom he had left with a company of regulars at Fort Necessity. Rumors thickening of an advance of the French, the English leader again fell back to Great Meadows, resolved to fight there. It was now the first of July, 1754. Coulon de Villiers, a brother of Jumonville, was now advancing from Duquesne. The attack was made on a rainy day, and for much of the time a thick mist hung between the combatants. After dark a parley resulted in Washington's accepting terms offered by the French, and the English marched out with the honors of war.[1]

Villiers

The young Virginian now led his weary followers back to Will's Creek. It was a dismal march. The Indian allies of the French, who were only with difficulty prevented from massacring the wounded English, had been allowed to kill the cattle and horses of the little army; and Washington's men had to struggle along under the burdens of their own disabled companions. Thus they turned their backs upon the great valley, in which not an English flag now waved.

Appearances were not grateful to Dinwiddie. His house of burgesses preferred to fight him on some domestic differences rather than to listen to his appeals to resist the French. He got little sympathy from the other colonies. The Quakers and Germans of Pennsylvania cared little for boundaries. New York and Maryland seemed slothful.[2] Only Shirley, far away in Massachusetts, was alive, but he was busy at home.[3] The Lords of Trade in London looked to William Johnson to appease and attach the Indians; but lest he could not accomplish everything, they directed a congress of the colonial representatives to be assembled at Albany, which talked, but to the liking neither of their constituents nor of the government in England.[4]

Dinwiddie, despairing of any organized onset, appealed to the home government. The French king was diligently watching for the English ministry's response. So when Major-General Braddock and his two regiments sailed from England for Virginia, and the Baron Dieskau and an army, with the Marquis of Vaudreuil[1] to succeed Duquesne as governor, sailed for Quebec, the diplomates of the two crowns bowed across the Channel, and protested to each other it all meant nothing.

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[1] The terms of the capitulation, as rendered by Villiers, had a reference to the "assassinat" of Jumonville, which a Dutchman, Van Braam, who acted as interpreter, concealed from Washington by translating the words "death of Jumonville." This unintended acknowledgment of crime was subsequently used by the French in aspersing the character of Washington. See Critical Essay, *post.*

[2] In December, 1754, Croghan reported to Gov. Morris that the Ohio Indians were all ready to aid the English if they would only make a movement. *Penna. Archives*, ii. 209.

[3] See chapter ii.

[4] See *post.*

The English thought that with their superiority on the sea they could intercept the French armament, and Admiral Boscawen was sent to hover about the Gulf of St. Lawrence. He got only three ships of them, — the rest eluding him.

The two armies were to enter the great valleys, one of the St. Lawrence, the other of the Ohio, but not in direct opposition. Dieskau was hurled back at Lake George; Braddock on the Monongahela. We must follow their fortunes.

In February, 1755, Braddock landed at Hampton, Virginia, and presently he and Dinwiddie were living "in great harmony." A son of Shirley of Massachusetts was serving Braddock as secretary, and he was telling a correspondent how "disqualified his general was for the service he was employed in, in almost every respect." This was after the young man had seen his father, for Braddock had gone up to Alexandria[2] in April, and had there summoned for a conference all the governors of the colonies, Shirley among the rest, the most active of them all, ambitious of military renown, and full of plans to drive the French from the continent. The council readily agreed to the main points of an aggressive campaign. Braddock was to reduce Fort Duquesne; Shirley was to capture Niagara. An army of provincials under William Johnson was to seize Crown Point. These three movements we are now to consider; a fourth, an attack by New Englanders upon the Acadian peninsula, and the only one which succeeded, is chronicled in another chapter.[3]

Braddock's first mistake was in moving by the Potomac, instead of across Pennsylvania, where a settled country would have helped him; but this error is said to have been due to the Quaker merchant John Hanbury. He cajoled the Duke of Newcastle into ordering this way, because Hanbury, as a proprietor in the Ohio Company, would profit by the trade which the Virginia route would bring to that corporation. Dinwiddie's desire to develop the Virginia route to the Ohio had doubtless quite as much to do with the choice. While plagued with impeded supplies and the want of conveyance as he proceeded, Braddock chafed at the Pennsylvanian indifference which looked on, and helped him not. . He wished New England was nearer. The way Pennsylvania finally aided the doomed general was through Benjamin Franklin, whom she had borrowed of New England. He urged the Pennsylvania farmers to supply wagons, and they did, and Braddock began his march. On the 10th of May he was at Will's Creek,[4] with

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[1] Cf. Le Château de Vaudreuil, by A. C. de Lery Macdonald in *Rev. Canadienne*, new ser., iv. pp. 1, 69, 165; Daniel's *Nos Gloires*, 73.

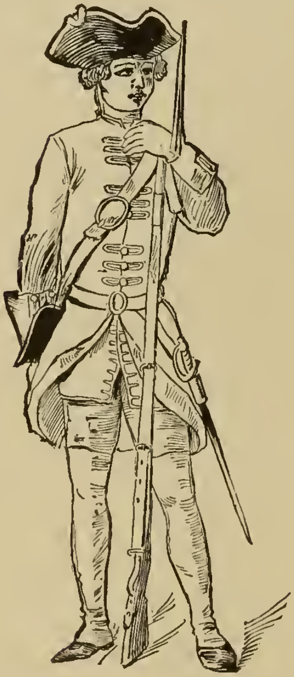
[2] A view of the house in Alexandria used as headquarters by Braddock is in *Appleton's Journal*, x. p. 785.

[3] See chapter vii.

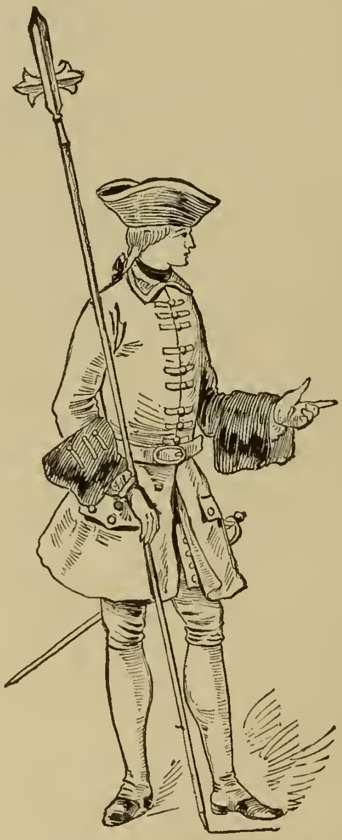
[4] This was now Fort Cumberland. There is a drawn plan of it noted in the *Catal. of the King's Maps* (Brit. Mus.), i. 282. Parkman (i. 200) describes it. The *Sparks Catal.*, p. 207, notes a sketch of the "Situation of Fort Cumberland," drawn by Washington, July, 1755.

2,200 men, and as his aids he had about him Captains Robert Orme and Roger Morris, and Colonel George Washington. Braddock invested the camp with an atmosphere little seductive to Indian allies. There were fifty of them present at one time, but they dwindled to eight in the end.[1] Braddock's disregard had also driven off a notorious ranger, Captain Jack, who would have been serviceable if he had been wanted.

On the 10th of June the march was resumed, — a long, thin line, struggling with every kind of difficulty in the way, and making perhaps three or four miles a day. By Washington's advice, Braddock took his lighter troops and pushed ahead, leaving Colonel Dunbar to follow more deliber-



FRENCH SOLDIER, 1755.[2]



FRENCH SOLDIER, 1755.[3]

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[1] Sargent summarizes the points that are known relative to the unfortunate management of the Indians which deprived Braddock of their services. Sargent, pp. 168, 310; *Penna. Archives*, ii. 259, 308, 316, 318, 321; vi. 130, 134, 140, 146, 189, 218, 257, 353, 398, 443; *Penna. Col. Rec.*, vi. 375, 397, 460; *Olden Time*, ii. 238; Sparks' *Franklin*, i. 189; *Penna. Mag. of History*, Oct., 1885, p. 334. Braddock had promised to receive the Indians kindly. *Penna. Archives*, ii. 290.

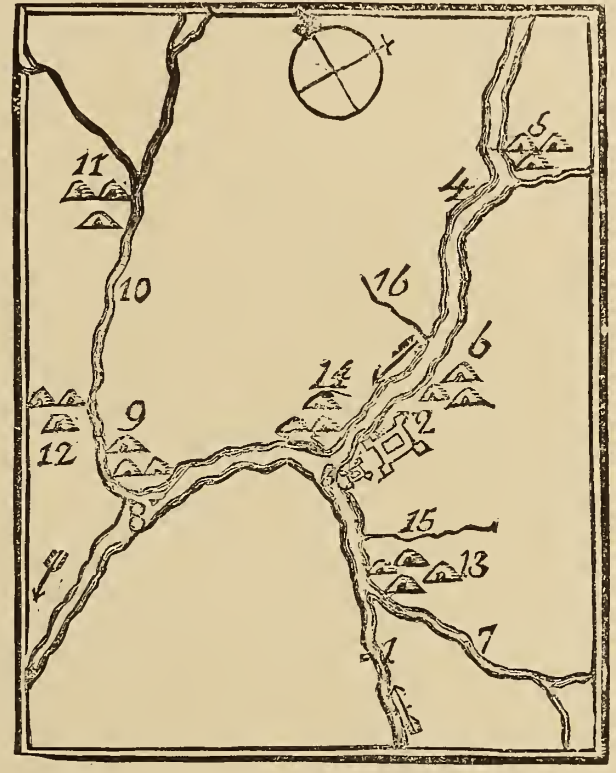
[2] After a water-color sketch in the *Mass. Archives: Documents collected in France*, vol. ix p. 499. The coat is blue, faced with red.

[3] After a water-color sketch in the *Mass. Archives: Documents collected in France*, vol. ix. p. 377. The coat is of a steel gray, trimmed with blue and orange.

ately. On the 7th of July this advance body was at Turtle Creek, about eight miles from Fort Duquesne.

The enemy occupying the fort consisted of a few companies of French regulars, a force of Canadians, and about 800 Indians, — all under Contrecœur, with Beaujeu, Dumas, and Ligneres as lieutenants. They knew from scouts that Braddock was approaching, and Beaujeu was sent out with over 600 Indians and 300 French, to ambush the adventurous Briton.

FRENCH SOLDIER, 1755.[1]



FORT DUQUESNE AND VICINITY.[2]

As Braddock reached the ford, which was to put him on the land-side of

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[1] After a water-color in the *Mass. Archives: Documents collected in France*, vol. ix. p. 425. The coat is blue, faced with red.

Parkman (vol. i. 368), speaking of the troops which came with Dieskau and Montcalm, says that their uniform was white, faced with blue, red, yellow, or violet, and refers to the plates of the regimental uniforms accompanying Susane's *Ancienne Infanterie Française.* Parkman (i. p. 370) also says that the *troupes de la marine*, the permanent military establishment of Canada, wore a white uniform faced [with black. He gives (p. 370, *note*) various references.

[2] From *Father Abraham's Almanac*, 1761. Key: 1, Monongahela River; 2, Fort Du Quesne, or Pittsburgh; 3, the small fort; 4, Alleghany River; 5, Alleghany Indian town; 6, Shanapins; 7, Yauyaugany River; 8, Ohio, or Alleghany, River; 9, Logs Town; 10, Beaver Creek; 11, Kuskaskies, the chief town of the Six Nations; 12, Shingoes Town; 13, Alleguippes; 14, Sennakaas; 15, Tuttle Creek; 16, Pine Creek. The arrows show the course of the river.

A "Plan of Fort le Quesne, built by the French at the fork of the Ohio and Monongahela in 1754," was published by Jefferys, and is the fort, Colonel Thomas Gage, some years later known in the opening scenes of the American Revolution,[1] crossed in advance, without the opposition that was anticipated. Beaujeu had intended to contest the passage, but his Indians, being refractory, delayed him in his march.

Gage, with the advance, was pushing on, when his engineer, laying out the road ahead, saw a man, apparently an officer, wave his cap to his followers, who were unseen in the woods. From every vantage ground of knoll and bole, and on three sides of the column, the concealed muskets were levelled upon the English, who returned the fire. Beaujeu soon fell.[2] Dumas, who succeeded in command, thought the steady front of the redcoats was going to carry the day, when he saw his Canadians fly, followed by the Indians, after Gage had wheeled his cannon upon the woods. A little time, however, changed all. The Indians rallied and poured their bullets into the massed, and very soon confused, British troops.

Braddock, when he spurred up, found everybody demoralized except the Virginians, who were firing from the tree-trunks, as the enemy did. The British general was shocked at such an unmilitary habit, and ordered them back into line. No one under such orders could find cover, and every puff from a concealed Indian was followed by a soldier's fall. No exertion of Braddock, or of Washington, or of anybody, prevailed.[3] The general had

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included in his *General Topography of North America and the West Indies*, London, 1768. I suppose this to be based upon the MS. plan noted in the *Catal. of the King's Maps* (Brit. Mus.), ii. 184. Cf. the plan (1754) in the *Memoirs* of Robert Stobo, Pittsburgh, 1854, which is repeated in Sargent's *Braddock's Exped.*, p. 182, who refers to a plan published in London in 1755, mentioned in the *Gentleman's Mag.*, xxv. p. 383. Stobo's plan is also engraved in *Penna. Archives*, ii. 147, and the letters of Stobo and Croghan respecting it are in *Penna. Col. Rec.*, vi. 141, 161. Parkman refers (i. 208) to a plan in the Public Record Office, London, and (p. 207) describes the fort as does Sargent (p. 182). See the plan in Bancroft, orig. ed., iv. 189, and Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. 260.

Duquesne was finished in May, 1755. Cf. Duquesne's Memoir on the Ohio and its dependencies, addressed to Vaudreuil, dated Quebec, July 6, 1755, and given in English in *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., vi. 253. M'Kinney's Description of Fort Duquesne (1756) is in Hazard's *Penna. Reg.*, viii. 318; and letters of Robert Stobo, who was a hostage there after the surrender of Fort Necessity, are in *Col. Rec. of Penna.*, vi. 141, 161. Cf. notice of Stobo by L. C. Draper in *Olden Time*, i. 369. Parkman also refers to a letter of Captain Hazlet in *Olden Time*, i. 184.

Sargent says (p. 184) that in 1854 the magazine was unearthed, which at that time was all remaining visible of the old fort. (Hazard's *Penna. Register*, v. 191; viii. 192.) There is a view of the magazine in John Frost's *Book of the Colonies*, N. Y., 1846.

[1] Two other officers, as well as Washington, were destined to later fame, — Daniel Morgan, who was a wagoner, and Horatio Gates, who led an independent company from New York.

[2] There is an engraving of Beaujeu in Shea's *Charlevoix*, iv. 63; and in Shea's ed. of the *Relation diverses sur la bataille du Malangueulé*, N. Y., 1860, in which that editor aims to establish for Beaujeu the important share in the French attack which is not always recognized, as he thinks. Cf. *Hist. Mag.*, vii. 265; and the account of Beaujeu by Shea, in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, 1884, p. 121. Cf. also "La famille de Beaujeu," in Daniel's *Nos gloires nationales*, i. 131.

[3] The annexed plan of the field is from a contemporary MS. in Harvard College library. See *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xvii. p. 118 (1879).

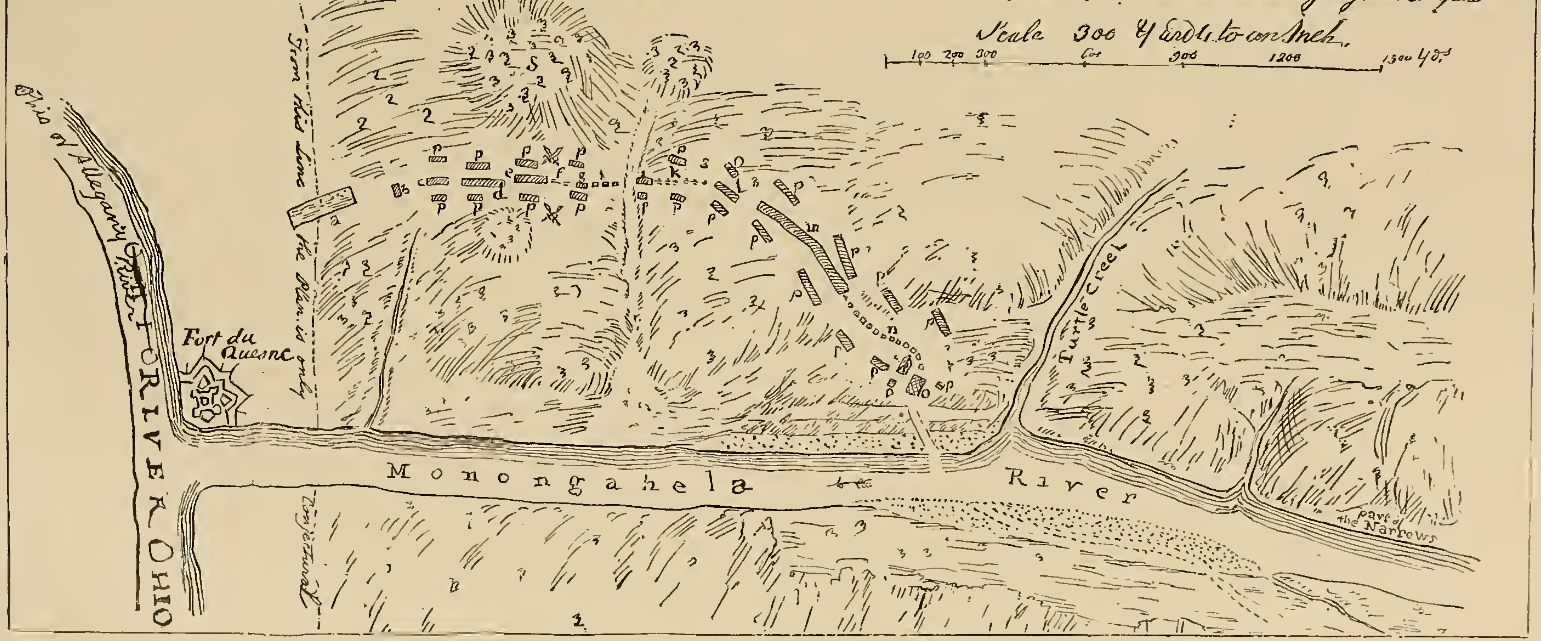
Parkman (*Montcalm and Wolfe*, i. 214) reproduces two plans of the fight: one representing the disposition of the line of march at the moment of attack; the other, the situation when the British were thrown into confusion and abandoned their guns. The originals of these plans accompany a letter of Shirley to Robinson, Nov. 5, 1755, and are preserved in the Public Record Office, in the volume *America and West Indies*, lxxxii. They were drawn at Shirley's request by Patrick Mackellar, chief engineer, who was with Gage in the advance column. Parkman says: "They were examined and fully approved by the

1)

A Sketch of the Field of Battle with the Disposion of the Troops in the begining of the Engagement of the 9th of July 1755, on the Maps. etc Monongahela river Pa, 7 Miles from Fort du Quesne

(Braddock's battle field)

a { French & Indians upon their March t'attack the British Troops when discover'd by the guides.
b. Guides & 6 Light Horse.
c. Van Guard of the Advanc'd party.
d. Advanc'd party
e. Working party.
f. Two 6 pound Field pieces.
g. Guard to Do.
h. Tool Waggons.
i. Sailors Leading the Van of the main Body.
k. Artillery of the Main Body.
l. Guard to Do.
m. Main Body.
n. One Field piece, Waggons & Baggage.
o. Rear Guard.
p. Flank Guards.
q. Frazers house
r. Hollow Way
s. Riseing ground which the Indians took possesion of soon after the begining of the Engagement
✗ Ground where the principal part of the Battle was fought.
NB. The Distances are Judged or Computed



four horses shot under him; Washington had two. Still the hillsides and the depths of the wood were spotted with puffs of smoke, and the slaughter-pen was in a turmoil. Young Shirley fell, with a bullet in his brain.[1] Horatio Gates and Thomas Gage were both wounded. Scarce one Englishman in three escaped the bullets. The general had given the sign to retreat, and was wildly endeavoring to restore order, when a ball struck him from his horse. The flight of the survivors became precipitous, and when the last who succeeded in fording the river stopped to breathe on the other side, there were thirty Indians and twenty Frenchmen almost upon them. The French, however, pursued no farther. They had enough to do to gather their plunder, while the Indians unchecked their murderous instincts as they searched for the wounded and dying Britons. The next morning a large number of the Indians left Contrecœur for their distant homes, laden with their booty. The French general feared for a while that Braddock, reinforced by Dunbar, would return to the attack. He little knew the condition of his enemy. The British army had become bewildered fugitives. Scarce a guard could be kept for the wounded general, as he was borne along on a horse or in a litter. When they met Dunbar the fright increased. Wagons and munitions were destroyed, for no good reason, and the mass surged eastward. The sinking Braddock at last died, and they buried him in the road, that the tramp of the men might obliterate his

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chief surviving officers, and they closely correspond with another plan made by the aide-de-camp Orme, — which, however, shows only the beginning of the affair." This plan of Orme is the last in a series of six plans, engraved in 1758 by Jefferys (Thomson, *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 107; Sabin, ii. no. 7,212), and used by him in his *General Topography of North America and the West Indies*, London, 1768. There is a set of them, also, in the Sparks MSS., in Harvard Coll. library, vol. xxviii.

These six plans are all reproduced in connection with Orme's Journal, in Sargent's *Braddock's Expedition*. They are: —

I. Map of the country between Will's Creek and Monongahela River, showing the route and encampments of the English army.

II. Distribution of the advanced party (400 men).

III. Line of march of the detachment from Little Meadows.

IV. Encampment of the detachment from Little Meadows.

V. Line of march with the whole baggage.

VI. Plan of the field of battle, 9 July, 1755.

See also the plans of the battle given in Bancroft's *United States* (orig. ed.), iv. 189; Sparks' *Washington*, ii. 90, the same plate being used by Sargent, p. 354, and in Guizot's *Washington*. In the Faden Collection, in the Library of Congress, there are several MS. plans. (Cf. E. E. Hale's *Catalogue of the Faden Maps*.)

Beside the map of Braddock's advance across the country, given in the series, already mentioned, there is another in Neville B. Craig's *Olden Time* (ii. 539), with explanations by T. C. Atkinson, who surveyed it in 1847, which is copied by Sargent (p. 198), who also describes the route. Cf. Egle's *Pennsylvania*, p. 84; and the *American Hist. Record*, Nov., 1874. A map made by Middleton and corrected by Lowdermilk is given in the latter's *History of Cumberland*, p. 141. A letter of Sparks on the subject is in De Hass's *West. Virginia*, p. 125. The condition of Braddock's route in 1787 is described by Samuel Vaughan, of London, in a MS. journal owned by Mr. Charles Deane.

The *Catal. of Paintings in the Penna. Hist. Soc.*, no. 65, shows a view of Braddock's Field, and an engraving is in Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. 254, and another in Sargent, as a frontispiece. Judge Yeates describes a visit to the field in 1776, in Hazard's *Register*, vi. 104, and in *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., ii. 740; and Sargent (p. 275) tells the story of the discovery of the skeletons of the Halkets in 1758. Cf. Parkman, ii. 160; Galt's *Life of Benj. West* (1820), i. 64. Some views illustrating the campaign are in *Harper's Magazine*, xiv. 592, etc.

[1] "Poor Shirley was shot through the head," wrote Major Orme. Cf. Akins' *Pub. Doc. of Nova Scotia*, pp. 415, 417, where is a list of officers. Various of young Shirley's letters are in the *Penna. Archives*, ii.

grave.[1] Nobody stopped till they reached Fort Cumberland, which was speedily turned into a disordered hospital. The campaign ended with gloomy forebodings. Dunbar, the surviving regular colonel, instead of staying at Cumberland and guarding the frontier, retreated to Philadelphia, leaving the Virginians to hold Cumberland and its hospitals as best they could.

By the death of Braddock Shirley became the ranking officer on the continent, and we must turn to see how the tidings of his new responsibilities found him.

The Massachusetts governor was at Albany when the bad news reached him, and Johnson being taken into the secret, the two leaders tried to keep it from the army. Shirley immediately pushed on the force destined for Fort Niagara, at the other end of Lake Ontario; while Johnson as speedily turned the faces of his men towards Lake George. Shirley's army found the path to Oswego, much of the way through swamp and forest; and the young provincials sorrowfully begrimed their regulation bedizenments, assumed under the king's orders, as with the Jersey Blues they struggled along the trail and tugged through the watercourses. It was easier to get the men to their destination than to transport the supplies, and many stores that were on the way were abandoned at the portages when the wagoners heard the fearful details from the Monongahela. Short rations and discouragements harried the men sorely. The axe and spade were put in requisition, and additional forts were planned and constructed as the army pursued its way. Across the lake at Fort Frontenac the enemy held a force ready to be sent against Oswego if Shirley went on, for the capture of Braddock's papers had revealed all the English plans. Shirley put on a brave face, with all his bereavement, for the death of his son, with Braddock, was a heavy blow. A council of war, on the 18th of September, determined him to take to the lake with his bateaux as soon as provisions arrived. He had now got word of Dieskau's defeat,[2] and he tried to use it to inspirit the braves at his camp. It seemed to another council, on the 27th, that the attempt to trust their river bateaux on the lake was foolhardy, and so the purpose of the campaign was abandoned. At the end of October he left the garrison to strengthen the forts, and returned to Albany. He did not get much comfort there. Johnson showed no signs of following up the victory of Lake George, and as late as November Shirley was still at Albany, where he had received his new commission, advising a movement on Crown Point for the winter;[1] and in December he was exciting the indignant jealousy of Johnson[2] by daring to instruct him about his Indian management, for Johnson had now been made Indian superintendent.[3] Shirley had despatched these orders from New York, where he was laying before a congress of governors his schemes for a new campaign.

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[1] Braddock's remains are said to have been discovered about 1823 by workmen engaged in constructing the National Road, at a spot pointed out by an old man named Fossit, Fausett, or Faucit, who had been in the provincial ranks in 1755. He claimed to have seen Braddock buried, and to have fired the bullet which killed him. The story is not credited by Sargent, who gives (p. 244) a long examination of the testimony. (Cf. also *Hist. Mag.*, xi. p. 141.) Lowdermilk (p. 187) says that it was locally believed; so does De Hass in his *West. Virginia*, p. 128. Remains of a body with bits of military trappings were found, however, on digging. A story of Braddock's sash is told by De Hass, in his *W. Virginia*, p. 129. In July, 1841, a large quantity of shot and shell, buried by the retreating army, was unearthed near by. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, iii. 231, etc. A picture of his grave was painted in 1854 by Weber, and is now in the gallery of the Penna. Hist. Soc. (Cf. its *Catal. of Paintings*, no. 66.) It is engraved in Sargent, p. 280. Cf. Day, *Hist. Coll. Penna.*, p. 334. Lowdermilk (pp. 188, 200) gives views of the grave in 1850 and 1877, with some account of its mutations. Cf. Scharf and Westcott's *Philadelphia*, ii. p. 1002. A story obtained some currency that Braddock's remains were finally removed to England De Hass, p. 112.

[2] See a subsequent page.

We need now to see how Dieskau's defeat had been the result of the third of the expeditions of the campaign just brought to a close.

Before the arrival of Braddock, Shirley had begun (January, 1755) arrangements for an attack on Crown Point, — a project confirmed, as we have seen, by the council at Alexandria, where William Johnson, whom Shirley had already named, was approved as the commander. Johnson, as a young Irishman of no military experience, had been sent over twenty years before by his uncle, Sir Peter Warren, the admiral, to look after some lands of his in the Mohawk Valley. Settling here and building a house, about ten years earlier than this, he had called it first Mount Johnson, though when it was fortified, at a later day, it was usually called Fort Johnson.[4] It was the seat of numerous conferences with the Indians, over whom Johnson gained an ascendency, which he constantly turned to the advantage of the English.

Wm Johnson

The provincials who assembled, first at Albany and then at the carrying place between the Hudson and Lake George, were mostly New Englanders, and a Connecticut man, General Phineas Lyman, was placed second in command. The French were not without intelligence of their enemy's purpose, derived, as already said, from the captured papers of Braddock. So Dieskau, who had come over, as we have seen, with reinforcements, was ordered to Lake Champlain instead of Oswego, as had been the original intention.

Johnson found among those who joined his camp some who knew much better what war was than he did: such were Colonel Moses Titcomb and Lieutenant-Colonel Seth Pomeroy, of Massachusetts; and Colonel Ephraim

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[1] *Inquiry into the Conduct of Maj.-Gen. Shirley.*

[2] Stone's *Life of Johnson*, i. 538.

[3] *Penna. Archives*, vi. 333, 335.

[4] There are views of it in 1840 and 1844 in J. R. Simms's *Trappers of New York* (1871), and *Frontiersmen of New York* (Albany, 1882), pp. 209, 249; in W. L. Stone's *Life of Johnson*, ii. 497; and in Lossing's *Field-Book of the Revolution*, i. p. 286.

Williams, who had just made his will, by which the school was founded which became Williams College. He also was a Massachusetts man, as was Israel Putnam by birth, though now a Connecticut private. The later famous John Stark was a lieutenant of the New Hampshire forces. There

Sr. William Johnson Bart.
Major General of the English Forces
in North America.

SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON.[1]

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[1] From a plate in the *London Mag.*, Sept., 1756; which is also the original of prints in the *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, ii. 545, and in Hough's *Pouchot*, i. 181. Cf. also Stone's *Life of Johnson*; Simms's *Trappers of N. Y.*; Perry's *Amer. Episc. Church*, i. 331; Entick's *General Hist. of the Late War* (London, 1765); J. C. Smith's *Brit. Mezzotint Portraits*, iii. 1342 (by Adams, engraved by Spooner).

were also others in command who knew scarce more of war than Johnson himself, and such was Colonel Timothy Ruggles, of a Massachusetts regiment, who was a college-bred lawyer and an innkeeper, destined to be president of the Stamp Act congress.

At the carrying place Lyman began a fort, which was named after him, but all preparations for the campaign proceeded very leisurely, the fault rather of the loosely banded union and hesitating purpose that existed among the colonies which had undertaken the movement ; and matters were not mended by a certain incompatibility of temper existing between Johnson and Shirley, now commander-in-chief.

Leaving a garrison at Fort Lyman, the main body marched to the lake, to which Johnson had, out of compliment to the king, given the name of George. Meanwhile Dieskau had pushed up in his canoes to the very head of Lake Champlain, and had started through the wilderness to attack Fort Lyman. An Indian brought the news to Johnson, and Ephraim Williams and Hendrick, the Mohawk chief, were sent out to intercept the enemy. Dieskau, gaining information by capturing a messenger bound to Fort Lyman, and finding his Indians indisposed to assail a fort armed with cannon, turned towards the lake. Scouts informed him of the approach of the party under Williams, and an ambush was quickly planned. The English scout was badly managed, and fell into the trap. The commander and Hendrick were both killed. Nathan Whiting, of Connecticut, extricated the force skilfully, and a reinforcement from Johnson rendered it possible to hold the French somewhat in check. Could Dieskau have controlled his savages, however, he might have followed close enough to enter the English camp with the fugitives. As he did not, Johnson was given time to form a defence of his wagons and bateaux, mixed with tree-trunks, and when the French came on the English fought vigorously behind their barricade. Johnson was wounded and was borne to his tent. Lyman brought the day to a successful issue, and at its end his men leaped over the breastworks and converted the defeat of the French into a rout.

Meanwhile, a part of Dieskau's Canadians and Indians had broken away from him, and had returned to the field where Williams had been killed, in order to strip the slain. There, near a pond, known still as Bloody Pond,[1] a scouting party from Fort Lyman attacked them and put them to flight.[2]

The French, routed by Lyman, were not followed far, and in gathering the wounded on the field Dieskau was discovered. He was borne to Johnson's tent, and the English commander found it no easy task to protect him from the vengeance of the Mohawks. He was, however, in the end taken to New York, whence he sailed for England, and eventually reached

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[1] See views of it in Gay, iii. p. 286; in Lossing's *Field-Book of the Rev.*, i. p. 107, and *Scribner's Monthly*, March, 1879, p. 622.

[2] "The loss of the enemy," says Smith (*New York*, ii. 220), "though much magnified at the time, was afterwards found to be less than two hundred men."

France, but so shattered from his wounds that he died, though not till several years afterwards.

The defeat of the French had taken place on the 8th of September, and an active general would have despatched a force to intercept the fugitives before they reached their canoes, at the head of Lake Champlain; but timidity, the fear of a fresh onset, or a dread of a further tension of the weakening power of the army induced Johnson to tarry where he was, and to erect a fort, which in compliment to the royal family he named Fort William Henry, while in a similar spirit he changed the name of the post at the carrying place from Fort Lyman to Fort Edward. Of Lyman he seems to have been jealous, and in writing his report on the fight he makes no mention of the man to whose leadership the success was largely due. In this way Lyman's name failed to obtain recognition in England, while the commander received a gift of £5,000 from Parliament and became Sir William Johnson, Baronet.

If Lyman's advice had been followed, Ticonderoga might have been seized; but the French who reached it had so strongly entrenched themselves in a fortnight that attack was out of the question, and though Shirley, writing from Oswego, urged an advance, nothing was done. A council of war finally declared it inexpedient to proceed, and on the 27th of November Johnson marched the main part of his army southerly to their winter quarters.

British and French diplomates finally ceased bowing to each other, while their ships and armies fought together, and in May and June (1756), respectively, the two governments declared a war which was now nearly two years old.[1] The French at once sent the Marquis de Montcalm, now about forty-four years of age, to succeed Dieskau. With him went the Chevalier de Lévis and the Chevalier de Bourlamaque as the second and third in command, and Bougainville as his principal aide-de-camp. By the middle of May the French general was in Quebec, and soon proceeded to Montreal to meet Vaudreuil, who was not at all pleased to share the responsibility of the coming campaign with another. The French troops were now divided, being mainly placed at Carillon (Ticonderoga), Fort Frontenac, and Niagara, and these posts had been during the winter severally strengthened, — Lotbinière[2] superintending at Ticonderoga, Pouchot at Niagara, and two French engineers at Frontenac.

Montcalm.

Already in February the French, by sending a scouting party, had captured and destroyed Fort Bull, a station of supplies at the carrying place on the way from Albany to Oswego; but the intervening time till June was spent in preparation. Word now coming of an English advance on Ticonderoga, Montcalm proceeded thither, and found the fort of Carillon, as the French termed it, which was now completed, much as he would wish it.

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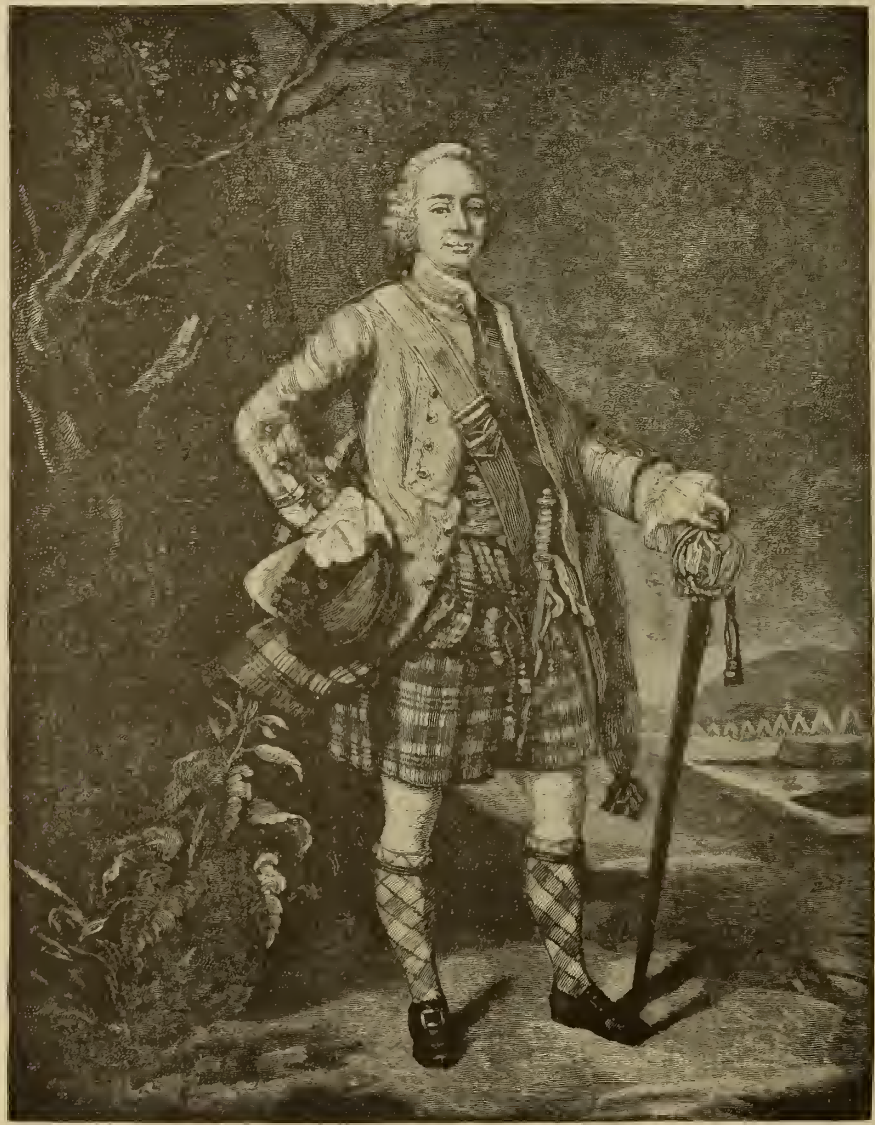
[1] See the English declaration in *Penna. Archives*, ii. 735.

[2] On his family see Daniel, *Nos Gloires*, p. 177.

Shirley, on his part, was preparing to carry out such of the lordly plans which he had suggested at New York as proved practicable. He would repeat the Niagara movement himself, with a hope of better success. For the command in the campaign on Lake Champlain he named Gen. John Winslow, and the New England colonies eagerly furnished the troops. The eastern colonies and the Massachusetts governor were not fully aware how the cabal of Johnson and De Lancey, the lieutenant-governor of



LOUDON.[1]

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[1] This follows a painting by Ramsay, engraved by Spooner, which is reproduced in J. C. Smith's *Brit. Mezzotint Portraits*, p. 1343.

New York, against Shirley was making head with the home government, and so were not well prepared for the tidings which came in June, while

LORD LOUDON.[1]

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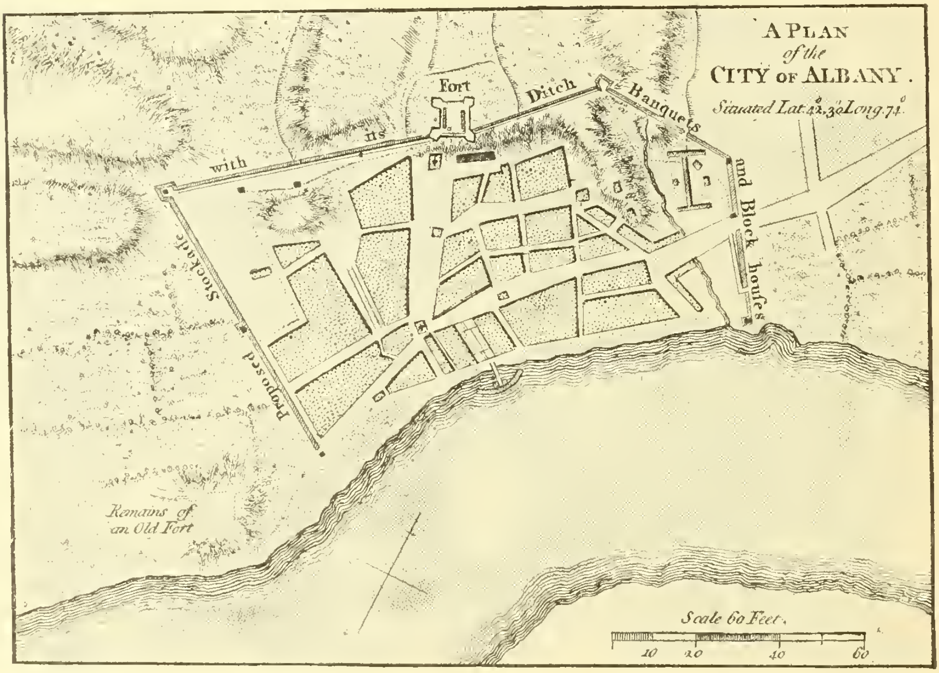
[1] From a print in the *London Magazine*, Oct., 1757. Cf. the full-length portrait in Shannon's *N. Y. City Manual*, 1869, p. 767, given as a facsimile of an old print.

Shirley was in New York, that Colonel Webb, Major-General Abercrombie, and the Earl of Loudon were to be sent over successively to relieve Shirley of the chief command.[1]

While Winslow was employed in pushing forward from Albany his men and supplies, French scouting parties constantly harassed him. Col. Jonathan Bagley was making ready sloops and whaleboats at Lake George; and the English were soon as active as the French in their scouting forays, Capt. Robert Rogers particularly distinguishing himself. Johnson, who had now got his commission as sole Indian superintendent, was busily engaged in conferences with the Six Nations, whom he secured somewhat



ALBANY.[2]

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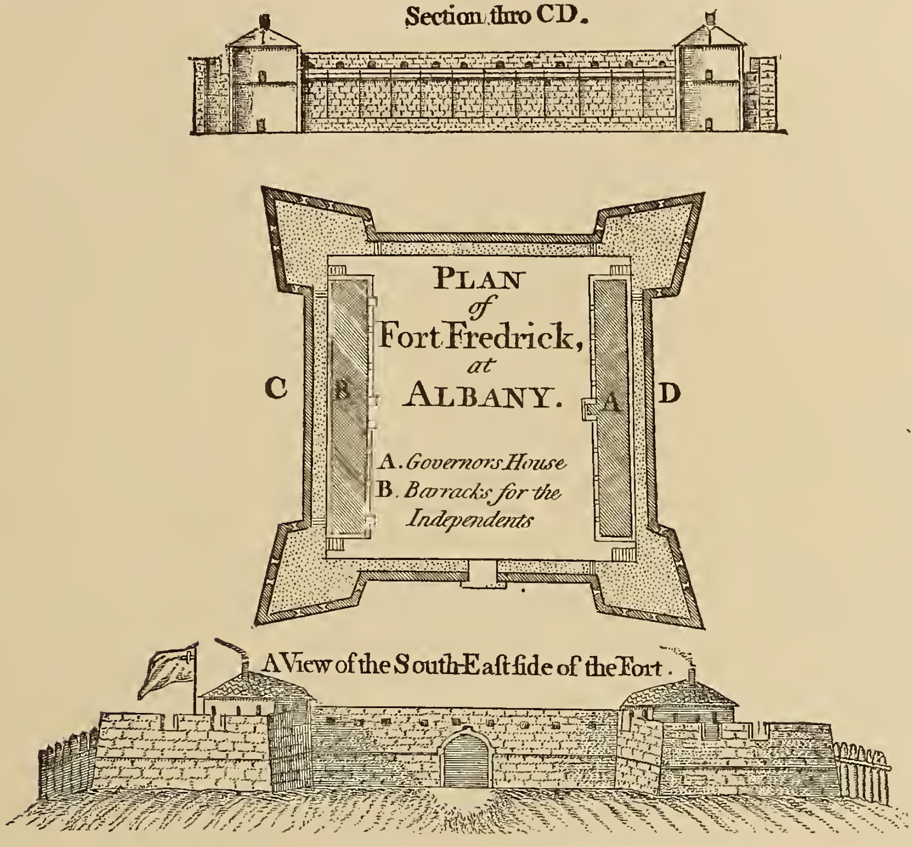
[1] For the rejoicing of Shirley's enemies, cf. Barry's *Mass.*, ii. 212. Shirley had got an intimation of the purpose to supersede him as early as Apr. 16, 1756. (*Penna. Archives*, ii. 630.) He had some strong friends all the while. Gov. Livingston undertook to show that the ill-success of the campaign of 1755 was due more to jealousies and intrigues than to Shirley's incapacity. (*Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vii. 159.) "Except New York," he adds, "or rather a prevailing faction here, all the colonies hold Shirley in very high esteem." Franklin says: "Shirley, if continued in place, would have made a much better campaign than that of Loudoun in 1756, which was frivolous, expensive, and disgraceful to our nation beyond comparison; for though Shirley was not bred a soldier, he was sensible and sagacious in himself and attentive to good advice from others, capable of forming judicious plans, and quick and active in carrying them into execution. . . . Shirley was, I believe, sincerely glad of being relieved." *Franklin's Writings* (Sparks' ed.), i. p. 220–21.

[2] From *A set of plans and forts in America, reduced from actual surveys*, 1763, published in London. (Copy in Harvard College library,—5325.67.) A map of the region about Albany and Schenectady, from Sauthier's map (1779), is given in Pearson's *Schenectady Patent* (1883), p. 290. Cf. *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* Feb., 1886.

against their will to the side of the English. He extended his persuasions even to the Delawares and Shawanoes. Some of these tribes were co-


Section thro CD.
Plan of Fort Fredrick, at Albany.
C
B
A
D
A. Governors House
B. Barracks for the Independents
A View of the South-East side of the Fort.

FORT FREDERICK AT ALBANY.[1]

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[1] From *A set of plans and forts in America, reduced from actual surveys*, 1763, published in London. An old view of the fort is given in Holden's *Queensbury*, p. 313. There is an early plan of Albany and its fort (1695) in Miller's *Description of the Province and City of New York*, of which a fac-simile is given in Weise's *Albany*, pp. 257–8. The *Catal. of the King's Maps*, i. 13 (Brit. Mus.), shows a MS. plan of Albany of the 18th century. There is a plan dated 1765 in the *Annals of Albany*, vol. iv. 2d ed.

Mrs. Grant's *Memoirs of an American Lady* gives a picture of Albany and its life at this time, which may be compared with the description in Kalm's *Travels*. (London, 1771, vol. ii. p. 98; also in *Annals of Albany*, vol. i. 2d ed., 1869.) Parkman (i. p. 319), who sketches the community from these sources, speaks of Mrs. Grant's book as "a charming book, though far from being historically trustworthy;" while it affords a "genuine picture of colonial life." Grahame (*United States*, ii. 256) considers the picture of manners "entirely fanciful and erroneous."

Mrs. Grant herself says · "I certainly have no intention to relate anything that is not true;" yet it must be remembered that she wrote in 1808, forty years after she, a girl of thirteen, had left the country. The book was published at Edinburgh in 1808; again in 1809, also in New York and in Boston the same year; in London in 1817, and again in New York in 1836 and 1846. The last edition is one printed at Albany in 1876, with notes by Joel Munsell and a memoir by Gen. J. G. Wilson. Cf. Munsell's *Bibliog. of Albany;* Lossing's *Schuyler* (1872), i. 34; Tuckerman's *America and her Commentators*, p. 171.

The most extensive repository of historical data respecting Albany is in Joel Munsell's *Annals of Albany* (1850–59), 10 vols. Vol. i. to iv. were issued in a second edition, 1869–71. (See Vol. IV. p. 435.)

quetting, however, with Vaudreuil at Montreal, and it was too apparent that nothing but an English success would confirm any Indian alliance.

Shirley also carried out a plan of his own in organizing a body of New England whalemen and boatmen for the transportation service, who, being armed, could dispense with an escort. These were placed under the command of Lieut.-Col. John Bradstreet. In May, before Montcalm's arrival, a party had been sent by Vaudreuil to cut off the communications of Oswego, and Bradstreet encountered and beat them.

This was the state of affairs in June, 1756, when Abercrombie and Webb arrived with reinforcements, and Pitt was writing in England, "I dread to hear from America."[1] Shirley went to New York and received them as well as Loudon, who followed the others on the 23d of July. The new governor proceeded to Albany, and countermanded the orders for the Niagara expedition, and stirred up the New Englanders by promulgating a royal direction which in effect made a provincial major-general subordinate to a regular major.[2]

Loudon

Affairs were stagnating in the confusion consequent upon the change of command, and Albany was telling other towns what it was to have foreign officers billeted upon its people. Not till August did some fresh troops set off for Oswego, when apprehension began to be felt for the safety of that post. It was too late. The reinforcement had only reached the carrying place when they heard of the capture of the forts.

Montcalm had suddenly returned from Ticonderoga to Montreal, and had hastened to Niaouré Bay (Sackett's Harbor), where Villiers was with the force which had escaped Bradstreet's attack. Here Montcalm gathered about three thousand men, and then appeared without warning before the entrenchments at Oswego. Fort Ontario was soon abandoned by its defenders, and gave Montcalm a place to plant his cannon against the other fort, while he sent a strong force by a ford for an attack on the other bank. Colonel Mercer, the commander, was soon killed by a cannon-shot from Ontario. The enemy's approach in the rear discouraged the garrison, and they surrendered. Montcalm did what he could to prevent a slaughter of the prisoners, which was threatened when his Indian allies became infuriated by the rum among the plunder.[3]

While the French were destroying what they could not remove, and were later retiring to Montreal, Webb, who commanded the relief which never came, fell back to German Flats, and orders were sent to Fort William Henry to suspend preparations for a movement down the lake.[4]

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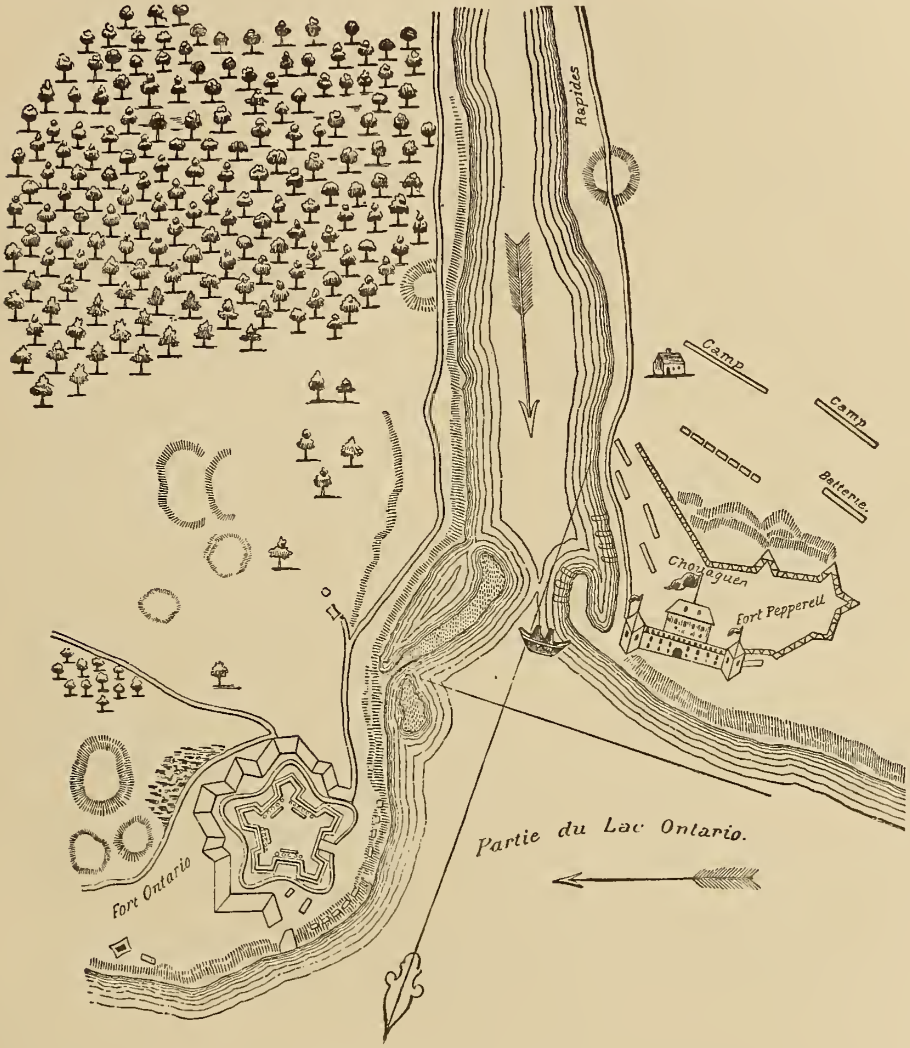
[1] *Grenville Correspondence*, i. 165, June 5, 1756.

[2] Marshall's *Washington*, i. 327.

[3] There seems to be some question if any massacre really took place. (Cf. Stone's *Johnson*, ii. p. 23.)

[4] Referring to the fall of Oswego, Smith (*New York*, ii. 236) says: "The panic was universal, and from this moment it was manifest that nothing could be expected from all the mighty preparations for the campaign."

Montcalm was soon back at Carillon, watching Winslow's force at Fort William Henry, while the rest of Loudon's army was divided between Fort



THE FORTS AT OSWEGO.[1]

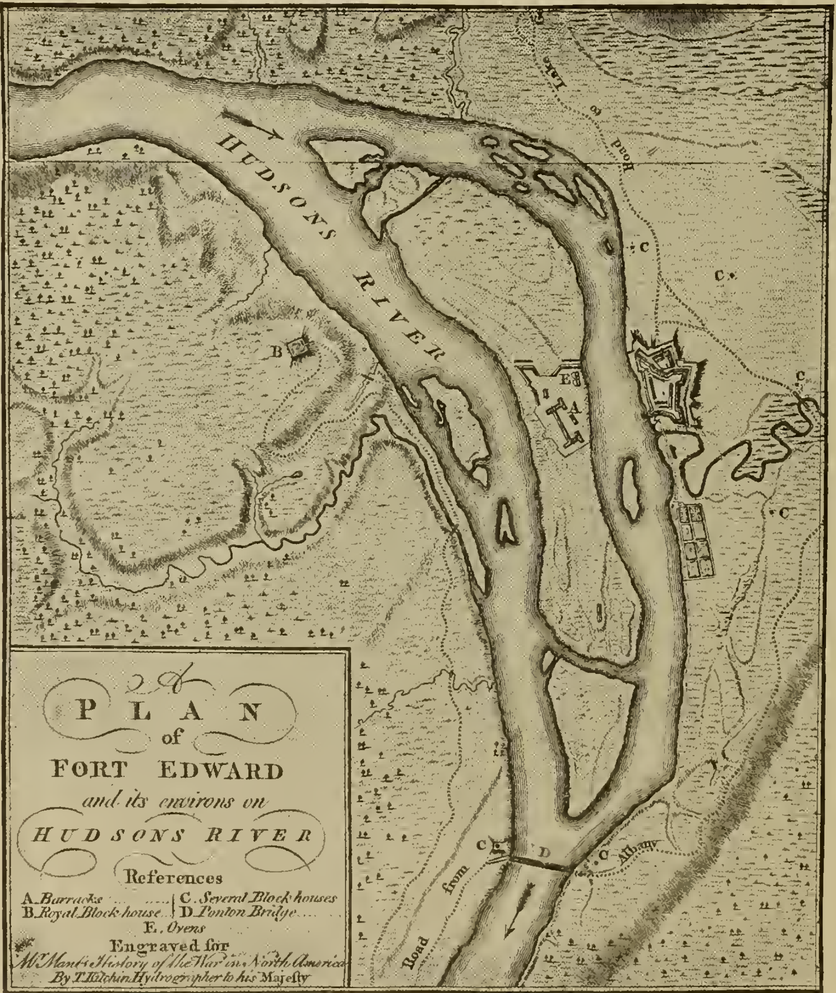
[1] After a plan in the contemporary *Mémoires sur le Canada*, 1749–1763, as published in 1838 by the Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Quebec, and (ré-impression) 1873, p. 77. It is also reproduced in Dr. Hough's transl. of Pouchot, i. 65, and in *Doc. Hist. of N. York*, i. 482.

There was a contemporary English draft of the forts "Ontario and Oswego," published in the *Gentleman's Mag.*, 1757, which is reproduced in Dr. Hough's *Pouchot*, i. 64, and in the *Doc. Hist. N. York*, i. 447, 483, where will be found various papers relating to the first settlement and capture of Oswego, 1727–1756.

The *Catal. of the King's Maps* (Brit. Mus.), ii. 118, shows a plan made in 1756 for Gov. Pownall, and others of dates 1759, 1760, 1762, 1763, with a view in 1761.

In the *New York Col. Docs.*, ix. p. 996, is what is called a plan of the mouth of the Chouaguen, showing the English redoubt, — an outline sketch found by Brodhead in the Archives de la Marine at Paris. Martin, *De Montcalm en*

Edward and Albany. Neither opponent moved, and, leaving garrisons at their respective advanced posts, they retired to winter quarters. The


HUDSONS RIVER
Road to Lake
Road from Albany
A
B
C
D
E
A PLAN of FORT EDWARD and its environs on HUDSONS RIVER
References
A. Barracks
B. Royal Block-house
C. Several Block-houses
D. Ponton Bridge
E. Ovens
Engraved for Mr. Mant's History of the War in North America
By T. Kitchin Hydrographer to his Majesty

FORT EDWARD.[1]

Canada, p. 35, gives a plan, "*D'après un MS. du dépôt des Colonies*, in Paris.

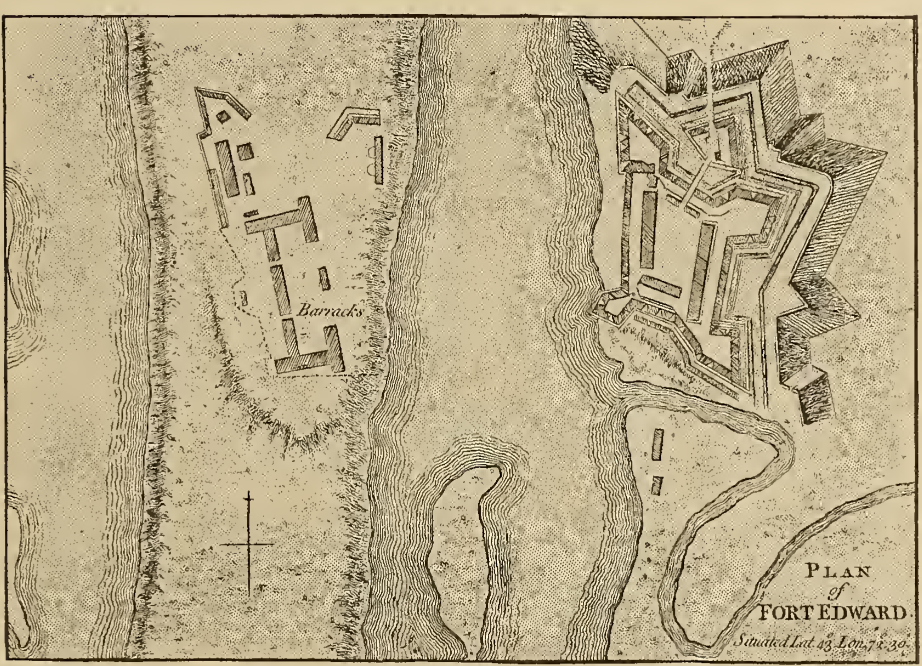
Parkman speaks (*Montcalm and Wolfe*, i. 416) of the published plans and drawings of Oswego at this time as very inexact. There is a French description of the country between Oswego and Albany, 1757, in *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, vol. i.; cf. also *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 674. Another map showing the communication between Albany and Oswego is given in Mante's *Hist. of the Late War*, London, 1772, p. 60.

A view of Oswego, looking towards the lake between the high banks, appeared in the *London Magazine* (1760), p. 232. It has been reproduced on different scales in Smith's *Hist. of N. York*, 4°, Lond. 1767; *Doc. Hist. New York*, i. 495; Hough's transl. of *Pouchot*, i. 68, Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. 49; Clark's *Onondaga*, p. 353; *The Century*, xxviii. 240.

[1] From Mante's *Hist. of the Late War*, London, 1772. The *Catalogue of the King's Maps* (Brit. Museum), i. 336, shows various drawn plans of the fort, dated 1755; and another of the same date, marked no. 15,535, is among the *Brit. Mus. MSS.* John Montresor's Journal at Fort Edward, in 1757, is in *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1881, p. 148. He gives a profile of the work (*Ibid.*, p. 36).

regulars were withdrawn to Boston, Philadelphia, and New York; and not a little bad blood was produced by Loudon's demand for free quarters for the officers.[1]

The French had the advantage in Indian allies; and during the autumn and winter the forays of the prowling savage and the adventurous scout over the territory neighboring to Lake George and Lake Champlain were checked by the English as best they could. Foremost among their partisans was the New Hampshire ranger, Robert Rogers, whose exploits and those of the Connecticut captain, Israel Putnam, fill a large space in the records of this savage warfare.



FORT EDWARD.[2]

The campaign of the next year (1757) opened in March with an attempt to surprise Fort William Henry. The French under Rigaud came up on the ice, 1,600 strong, by night. The surprise failed. They burned, however, two sloops and some bateaux. The next day they summoned Major Eyre, the English commander, but he felt that his four hundred men were enough to hold the fort, and declined to surrender. Rigaud now made a feint of storming the work, but it was only to approach the storehouses, sawmill, and other buildings outside the entrenchments, which he succeeded in firing and then withdrew.

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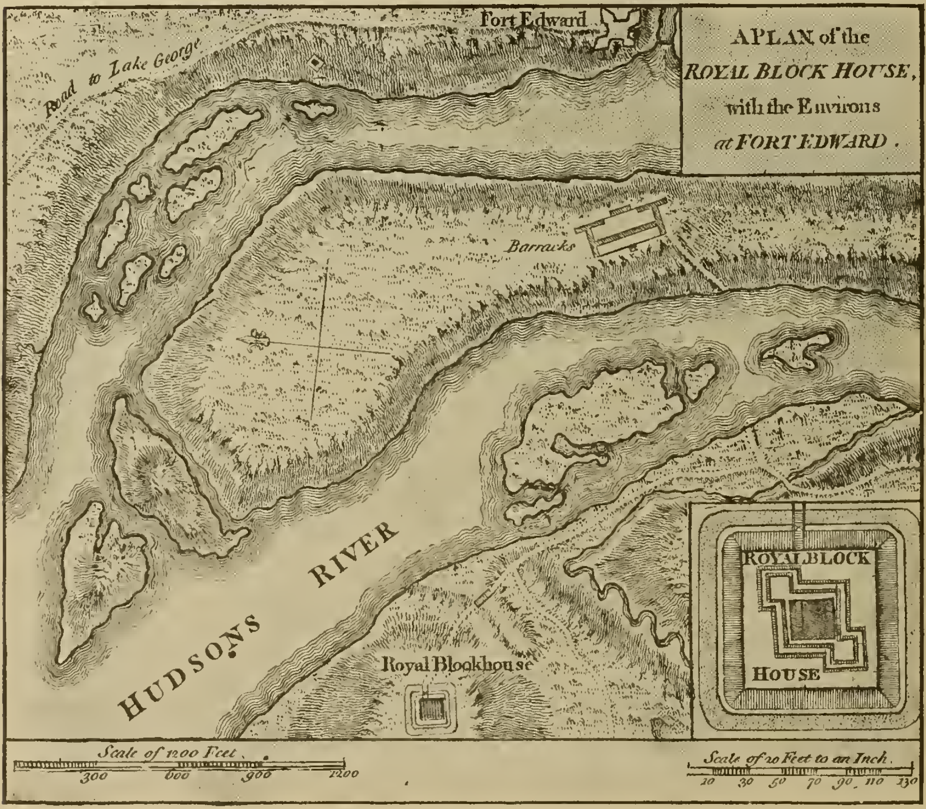
[1] Parkman (i. p. 440) notes the sources of this commotion.

[2] From *A set of plans and forts in America, reduced from actual surveys*, 1763, published in London. Cf. the plan in Lossing's *Field-Book of the Revolution*, i. p. 95.

Montcalm, when he heard the details, was not over-pleased; and if he had had his way, De Lévis or Bougainville would have led the attack. As it was, Rigaud was a brother of the governor, and Vaudreuil was tenacious of his superiority. The news broke in upon a round of festivities at Montreal, stayed only by Lent. At this season Montcalm prayed, as he had before feasted, with no full recognition of the feelings which Vaudreuil entertained for him. But the minister in France knew it, and he was not, perhaps, so ready to doubt the numbers of the English, exaggerated in Vaudreuil's report, as he was the prowess of the Canadians in comparison with the timidity of Montcalm and his regulars, which was also reported to him. In Montreal, however, the mutual distrust and dislike of the governor and the general were cloaked with a politeness that was not always successful, when they were apart, in keeping their feelings from their neighbors.



ENVIRONS OF FORT EDWARD.[1]

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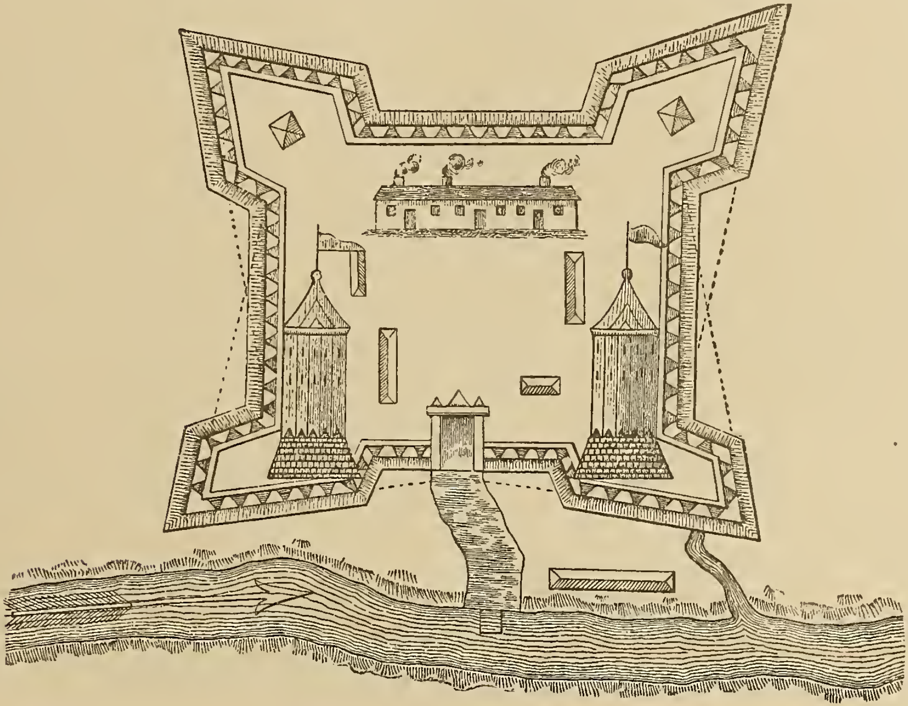
[1] From *A set of plans and forts in America, reduced from actual surveys*, 1763, published in London.

Loudon had resolved on attacking Louisbourg, with the aid of a fleet from England.[1] Withdrawing a large part of the force on the northern frontier, he departed for Halifax, where everything miscarried. But before he returned to New York, crestfallen, the French had profited by his absence.

The English general had left the line of the approach by the lakes from Canada to be watched by Webb, who was at Fort Edward, while Col. Munro, with a small force, held Fort William Henry, at the head of Lake George. This was the most advanced post of the English, and the opportunity for Montcalm had come.



FORT ST. JEAN.[2]

At Montreal the French general was gathering his Indian allies from points as distant as Acadia and Lake Superior. He pushed forward his commingled forces, and they rallied at Fort St. John on the Sorel. On again they swept in a fleet of bateaux and canoes to Ticonderoga. They were prepared for quick work, and Montcalm set an example by discarding the luxuries of personal equipments.

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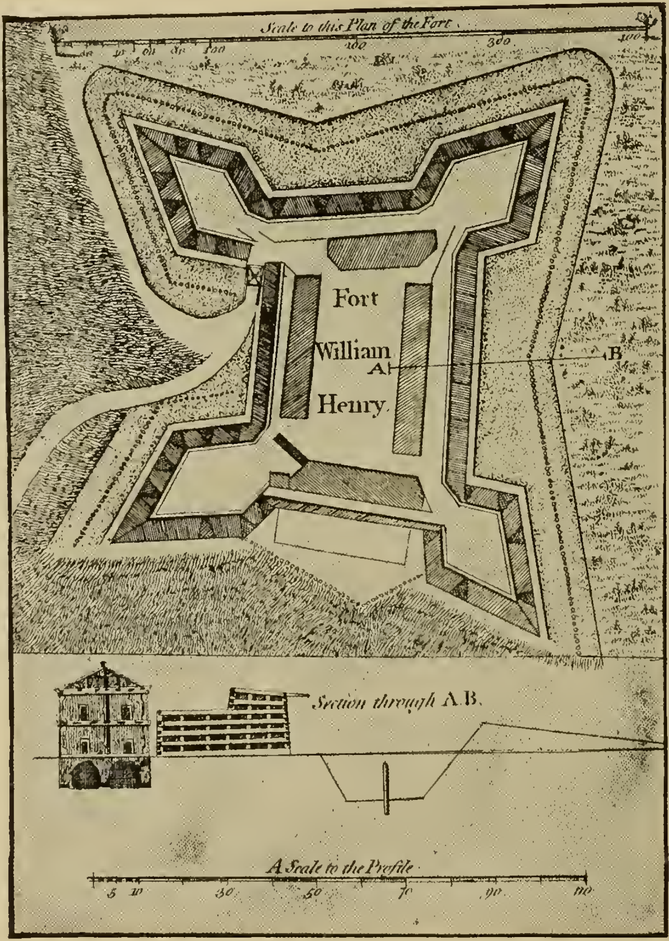
[1] Loudon had to this end held meetings with the northern governors at Boston in January, and with the southern governors at Philadelphia in March, 1757. Loudon's correspondence at this time is in the Public Record Office (*America and West Indies*, vol. lxxxv.), and is copied in the Parkman MSS. When Loudon left with his 91 transports and five men-of-war, he sent off a despatch-boat to England; and Jenkinson, on the receipt of the message, wrote to Grenville, reflecting probably Loudon's reports, that "the public seem to be extremely pleased with the secrecy and spirit of this enterprise." *Grenville Corresp.*, i. 201.

[2] After a plan in the contemporary *Mémoires sur le Canada*, 1749–1760, as published by the Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Quebec (ré-impression), 1873, p. 95. Kalm describes the fort in 1749. *Travels*, London, 1771, ii. 216.



FORT WILLIAM HENRY.[1]

At the portage, and before launching his flotilla on Lake George, Montcalm held a grand council, and bound his Indian allies by a mighty belt of wampum. Up the smaller lake the main body now went by boat, but some Iroquois allies led De Lévis, with 2,500 men, along its westerly bank. The force on the lake disembarked under cover of a point of land, which hid them from the English.

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[1] From *A set of plans and forts in America, reduced from actual surveys*, 1763, published in London. A plan of this fort is in the *Brit. Mus. MSS.*, no. 15,355, and various plans of 1756 and 1757 are noted in the *King's Maps* (Brit. Mus.), ii. 475. Plans are also given in Martin's *Montcalm et les dernières années de la colonie Française au Canada*, and in Hough's ed. of Pouchot, p. 48.

A sketch of the fort preserved on a powder-horn is engraved in Stone's *Life of Johnson*, i. p. 553, and in Holden's *Queensbury*, 306.

The extent of the demonstration was first made known to Munro when the savages spread out across the lake in their bark canoes. Montcalm soon pushed forward La Corne and De Lévis till they cut the communications of the English with Fort Edward, and then the French general began his approaches from his own encampment. When he advanced his lines to within gun-shot of the ramparts, he summoned the fort. Munro declined to surrender, hoping for relief from Webb; but the timid commander at Fort Edward only despatched a note of advice to make terms. This letter was intercepted by Montcalm, who sent it into the fort, and it induced Munro to agree to a capitulation.

THE SITE OF FORT WILLIAM HENRY, 1851.[1]

On the 9th of August the English retired to the entrenched camp, and the French entered the fort. Munro's men were to be escorted to Fort Edward, being allowed their private effects, and were not to serve against the French for eighteen months. Montcalm took the precaution to explain the terms to his Indian allies, and received their seeming assent; but the savages got at the English rum, and, with passions roused, they fell the next day upon the prisoners. Despite all exertions of Montcalm and the more honorable of his officers, many were massacred or carried off, so that the line of march became a disorderly rout, beyond all control of the escort, and lost itself in the woods. Not more than six hundred in a body reached Fort Edward, but many others later straggled in. Another portion, which Montcalm rescued from the clutch of the Indians, was subsequently sent in under a strong escort.

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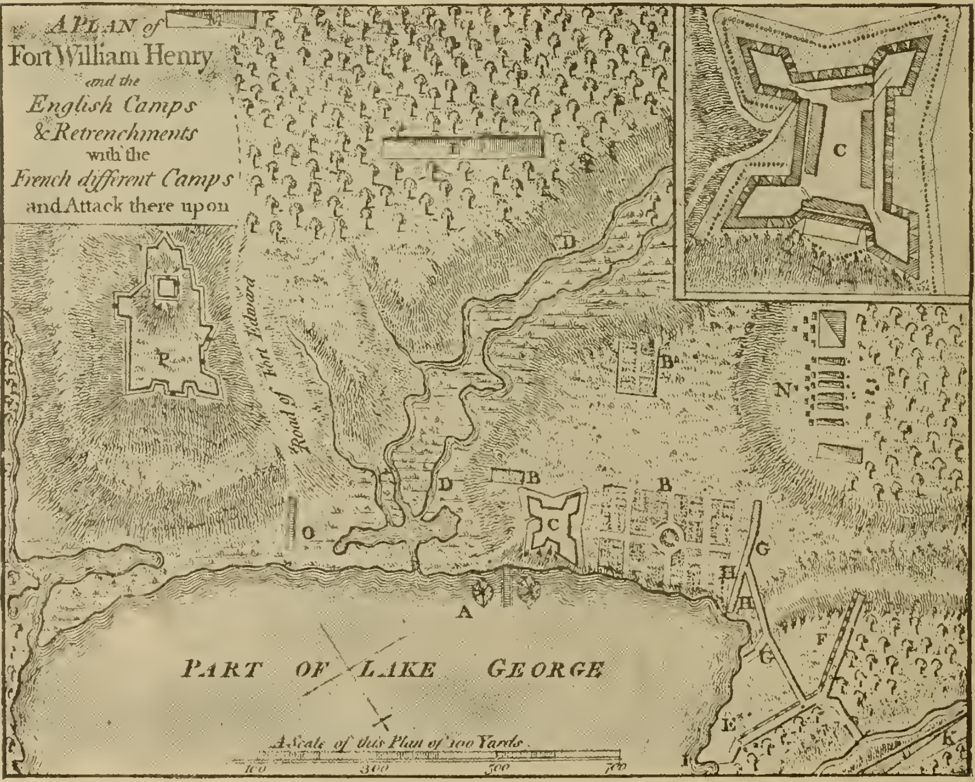
[1] From a sketch made in 1851. The fort was on the bluff at the left, now the position of the Fort William Henry hotel. Montcalm's trenches were where the modern village of Caldwell is built, seen beyond the water. The way to the entrenched camp started along the gravelly beach in the foreground, towards the spectator.

The French destroyed the fort, throwing the bodies of the slain on the fire which was made of its timber, and, lading their boats with the muni-



ATTACK ON FORT WILLIAM HENRY.[1]

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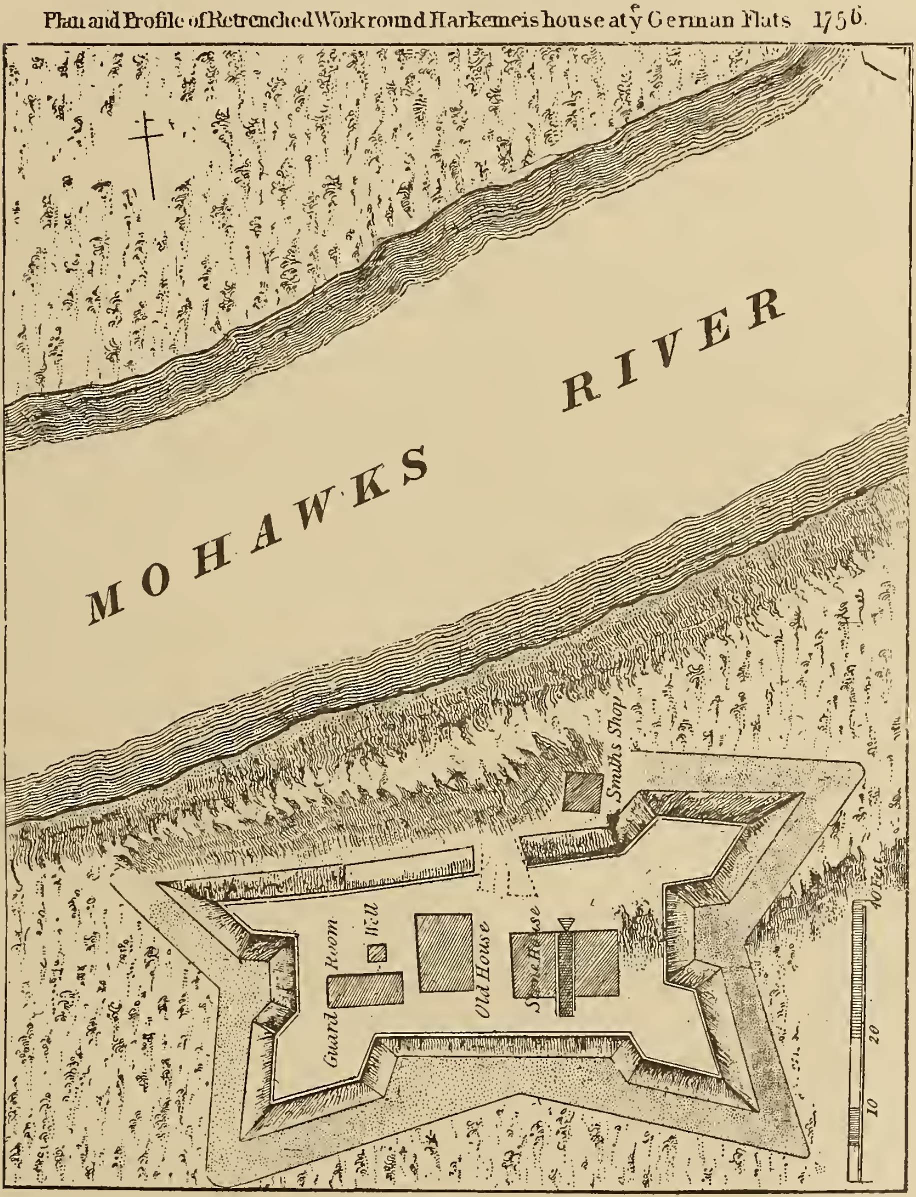
[1] From *A set of plans and forts in America, reduced from actual surveys*, 1763, published in London.

KEY. — A, dock. B, garden. C, Fort William Henry. D, morass. E, French first battery of nine guns and two mortars. F, French second battery of ten guns and three mortars. G, French approaches. H, two intended batteries. I, landing-place of French artillery. K, Montcalm's camp, with main body. L, De Lévis' camp, with regulars and Canadians. M, De la Corne, with Canadians and Indians. N, where the English first encamped. O, bridge over morass. P, English entrenchments, where Fort George later stood.

Cf. the plans in Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, i. 494, and in Palmer's *Lake Champlain*, p. 73, based on this, and the reproduction of it in Bancroft's *United States*, orig. ed., iv. p. 263. There is a rough contemporary sketch given in J. A. Stoughton's *Windsor Farms*, 1884, showing the lines of the attacking force, and endorsed, "Taken Oct. 22, 1757, by John Stoughton." There is another large plan of the attack preserved in the New York State Library, and this is given in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 602. Martin, *De Montcalm en Canada*, p. 81, gives a "Plan du siège de Fort George [William Henry was often so called by the French] dressé par Fernesic de Vesour le 12 Septembre, 1757," preserved in the Dépôt des Fortifications des Colonies, no. 516, at Paris.

tions and plunder, they followed the savages, who had already started on their way to Montreal.


Plan and Profile of Retrenched Work round Harkemeis house at ye German Flats 1756.
MOHAWKS RIVER
Smiths Shop
Well
Guard Room
Old House
Stone House
10 Feet
20
10

FORT AT GERMAN FLATS.[1]

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[1] After a plan in the *Doc. Hist. New York*, ii. 732. In Benton's *Herkimer County*, p. 53, is also a "plan and profile of the entrenched works round Harkemer's house at ye German Flats, 1756." Cf. *Set of Plans*, etc., no. 13.

Loudon reached New York on the last of August,[1] but he had already heard of the Lake George disaster from a despatch-boat which met him on the way. On landing he learned from Albany that Montcalm had retired. Webb, who was much perplexed with the hordes of militia which all too late began to pour in upon him, was now bold enough to think there was no use of retreating to the passes of the Hudson. The necessity of allowing the Canadians to gather their crops, as well as Montcalm's inability to transport his cannon, had influenced that general to retreat. At Montreal he learned the stories of the fiendish cruelty practised upon their prisoners by the Indians who had preceded him, and who had not been restrained by Vaudreuil, — so Bougainville said; for the governor's policy of buying some of the captives with brandy led to the infuriation which wreaked itself on the rest.

The campaign closed in November with an attack on the post at German Flats, a settlement of Palatine Germans, by a scouting body of French and Indians under one of Vaudreuil's Canadians, Belêtre. Everything disappeared in the havoc, which a detachment sent by Colonel Townshend from Fort Herkimer, not far off, was powerless to check. Before Lord Howe, with a larger force from Schenectady,[2] could reach the scene, the French had departed.

The winter of 1757–58 at Montreal and Quebec passed with the usual official gayety and bureaucratic peculation. The passions of war were only aroused as occasional stories of rapine and scalps came in from the borders. Good hearty rejoicing took place, however, in March, over the report that a scouting party from Ticonderoga had encountered Rogers, and that the dreaded partisan had been killed and his followers annihilated. The last part of the story was too true, but Rogers had escaped, leaving behind his coat, which he had thrown off in the fray, and in its pocket was his commission, the capture of which had given rise to the belief in his death. Meanwhile, on the English side a new spirit of control was preparing to give unaccustomed vigor to the coming campaign. In England's darkest hour William Pitt had come to power, thrown up by circumstances. He was trusted in the country's desperation, and proved himself capable of imparting a momentum that all British movements had lacked since the war began. He developed his plans for America, and made his soldiers and sailors spring to their work. Loudon was recalled. The provincial officer was made the equal of the regular, by conferring upon him the same right of seniority by commission. The whole colonial service felt that they were thereby made equal sharers of the honors as well as of the burdens of the times. Pitt put his finger upon the three vulnerable gaps in the French panoply. He would reach Quebec by taking Louisbourg; and singling out a stubborn colonel who had shown his mettle in Germany, he made him Major-General Amherst, and sent him with a fleet to take Louisbourg, as we may see in another chapter.[1] Circumstances, or a mischance in judgment, made him retain Abercrombie for the Crown Point campaign, but a better decision named Brigadier John Forbes to attack Fort Duquesne. It belongs to this place to tell the story of these last two campaigns.

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[1] Bancroft and those who follow him, taking their cue from Smith (*Hist. of New York*), say that Loudon "proposed to encamp on Long Island for the defence of the continent." Parkman (ii. p. 2) points out that this is Smith's perversion of a statement of Loudon that he should disembark on that island if head winds prevented his entering New York bay, when he returned from Halifax. There seems to have been a current apprehension of a certain ridiculousness in all of Loudon's movements. It induced John Adams to believe even then that the colonies could get on better without England than with her. Cf. the *John Adams and Mercy Warren Letters* (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections*), p. 339.

[2] Plans of the fort and settlement at Schenectady during the war are in Jonathan Pearson's *Schenectady Patent* (1883), pp. 311, 316, 328: namely, one of the fort, by the Rev. John Miller (1695), from an original in the British Museum; another of the town (about 1750–60); and still another (1768).

In June, Abercrombie had assembled at the head of Lake George a force of 15,000 men, of whom 6,000 were regulars. Montcalm was at Ticonderoga with scarce a quarter as many; but Vaudreuil was tardily sending forward some scant reinforcements under De Lévis. The French general got tidings early in July of the embarkation in England, but had done nothing up to that time to protect his army, which was lying on the peninsula of Ticonderoga, mainly outside the fort. In fact, he was at a loss what to do; no help had reached him, and the approaching army was too numerous to hope for success. He thought of retreating to Crown Point, but some of his principal officers opposed it. He now began a breastwork of logs on the high ground before the fort, and, felling the trees within musket range, he covered the ground with a dense barrier.

All the while, the English were in a heydey of assurance. Pitt was waiting anxiously in London for the first tidings. Abercrombie, now a man of

James Abercromby

fifty-two years, did not altogether inspire confidence. His heavy build and lethargic temperament made lookers-on call him "aged." There was, however, a proud expectation of success from the vigorous, companionable Earl Howe, the brigadier next in command, whom Pitt hoped to prove the real commander, because of the trust which Abercrombie put in him. On the 5th of July the immense flotilla, which bore the English army and its train, started down Lake George. To a spectator it completely deadened the glare of the water for miles away. The next morning at daybreak the army was passing Rogers' Slide, whence a French party under Langy watched them. By noon it had disembarked at the extreme north end of Lake George, and near the river conducting to Ticonderoga they built an entrenchment, to protect their bateaux. Rogers, with his rangers, was sent into the woods to lead the way, while the army followed; but the denseness of the forest soon brought the column into confusion. Meanwhile,

[1] Chapter vii.

the French party under Langy, finding the English had got between them and their main body, endeavored to pass around the head of the English column, and, in doing so, got equally confused in the thickness of the wood, and suddenly encountered that part of the English force where Lord Howe and Major Putnam were. A skirmish ensued, Howe fell,[1] and the army was practically without a head. Rogers, who was in advance, turned back upon Langy, and few of the Frenchmen escaped.

LORD HOWE.[2]

In the morning Abercrombie withdrew the army to the landing. Bradstreet, with his watermen, having rebuilt the bridges destroyed by the French, the original intention of skirting the river on the west was abandoned, and the army now started to follow the ordinary portage across the loop of the river, which held the rapids. The French had already deserted their positions at either end of this portage. At the northerly end, near a saw-mill, the English general halted his army. He was at one base-corner of the triangular peninsula of which Ticonderoga was the apex. He had now to encounter, not far from the fort, the entrenchment which Montcalm was busily constructing out of the forest-trees which had been laid along its front as by a hurricane. Scorning all measures which might have spared his army great losses, and thoughtless of movements which could have intercepted Montcalm's reinforcements,[3] the English general undertook, from the distant mill, to direct repeated assaults in front. His soldiers made a deadly push through the entanglements of the levelled trees and against the barricade, behind which the defenders were almost wholly protected. He could have done nothing to help Montcalm so much. The stores of the French were sufficient for eight days only, and the chief dread of the French general was that Abercrombie would cut his communications with Crown Point. As it was, De Lévis, with a considerable force, arrived in the night. Sir William Johnson and some Indians opened fire in the morning across the river from the sides of Mount Defiance; but accomplished nothing, and took no further part in the day's work. About noon the attack began in front, and all day long — now here, now there — the French repelled assaults which showed prodigies of valor and brought no reward. Some rafts, with cannon sent by Abercrombie to enfilade the French line, were driven back by the guns of the fort. At twilight the cruel work ceased. Abercrombie had lost nearly 2,000 men, and Montcalm short of 400.

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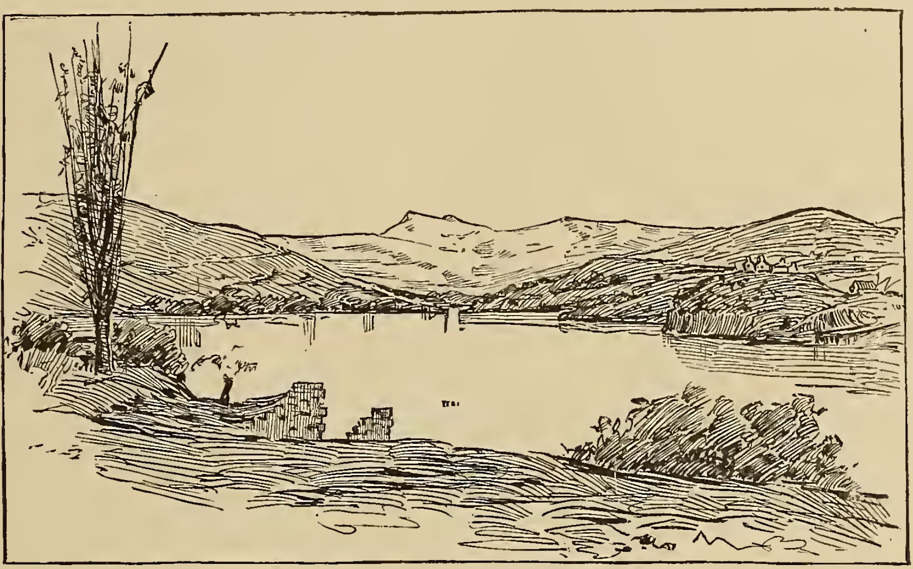
[1] Hutchinson (iii. 71) represents that Howe, in the confusion, may have been killed by his own men. On Howe's burial at Albany, and the identification of his remains many years after, see Lossing's *Schuyler*, i. p. 155; Watson's *County of Essex*, 88. He was buried under St. Peter's Church. Cf. Lossing, in *Harper's Mag.*, xiv. 453.

[2] From an engraving in Entick's *Hist. of the Late War*, 3d ed., 1765, vol. iii. p. 209. For the impression made by Howe's character on the colonists, see Mrs. Grant's *American Lady*, Wilson's ed., p. 222.

[3] Abercrombie's engineer surveyed the French works from an opposite hill, and pronounced it practicable to carry them by assault. Stark, with a better knowledge of such works, demurred; but his opinions had no weight. A view of the field of Abercrombie's defeat is given in Gay, *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. 299.



TICONDEROGA, 1851.

Montcalm was still anxious. He knew that Abercrombie had cannon, and had not used them. The most natural thing in the world for the Eng-

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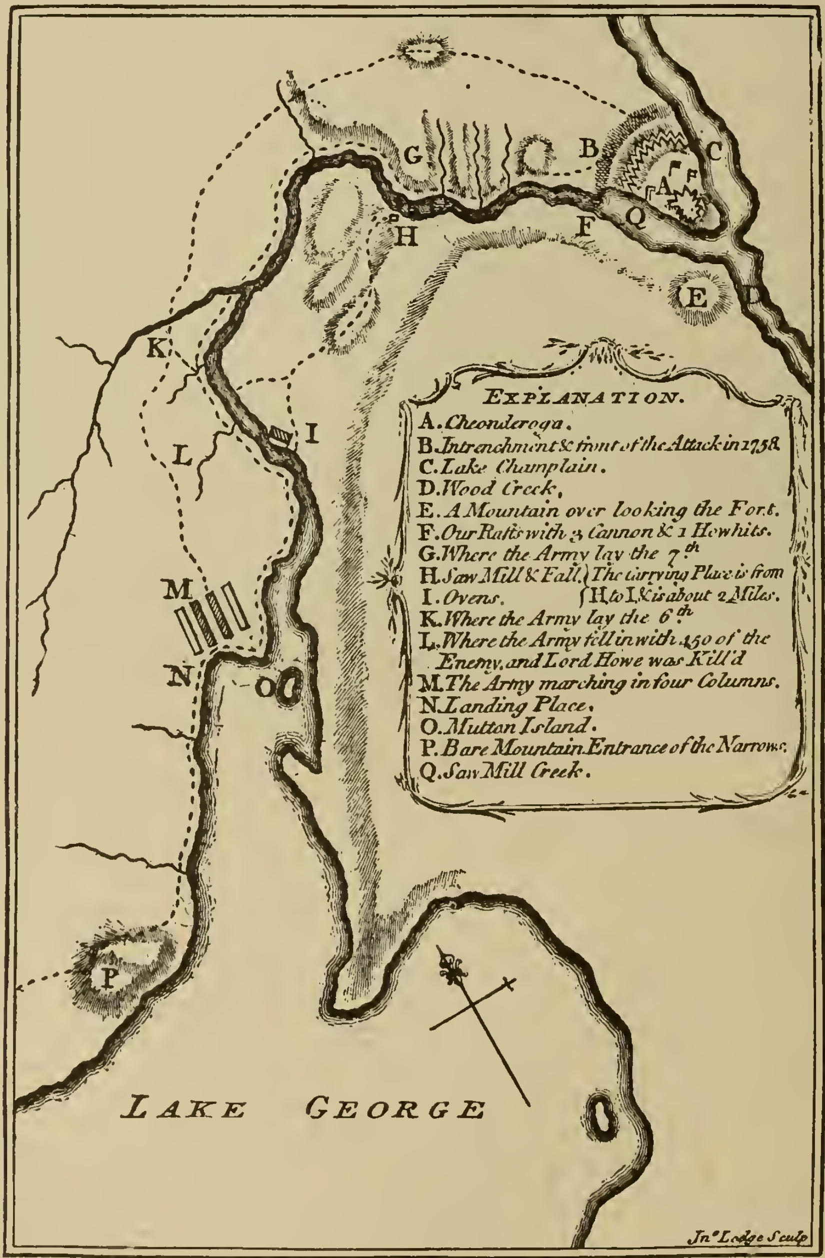
[1] After a sketch made in 1851. The ruins of Ticonderoga and the landing-wharf are seen on the right. The high hill on the left is Mount Defiance, on whose side Johnson and his Indians were posted during Abercrombie's attack. At its base is the outlet leading to Lake George. The ruins in the foreground are a part of Fort Independence.

lish general would be to occupy the night in bringing the cannon up. In the morning Montcalm sent out to reconnoitre, and it was found that the


A
B
C
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Q
EXPLANATION.
A. Cheonderoga.
B. Intrenchment & front of the Attack in 1758.
C. Lake Champlain.
D. Wood Creek,
E. A Mountain over looking the Fort.
F. Our Rafts with 3 Cannon & 1 Howhits.
G. Where the Army lay the 7th
H. Saw Mill & Fall. } The Carrying Place is from
I. Ovens. } H to I & is about 2 Miles.
K. Where the Army lay the 6th
L. Where the Army fell in with 450 of the Enemy, and Lord Howe was Kill'd
M. The Army marching in four Columns.
N. Landing Place.
O. Mutton Island.
P. Bare Mountain Entrance of the Narrows.
Q. Saw Mill Creek.
LAKE GEORGE
Jn° Lodge Sculp.

ABERCROMBIE'S ATTACK ON TICONDEROGA, 1758.[1]

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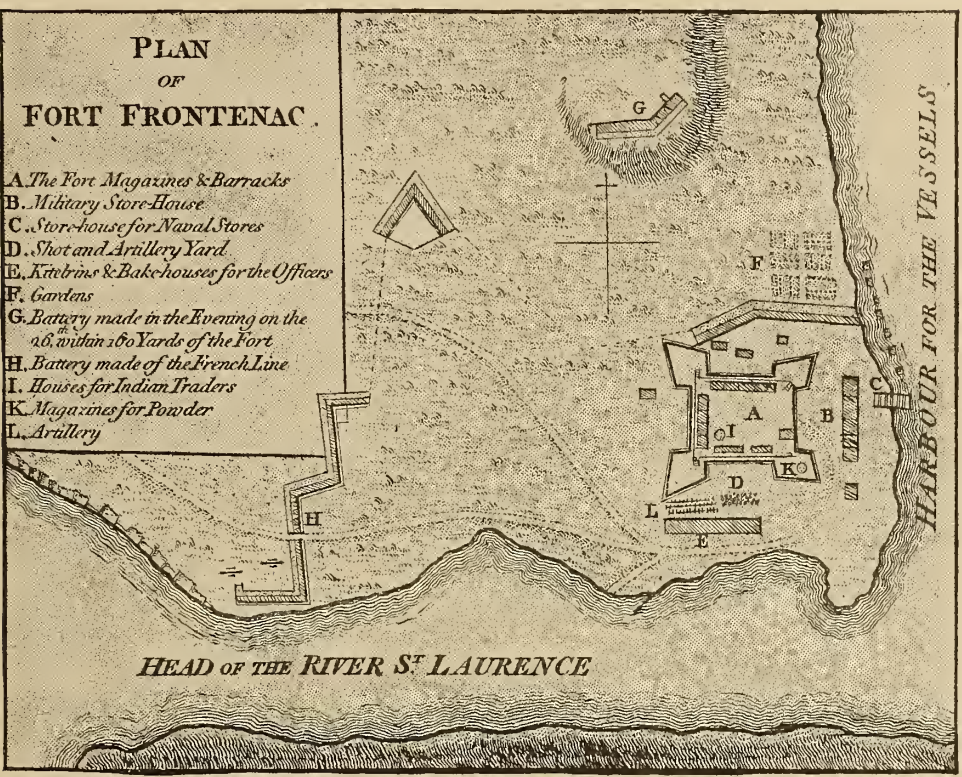
[1] From Almon's *Remembrancer*, London, 1778, where it is called "Sketch of Cheonderoga or Ticonderoga, taken on the spot by an English officer, in 1759." A plan of the approaches and attack by Lieut Meyer, of the 60th regt., is given in Parkman, ii. p. 94. Cf. other plans in Bancroft, orig. ed., iv.; Palmer's *Lake Champlain*, p. 79, etc.

English, still 13,000 strong, had reëmbarked, and all the signs showed the great precipitancy of their flight.

The French general could well rejoice, but he exaggerated his enemy's strength to 25,000 and their losses to 5,000, which last was considerably more than the victor's whole force.


PLAN
OF
FORT FRONTENAC.
A. The Fort Magazines & Barracks
B. Military Store-House
C. Store-house for Naval Stores
D. Shot and Artillery Yard
E. Kitchins & Bake-houses for the Officers
F. Gardens
G. Battery made in the Evening on the 26th within 160 Yards of the Fort
H. Battery made of the French Line
I. Houses for Indian Traders
K. Magazines for Powder
L. Artillery
A
B
C
D
E
F
G
H
I
K
L
HARBOUR FOR THE VESSELS
HEAD OF THE RIVER ST LAURENCE

FORT FRONTENAC.

Abercrombie apparently magnified beyond belief an enemy whom he had

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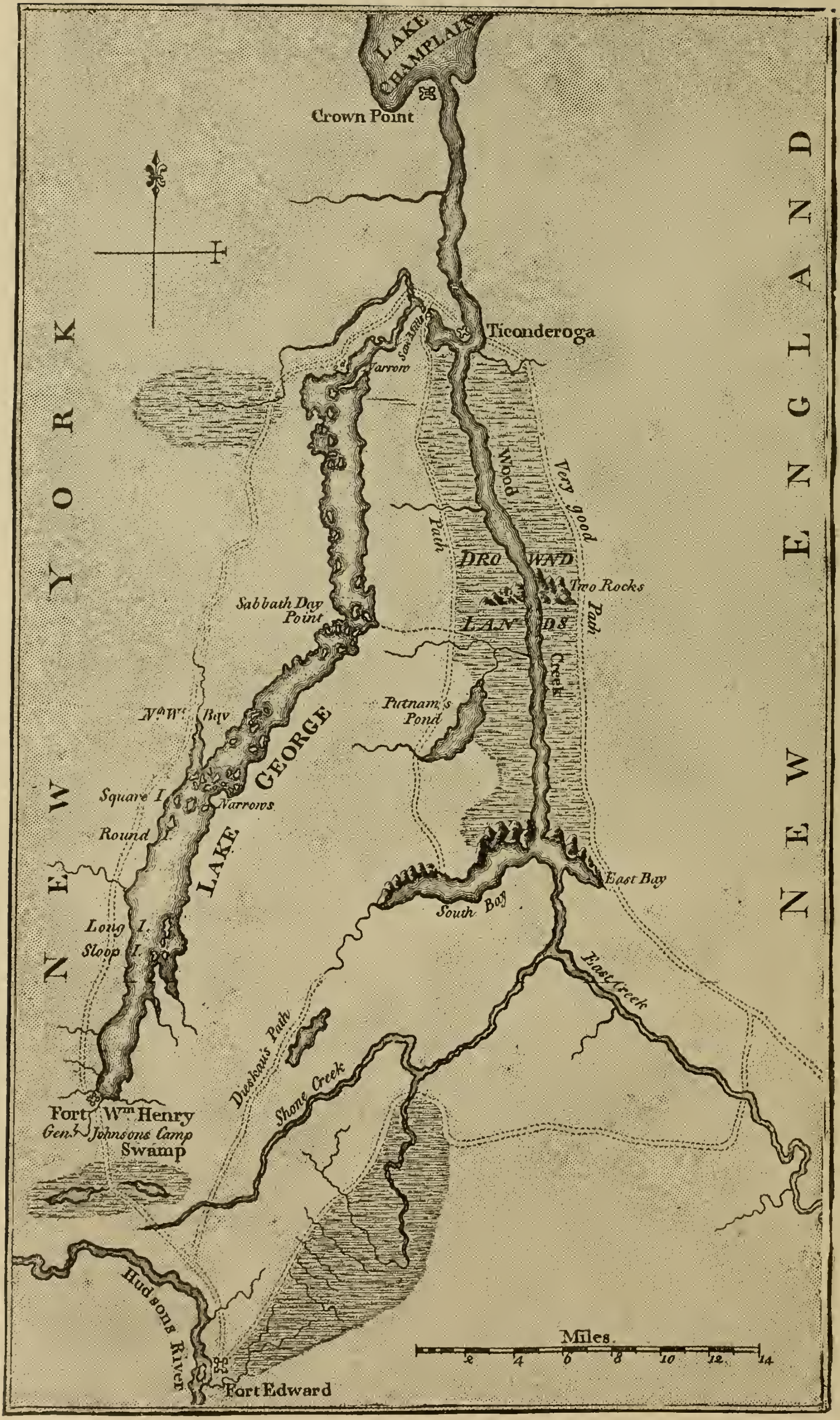
M. D'Hagues sent to the Marshal de Belle Isle on account of the situation of Fort Carillon [Ticonderoga] and its approaches, dated at the fort, May 1, 1758, which is printed (in translation) in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 707; and in the same, p. 720, is another description by M. de Pont le Roy, French engineer-in-chief.

The condition of the fort at the time of Abercrombie's attack in 1758 is well represented by maps and plans. Cf. the plan of this date in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 721; and the French plan noted in the *Catal. of the Library of Parliament* (Toronto, 1858), p. 1621, no. 86. Bonnechose (*Montcalm et le Canada*, p. 91) gives a French plan, "Bataille de Carillon, d'après un Plan inédit de l'époque." Jefferys engraved a *Plan of town and fort of Carillon at Tyconderoga, with the attack made by the British army commanded by General Abercrombie*, 8 *July*, 1758, which Jefferys later included in his *General Topog. of North America and the West Indies*, London, 1768, no. 38. Martin, *De Montcalm en Canada*, p. 128, follows Jefferys' draft. Hough in his edition of *Pouchot*, p. 108, gives the plan of the attack as it appeared in Mante's *Hist. of the Late War*, London, 1772, p. 144; and from this it is reproduced in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 726.

[1] From *A set of plans and forts in America, reduced from actual surveys*, 1763, published in London. The fort was at the modern Kingston, Canada. There is a view or plan of it in *Mémoires sur les affaires du Canada*, 1749–60, p. 115.


LAKE CHAMPLAIN
Crown Point
Ticonderoga
NEW ENGLAND
NEW YORK
Narrow
Very good Path
Wood Creek
Path
DROWND LANDS
Two Rocks
Sabbath Day Point
Putnam's Pond
Nth Wt Bay
LAKE GEORGE
Square I.
Narrows
Round I.
Long I.
Sloop I.
East Bay
South Bay
East Creek
Dieskau's Path
Shone Creek
Fort Wm Henry
Genl Johnsons Camp
Swamp
Hudsons River
Fort Edward
Miles.
2
4
6
8
10
12
14

not seen, and went up the lake in trepidation, lest he should be pursued. Safe on his old camping-ground at the head of the lake, he made haste to entrench himself, while Montcalm, lucky to escape as he did, prepared for a new campaign by rebuilding his lines. So the two armies still watched each other at a safe distance.[1]

Montcalm for a while tried to harass the English communications with Fort Edward, by sending out his leading partisan, Marin; but Rogers was more than his match, and gave the English general some grains of comfort by his successes. Putnam, however, was captured and carried to Canada. Meanwhile, much greater relief came to the army's spirits in September when the news of Bradstreet's success at Fort Frontenac reached them.

A council of war had forced Abercrombie to give Bradstreet 3,000 men, and with these he made his way to Oswego, whence, towards the end of August, his whale-boats and bateaux pushed out upon the lake, and in three days he was before Frontenac. The fort quickly surrendered. Bradstreet levelled it, ruined seven armed vessels, put as much of the plunder as he could carry on two others, and returned to Oswego unmolested. Here he landed his booty, destroyed the vessels, and the French naval power on Ontario was at an end. He began his march for Albany, and, passing the great carrying place where Brigadier Stanwix was building a fort for the protection of the valley, left there a thousand men for its garrison. In October Amherst came overland from Boston, with some of his victorious regiments from Louisbourg. It was too late for further campaigning; and each side left garrisons at their camps, and retired to winter quarters.

Jeff Amherst

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[1] When Pitt heard of Abercrombie's defeat he wrote to Grenville: "I own this news has sunk my spirits, and left very painful impressions on my mind, without, however, depriving me of great hopes for the remaining campaign." *Grenville Correspondence*, i. 262.

NOTE. — The annexed map is from Mante's *Hist. of the Late War*, Lond., 1772. A map of the lake, from surveys made in 1762, is given in Parkman, i. 285. It is also reproduced in De Peyster's *Wilson's Orderly Book*.

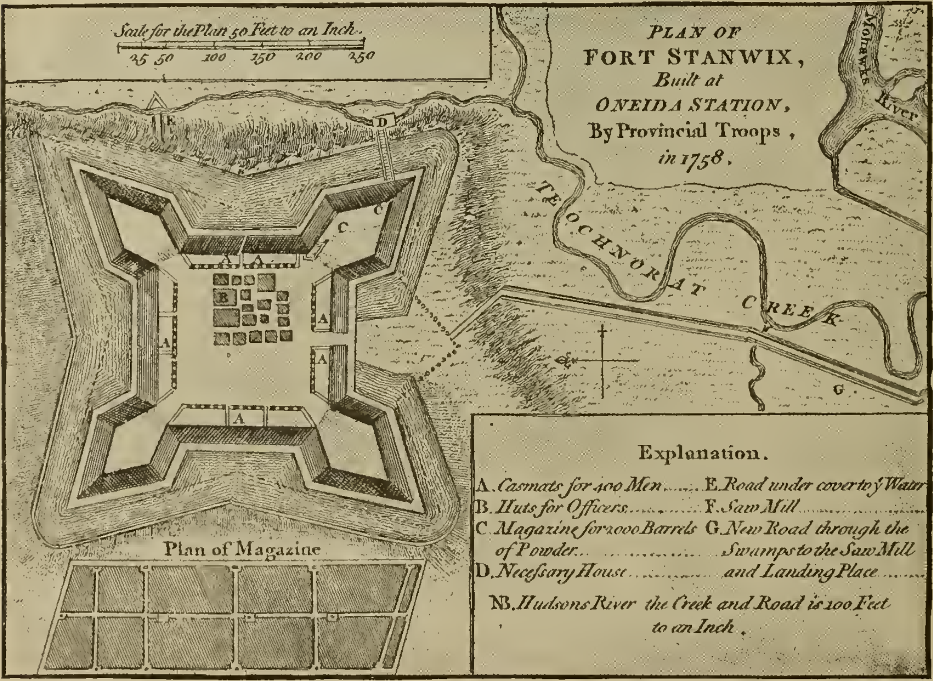
Holden (*Hist. Queensbury*, 302, 303) mentions several MS. maps of Lake George of this period, preserved in the State Library at Albany. A map of the military roads (1759) from the Hudson to Lake George is given in *Ibid.*, p. 341.

There is in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 721, a sketch map copied from an original in the Archives de la Guerre at Paris, called *Frontiers du lac St. Sacrement*, 1758, 8 *Juillet*. It shows Lake Champlain from below Crown Point, together with Lake George and the country towards Albany, marking the routes, forts, etc.

Cf. the section giving Lake George in Jefferys' *Map of the most inhabited part of New England*, published November 29, 1755, and contained in his *General Topography of North America and the West Indies*, Lond., 1768, no. 37; and the separate map of Lake George, 1756, in Sayer and Bennet's *American Military Pocket Atlas*, 1776. This I suppose to be the survey made in 1756 by Captain Jackson, of which a tracing is given in F. B. Hough's ed. of *Rogers's Journals*, Albany, 1883. The map in Gay's *Pop. Hist. U. S.*, iii. 284, is a modern one.

Views of historic interest on Lake George, by T. A. Richards, are given in *Harper's Mag.*, vii. 161.

The destruction of Frontenac and the French fleet on Ontario had cut off Fort Duquesne from its sources of supply, and to the substantial, if not brilliant, success of Brigadier John Forbes[1] we must now turn. It is a story of a stubborn Scotch purpose. Forbes had no dash, and purposely dallied with the forming and marching of his army to weary the Indian allies of the French, and to secure time to gain over all of the savages that he could. The English general got upon his route by June, but soon fell sick, and was carried through the marches in a litter; but he breasted every discomfort and harassing complexity of the details, which he had to manage almost in every particular, with a courage that might have done credit to a man in vigor. He had made up his mind to open a new road


Scale for the Plan 50 Feet to an Inch.
25 50 100 150 200 250
PLAN OF
FORT STANWIX,
Built at
ONEIDA STATION,
By Provincial Troops,
in 1758.
Mohawks River
TEOCHNORAT CREEK
A
B
C
D
E
G
Plan of Magazine
Explanation.
A. Casmats for 400 Men
B. Huts for Officers
C. Magazine for 2000 Barrels of Powder
D. Necessary House
E. Road under cover to ye Water
F. Saw Mill
G. New Road through the Swamps to the Saw Mill and Landing Place
NB. Hudsons River the Creek and Road is 100 Feet to an Inch.

FORT STANWIX.[2]

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[1] Most of the writers, following Bancroft, call him *Joseph* Forbes; and Bancroft lets that name stand in his final revision.

[2] From *A set of plans and forts in America, reduced from actual surveys*, 1763, published in London. The *Catal. of the King's Maps* (Brit. Mus.), ii. 354–55, shows drawn plans (1758, 1759, 1764) of Fort Stanwix, built by I. Williams, engineer.

A large map of the neighborhood of Fort Stanwix is in the *Doc. Hist. New York* (iv. p. 324), with a plan of the fort itself (p. 327), accompanied by a paper on the history of the fort. A map of the siege of the fort, presented to Col. Gansevoort by L. Flury, is given with a plan of the modern city of Rome superposed, in Dr. Hough's ed. of *Pouchot*, i. 207. Cf. the chapter on Fort Schuyler (Stanwix) in Bogg's *Pioneers of Utica*, 1877. The fort was originally called Fort Williams. It was begun on July 23, 1758, by Brig.-Gen. John Stanwix. Cf. note on Stanwix in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vii. 280.

There is in Harvard College library a copy of a MS. journal of Ensign Moses Dorr, from May 25 to Oct. 28, 1758, including an account of the building of Fort Stanwix. The original MS. was in 1848 in the possession of Lyman Watkins, of Walpole, N. H.

over the mountains more direct than Braddock's. Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Bouquet, a Swiss officer of the Royal Americans, sustained him in this purpose ; but Washington argued for the older route, — not without inciting some distrust, for Forbes was not blind to the rival interests of Pennsylvania and Virginia, and suspected that Washington was influenced by a greater loyalty for his colony than for the common cause.

Forbes did not fail, however, to recognize the young Virginian's merit in the kind of warfare which was before them ; and there exists in Washington's hand a plan of a line of march for forces in a forest, with diagrams for throwing the line into order of battle, which Forbes had requested him to make.[1] Braddock's defeat was not lost on Forbes, and in his marches and preparations he availed himself of all the arts of woodcraft and partisanship which Washington could teach him. He did not, nevertheless, have a very high opinion of the provincials in his train, and, with the exception of some of their higher officers, they were, no doubt, a sorry set. As he pushed on he established fortified posts for supplies ; but all the help he ought to have got from his quartermaster-general, Sir John Sinclair, stood him in poor stead, for that officer was "a very odd man," and only added to his general's perplexities. The advice of Washington about taking the other route had so far unsettled Forbes's faith in him, that, though he told his subordinates among the advance to consult with the Virginia colonel, it might not be best, he suggested, to follow his advice. While the march went on he had little success in attaching some Cherokees and Catawbas, for they stayed no longer than the gifts held out. An occasional scout brought him intelligence of the enemy, and he felt that their numbers were not great, and that the weariness of delays would drive the Indian allies of the French into desertion, — as it did.

At Raystown he built Fort Bedford, to protect his supplies, and pushed on to Loyalhannon[2] Creek, and there founded his last depot, fifty miles away from Duquesne.

In August Forbes was planning for a general convention with the Indians at Easton. The treaty of the previous year had secured the Delawares and Shawanoes, and a further conference had been held with them in April.[3] Sir William Johnson was bullied, as Forbes says, into bringing into the compact the eastern tribes of the Six Nations, while other influences induced the Senecas and the western tribes also to join, despite the labors of Joncaire to retain them in the French interests. The chief difficulty was to inspire the Ohio Indians with a distrust of the French ; while the failure of French presents, thanks to British cruisers on the ocean, was beginning to dispose them for a change. A Moravian brother,

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[1] This paper in fac-simile is in a volume called *Monuments of Washington's Patriotism* (1841). A portion of it is reproduced, but not in fac-simile, in Sparks' *Washington*, ii. 314.

[2] Loyalhannon, *Parkman ;* Loyal Hanna, *Bancroft ;* Loyal Hannan, *Irving ;* Loyal Hanning, *Warburton.*

[3] The original MS. report of this conference appears in a sale catalogue of Bangs & Co., N. Y., 1854, no. 1309.

Christian Frederick Post, was sent to the tribes on a hazardous mission, and his confidence and fearlessness carried him through it alive; for he had to confront French officers at the conferences, one of which was held close by Fort Duquesne. As a result of his mission, the convention of the allied tribes which met the English at Easton in October decided confidently to send a wampum belt, in the name of both the whites and the red men, to the Ohio Indians, and Post, with an escort, was commissioned to bear it, the party setting out from Loyalhannon. It became a struggle for persuasion between the English messenger and a French officer, who again confronted Post and offered the Indians a belt of wampum of his own. The French won the young warriors; but Post impressed the sages of the Indian councils, and the old men carried the day. The overtures of peace from the English were accepted, and this happened notwithstanding that the garrison of Duquesne had but just badly used a reconnoitring party of the English under Major Grant, of the Scotch Highlanders.

It was a success of forest diplomacy that encouraged and rendered despondent the respective sides. The French scouting parties were hanging about Loyalhannon, while the little army at Duquesne kept dwindling under the prospect of famine, now that Bradstreet's raid on Frontenac had checked their supplies. A rough and weltering October made the bringing up of provisions very difficult for the English, and their weakening general found his time, on his litter, disagreeably spent, as he says, "between business and medicine;" but in early November he himself reached Loyalhannon. He would have stopped here for winter quarters, but scouts brought in word that the French were defenceless; so a force was hurriedly pushed forward in light order, which, when it reached Turkey Creek, heard a heavy boom to the west. It was the explosion of the French mines, as the garrison of Duquesne blew up the fort and fled.

Forbes hutted a portion of his troops within a stockade, which he called Pittsburg, and early in December began his march eastward. The debilitated general reached Philadelphia, but died in March. Few campaigns were ever conducted so successfully from a litter of pain.

Jo Forbes

The winter of 1758–59 was an unquiet one in Canada. Vaudreuil and Montcalm disputed over the results of the last campaign, and the governor was doing all he could to make the home government believe that Montcalm neither deserved, nor could profit by, success. All his intrigue to induce the general's recall only resulted in the ministry sending him orders to defer to Montcalm in all matters affecting the war.

Vaudreuil

There was never more need of strong counsel in Canada. The gasconade of Vaudreuil had reached the limit of its purpose. The plunder by officials, both of the people and of the king, was an enormity that could not last much longer. It seemed to the wisest that food and reinforce-

GENERAL AMHERST.[1]

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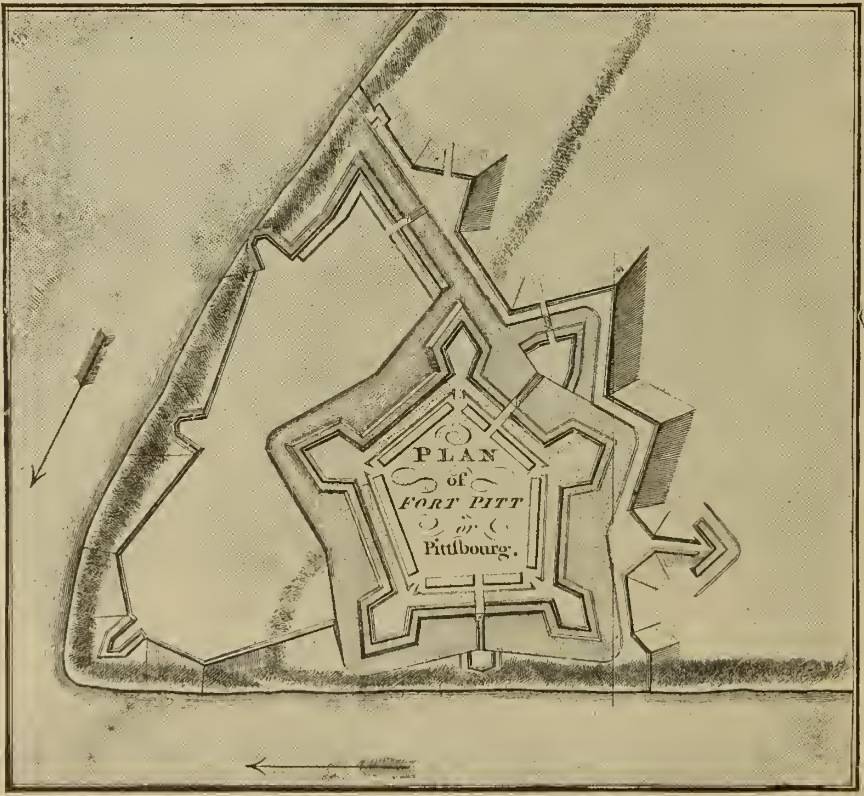
[1] From an engraving in John Knox's *Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America* (1757–60). London, 1769. There is also an engraving in Entick's *Hist. of the Late War*, iv. 129.

Reynolds painted three likenesses of Amherst, and sketched a fourth one, begun May, 1765, and finished February, 1768, which gave his army in the background, passing the rapids of the St. Lawrence. This was engraved in mezzotint by James Watson. (Hamilton's *Engraved Works of Reynolds*, pp. 1, 163; J. C. Smith's *Brit. Mezzotint Portraits*, London, 1878–83, iii. 1008, and iv. 1488; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, vii. 101; *Catal. Cab. M. H. Soc.*, p. 45.) Amherst was born in 1717, and died in 1797.

ments, and those in no small amounts, could alone save Canada, unless, indeed, some kind of a peace could be settled upon in Europe. To claim help and to learn, Bougainville and Doreil were sent to France. Nothing they said could gain much but what was easily given, — promotion in rank to Montcalm and the rest. They represented that the single purpose which now animated the English colonies was quite a different thing from the old dissensions among them, the existence of which had favored the French in the past. The demand in Europe was, however, inexorable; and all that France could promise was a few hundred men and a campaign's supplies of munitions. In the spring of 1759 Bougainville came back with the little which was precious to those who had nothing, as Montcalm said. But the returning soldier brought word of the great fleet which England was fitting out to attack Quebec, and that fifty thousand men would constitute the army with which Canada was to be invaded. Vaudreuil could hardly count twenty thousand men to meet it, and to do this he had to reckon the militia, *coureurs de bois*, and Indians. If the worst came, Mont-



FORT PITT OR PITTSBOURG.[1]

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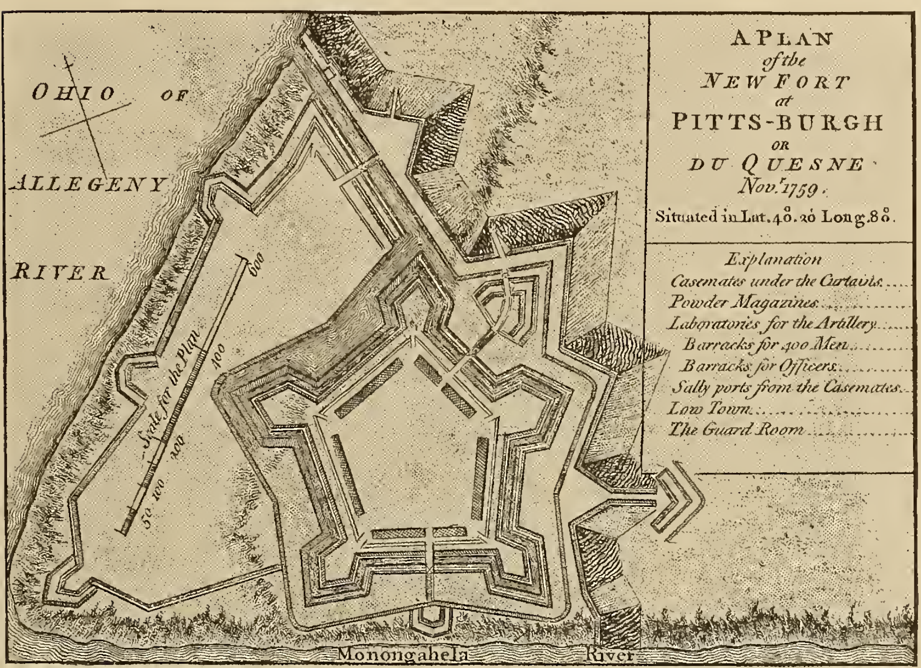
[1] From Mante's *Hist. of the Late War*, London, 1772, p. 158. Cf. also the plan in Egle's *Pennsylvania*, p. 98; and the corner sketch of the plate in Bancroft, *United States* (orig. ed.), iv. 189.

calm thought he could concentrate what force he had, and retreat by way of the Ohio to the Mississippi, and hold out in Louisiana.[1]

On the English side matters looked encouraging. Amherst, a sure and safe soldier, without any dash, was made commander-in-chief, and was to direct in person the advance over the old route from Lake George,[2] while at the same time he took measures to reëstablish Oswego and reinforce Duquesne. To the latter point General Stanwix was sent, where in the course of the summer he laid out and strengthened a new fort, called after the prime minister. Fort Pitt was not, however, wholly secure till success had followed Brigadier Prideaux's expedition to Niagara, the reduction of



NEW FORT AT PITTSBURGH.[3]

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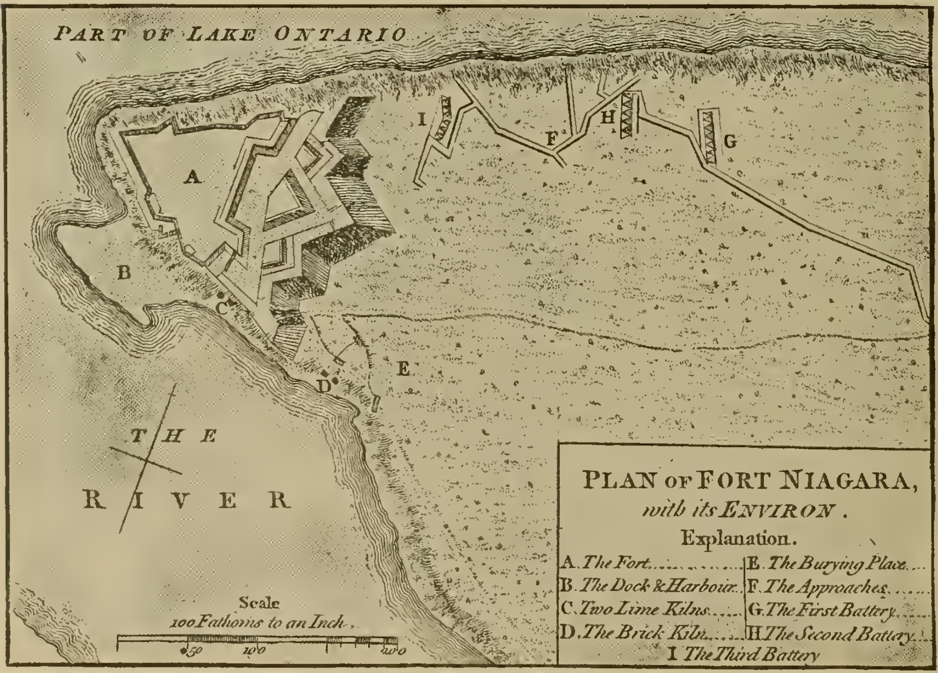
[1] Speaking of Canada, John Fiske (*Amer. Polit. Ideas*, p. 55) says of the effect of the bureaucracy which governed it that it "was absolute paralysis, political and social," and that in the war-struggle of the eighteenth century "the result for the French power in America was instant and irretrievable annihilation. The town meeting pitted against bureaucracy was like a Titan overthrowing a cripple;" but he forgets the history of that overthrow, its long-drawn-out warfare, the part that the vastly superior population and the interior lines and seaboard bases of supplies for the English played in the contest to intensify their power, and the jealousies and independence of the colonies themselves, which so long enabled the French to survive. Even as regards the results of the campaign of 1759, the suddenness had little of the inevitable in it, when we consider the leisurely campaign of Amherst, and the mere chance of Wolfe surmounting the path at the cove. It took the successes of these last campaigns to produce the fruits of conquest, even at the end of a long conflict.

[2] A plan of Montresor's for the campaign, dated N. Y., 29 Dec., 1758, is in *Penna. Archives*, vi. 433.

[3] From *A set of plans and forts in America, reduced from actual surveys*, 1763, published in London.

which was also a part of Amherst's plans. Prideaux seated Haldimand at Oswego, and made good its communications with the Mohawk Valley. It was an open challenge to the French, and after Prideaux had proceeded to Niagara, Saint-Lac de la Corne came down with a force from the head of the St. Lawrence rapids to attack Haldimand, but the English cannon sent the French scampering to their boats, and the danger was over.



FORT NIAGARA.[2]

At Niagara, in the angle formed by the lake and the Niagara River, stood the strong fort which Pouchot had rebuilt. It had a dependency[1] some distance above the cataract, commanded by Joncaire; but that officer withdrew from this outwork on the approach of Prideaux, and reinforced the main work. It was the same Joncaire who had formerly resisted successfully, but of late less so, the efforts of Johnson to secure the alliance to the English of the Senecas and the more westerly tribes of the Six

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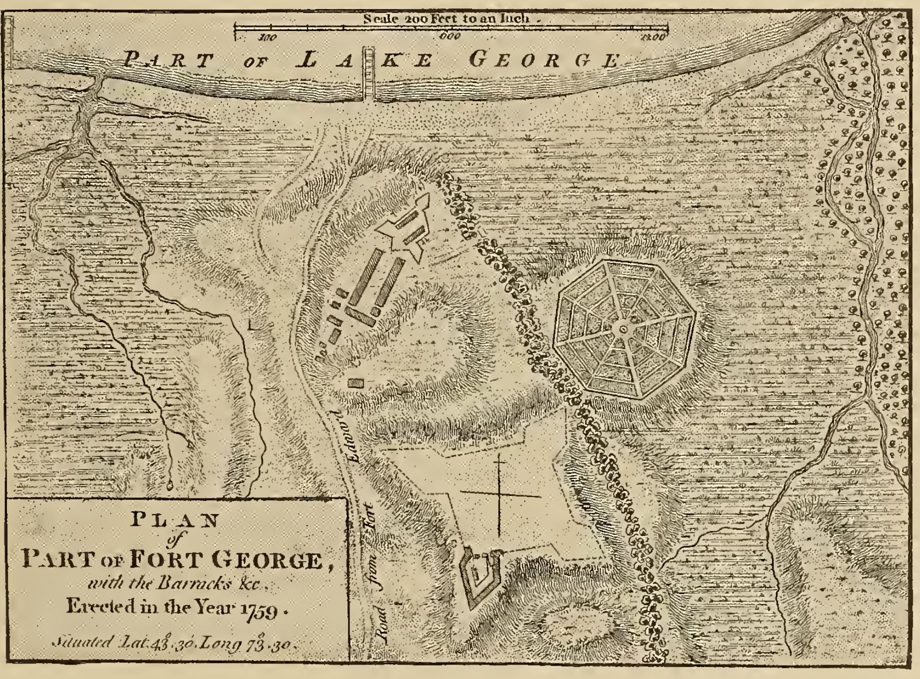
[1] Fort Schlosser had been erected in 1750. Cf. O. H. Marshall on the "Niagara Frontier," in *Buffalo Hist. Soc. Publ.*, ii. 409.

[2] From *A set of plans and forts in America, reduced from actual surveys*, 1763, published in London. This same plan is given in *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, ii. p. 868, and in Hough's edition of Pouchot's *History of the Late War*, ii. p. 153. There is another plan on a large scale, showing less of the neighboring ground, in the latter book, i. p. 161, and in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. p. 976.

A plan of Fort Niagara, 1759, is noted among the *Brit. Mus. MSS.*, no. 15,535; and in the *King's Maps*, ii. 92, are plans of the fort dated 1766, 1768, 1769, 1773, and a view of the falls in 1765.

O'Callaghan, in the *Doc. Hist. of New York*, ii. 793, gives a map of the Niagara River, 1759, showing the landing place of Prideaux and the path around the cataract. For the track of the Niagara portage, see O. H. Marshall's "Niagara Frontier," in *Buffalo Hist. Soc. Publ.*, ii. 412–13.

Nations ; and now Johnson with a body of braves was in Prideaux's camp. The English general advanced his siege lines, and had begun to make breaches in the walls of the fort, when new succor for the French approached. Their partisan leaders at the west had gathered such bushrangers and Indians as they could from Detroit and the Illinois country, and were assembling at Presquisle and along the route to the Monongahela for a raid on the English there, in the hopes of recapturing the post. They got word from Pouchot of his danger, and immediately marched to his assistance, under Aubry and Ligneris.


Scale 200 Feet to an Inch.
100
000
1200
PART OF LAKE GEORGE
Road from Fort Edward
PLAN of PART OF FORT GEORGE, with the Barracks &c. Erected in the Year 1759.
Situated Lat: 43°.30. Long 73°.30.

FORT GEORGE.[1]

Early in the siege, Prideaux had been killed by the bursting of one of his own shells, and the command fell on Johnson, who now went with a part of his force to meet the new-comers, already showing themselves up the river. He beat them, and captured some of their principal officers, while those who survived led the panic-stricken remainder to their boats above the cataract. Thence they fled to Presquisle, which they burned. Here the garrisons of LeBœuf and Venango joined them, and the fugitives continued on to Detroit, leaving the Upper Ohio without a fighting Frenchman to confront the English.

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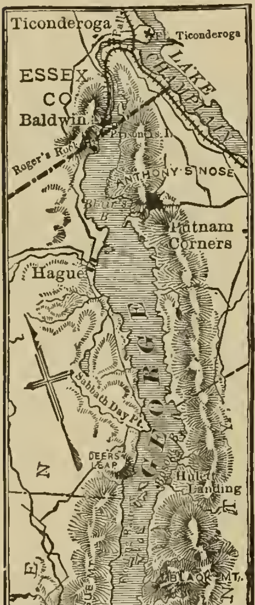
[1] From *A set of plans and forts in America, reduced from actual surveys*, 1763, published in London. This plan is reproduced in De Costa's *Hist. of Fort George*. For the ruins of the fort and the view from them, see the cuts in Lossing's *Field-Book of the Rev.*, i. 112 ; and *Scribner's Monthly*, Mar., 1879, p. 620.

On the same day of the defeat, negotiations for a surrender of Fort Niagara began, and Pouchot, being convinced of the reverses which his intending succorers had experienced, finally capitulated. Johnson succeeded in preventing any revengeful onset of his Indians, who had not forgotten the massacre of William Henry.



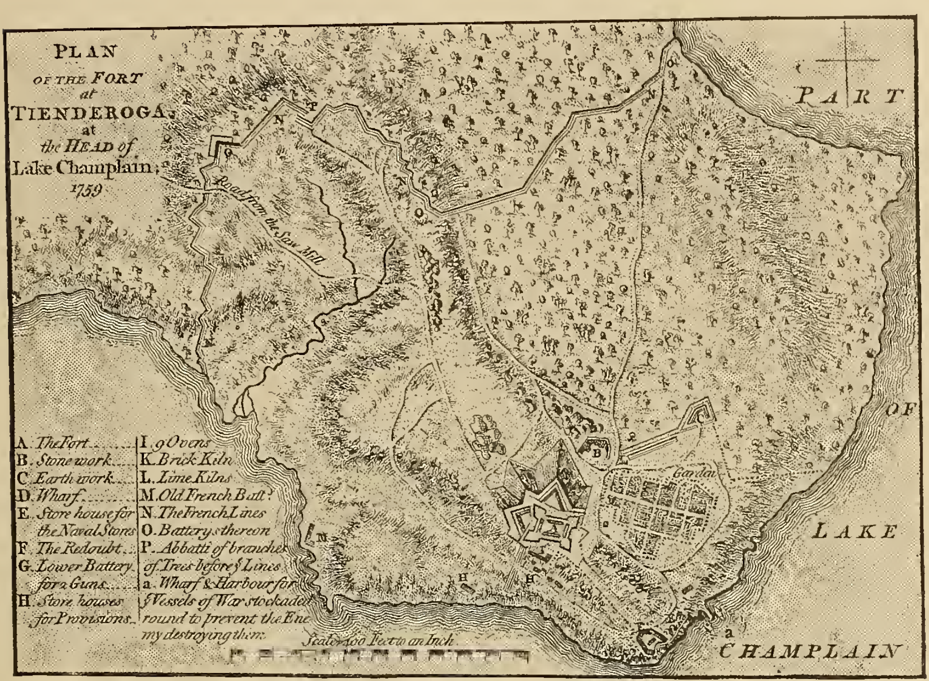
LAKE GEORGE.

The extreme west of Canada was now cut off from the central region, which was threatened, as we shall see, by Amherst and Wolfe, and Vaudreuil could have little hope of preserving it. To press this centre on another side, Amherst now sent General Thomas Gage to succeed Johnson in the command of the Ontario region, and, gathering such troops as could be spared from the garrisons, to descend the St. Lawrence and capture the French post at the head of the rapids. Gage had little enterprise, and was not inclined to undertake a movement in which dash must make up for the lack of men, and he reported back to Amherst that the movement was impossible.

When this disappointment came to the commander-in-chief he was at Crown Point, — but we must track his progress from the beginning.

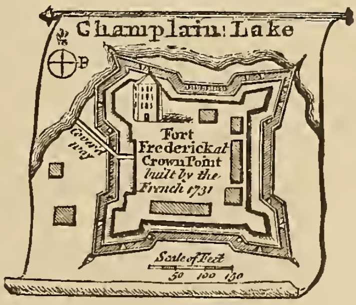
At the end of June, Amherst had at Lake George about 11,000 men, one half regulars. He set about the campaign cautiously. He had fortified new posts in his rear, and began the erection of Fort George at the head of the lake, of which only one bastion was ever finished. On the 21st of July he embarked his army on the lake, and, landing at the outlet, he followed the route of Abercrombie's approach to Ticonderoga during the previous year. The disparity of the opposing armies was much like that when Montcalm so successfully defended that post; but Bourlamaque, who now commanded, had orders to retire, and was making his arrangements. Amherst brought up his cannon, and protected his men behind the outer line of entrenchments, which Bourlamaque had abandoned. On the night of the 23d, Bourlamaque escaped down the lake, but a small force under Hebecourt still held the fort, which kept up a show of resistance till the evening of the 26th, when the remaining French, leaving a match in the magazine, also fled. In the night one bastion was hurled to the sky, and the barracks were set on fire.

Amherst began to repair the works, with his army now succumbing somewhat to the weather,[1] and was about advancing down the lake, when scouts brought in word that Bourlamaque had also abandoned Crown Point.


PLAN
OF THE FORT
at
TIENDEROGA
at
the HEAD of
Lake Champlain;
1759
Road from the Saw Mill
Garden
PART OF LAKE CHAMPLAIN
A. The Fort
B. Stone work
C. Earth work
D. Wharf
E. Store house for the Naval Stores
F. The Redoubt
G. Lower Battery for 2 Guns
H. Store houses for Provisions
I. 9 Ovens
K. Brick Kiln
L. Lime Kilns
M. Old French Batt.y
N. The French Lines
O. Batterys thereon
P. Abbatti of branches of Trees before ye Lines
a. Wharf & Harbour for ye Vessels of War stockaded round to prevent the Enemy destroying them.
Scale of 400 Feet to an Inch.

TICONDEROGA.[2]

So Amherst again advanced. He knew nothing of the progress Wolfe was making in his attack on Quebec by water, but he did know that it was a part of Pitt's plan that success on Lake Champlain should inure to Wolfe's advantage, and this could only be brought about by an active pursuit of the enemy down the lake. Amherst was, however, not a general of the impetuous kind, and believed beyond all else in securing his rear. So he began to build at Crown Point the new fort, whose massive ruins are still to be seen, and sent out parties to open communication with the Upper Hudson on the west and with the Connecticut River on the east.



CROWN POINT.[3]

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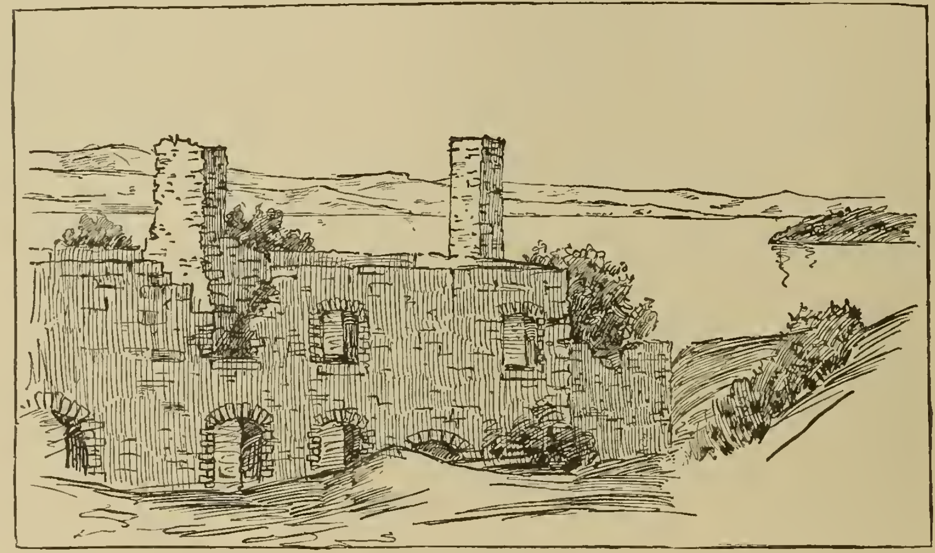
[1] In August, Amherst was reporting sickness in his army from the water at Ticonderoga, and demanding spruce-beer of his commissary. (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, v. 101.)

[2] From *A set of plans and forts in America, reduced from actual surveys*, 1763, published in London. Various plans and views are noted in the *Catal. of the King's Maps* (Brit. Mus.), ii. 395. Cf. plans in Palmer's *Lake Champlain*, 85; Lossing's *Field-Book of the Rev.*, i. 118, and views and descriptions of the ruins in Lossing, i. 127, 131; Watson's *County of Essex*, 112. Lieut. Brehm's description of the fort after its capture is in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1883, p. 21.

[3] From a small vignette on a map by Kitchin

The French, as he knew, were strongly posted at Isle-aux-Noix, in the river below the lake, and they had four armed vessels, which would render dangerous any advance on his part by boat. So Captain Loring, the English naval commander, was ordered to put an equal armament afloat for an escort to his flotilla.

Bourlamaque, meanwhile, was confident in his position, for he knew that, in addition to his own strength, Lévis had been sent up to Montreal with 800 men to succor him, if necessary, and all the militia about Montreal was alert.



CROWN POINT, 1851.[1]

Amherst, on his part, was anxious to know how the campaign was going with Wolfe. In August he sent a messenger with a letter by the circuitous route of the Kennebec, which Wolfe received in about a month, but it helped that general little to know of the building going on at Crown Point. Amherst then tried to pass messengers through the Abenaki region, but they were seized. Upon this, Major Rogers was sent with his rangers to

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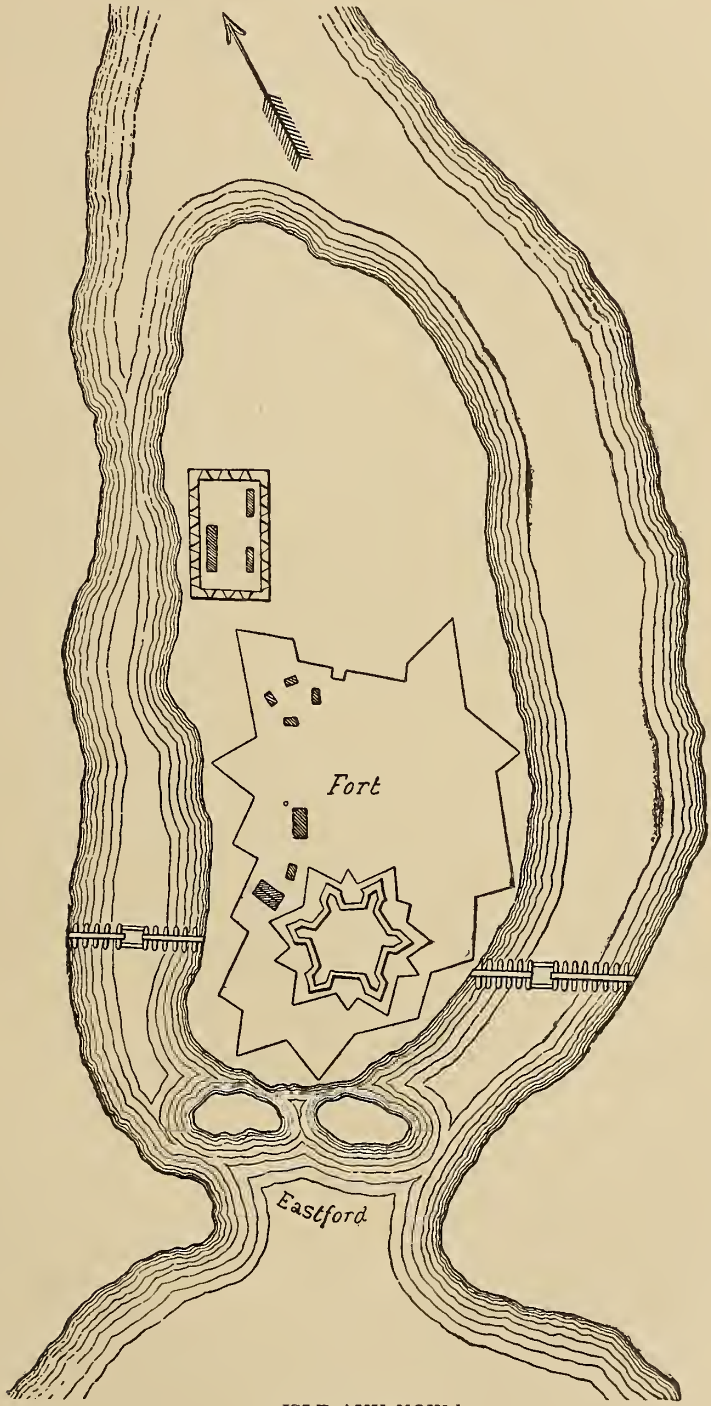
of the Province of New York, in the *London Magazine*, Sept., 1756. There is a similar map in the *Gentleman's Mag.*, vol. xxv. p. 525.

Various MS. plans and views of Crown Point are noted in the *Catal. of the King's Maps* (Brit. Mus.), i. 277, under date of 1759. The *Brinley Catal.*, ii. 2,939, shows a MS. "Plan of Crown Point Fort, March, 1763," on a scale of 90 feet to the inch.

There was published in Boston in 1762 a *Plan of a part of Lake Champlain and the large new fort at Crown Point, mounting* 108 *cannon, built by Gen. Amherst.* (Haven's *Bibliog.*, in Thomas, ii. p. 560. Cf. the plans, nos. 24, 25, in *Set of plans*, etc. (London, 1763).

For the ruins of Crown Point, see Lossing, *Field-Book of the Revolution*, i. 150–152; Watson's *County of Essex*, pp. 104, 112. These are a part, however, of the fort built by Amherst. Kalm describes the previous fort (*Travels*, London, 1771, ii. 207), and it is delineated in *Mémoires sur les affaires du Canada*, p. 53.

[1] From a sketch made in 1851, showing in the foreground a slope of the embankment, with part of the ruins of the barracks, the lake beyond, looking to the north.



ISLE-AUX-NOIX.[1]

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[1] After a plan in the contemporary *Mémoires sur le Canada*, 1749–1760, as published by the Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Quebec (ré-impression), 1873, p. 154. See the view in Lossing's *Field-Book of the Rev.*, i. 167.

destroy the Indian village of St. Francis, which he did, and then, to elude parties endeavoring to cut him off, he retreated by Lake Memphremagog to Charlestown, on the Connecticut, enduring as he went the excruciating horrors of famine and exhaustion.

It was near the middle of October when Loring pronounced the armed vessels ready, and Amherst embarked; but the autumn gales soon convinced him that the risks of the elements were too great to be added to those of the enemy, and after his demonstration had caused the destruction of three of the enemy's vessels, and one had reached their post on the Richelieu River, the English general, still ignorant of Wolfe's luck, withdrew to Crown Point, and gave himself to the completion of its fortress.

We must now turn to the most brilliant part of the year's work. This was the task assigned to General Wolfe, who had already shown his quality in the attack on Louisbourg the previous year.[1] Late in May he was at Louisbourg, with his army under three brigadiers, Monckton, Townshend, and Murray, and the fleet of Saunders, who had come direct from England, combined with that of Holmes, who had been first at New York to take troops on board. A third fleet under Durell was cruising in the gulf to intercept supplies for Quebec, but that officer largely failed in his mission, for all but three of the French supply ships eluded him, and by the 6th of June, when the last of Wolfe's fleet sailed out of Louisbourg, Quebec had received all the succor that was expected.

The French had done their best to be prepared for the blow. Their entire force at Quebec was congregated in the town defences and in a fortified camp, which had been constructed along the St. Lawrence, beginning at the St. Charles, opposite Quebec, and extending to the Montmorenci, and on this line about 14,000 men, beside Indians, manned the entrenchments. A bridge connected the camp with Quebec, and a boom across the St. Charles at its mouth was intended to stop any approaches to the bridge by boats; while earthworks along the St. Charles formed a camp to fall back upon in case the more advanced one was forced. Beside the 106 cannon mounted on the defences of the city, there were gun-boats and fire-ships prepared for the moment of need. In the town the Chevalier dē Ramezay commanded a garrison of one or two thousand men. Montcalm had his headquarters[2] in the rear of the centre of the entrenched line along the St. Lawrence, and Vaudreuil's flag was flying nearer the St. Charles.

On the 21st of June the masts of the advanced ships of the English were first seen, and one of the fire-ships was ineffectually sent against them. There was a difficult passage between the north shore of the river and the lower end of the Island of Orleans; but the English fleet managed

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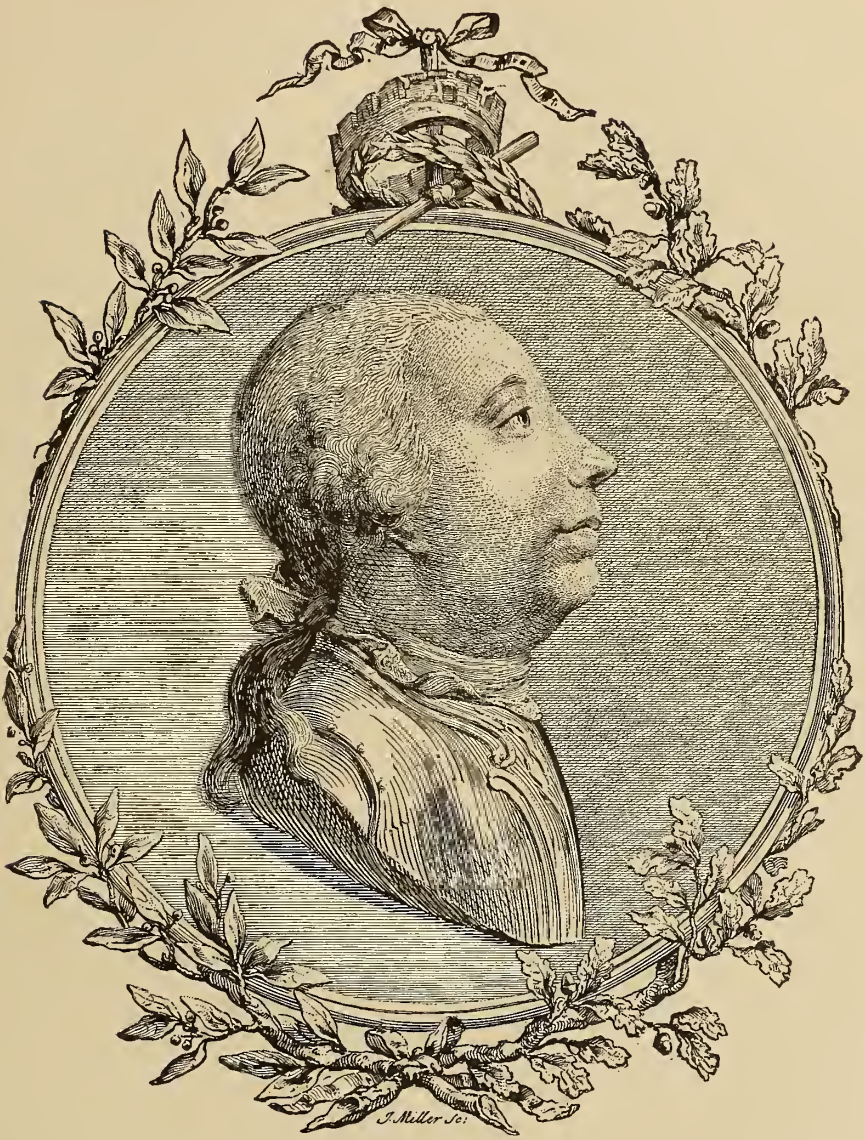
[1] See chapter vii.

[2] In a massive old building, the manor-house of the first Seigneur of Beaufort (1634), which was destroyed in 1879. Cf. Lossing's sketch in *Harper's Magazine* (Jan., 1859), xviii. p. 180.



GENERAL JAMES WOLFE.[1]

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[1] From an engraving in John Knox's *Hist. Journal of the Campaigns in North America* (1757–1760), London, 1769. An engraving from Entick is given in the preceding chapter. There is a head of Wolfe in *London Mag.* (1759), p. 584.

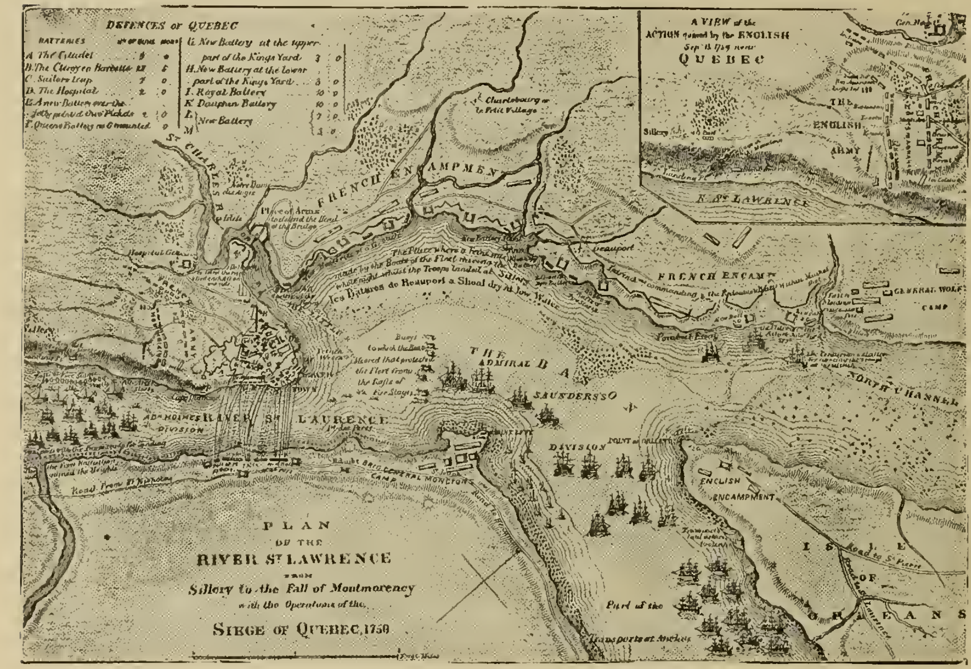
J. C. Smith, in his *Brit. Mezzotint Portraits*, notes four different prints (vol. ii. 783; iii. 1027, 1345, the last by H. Smith, engraved by Spooner; and iv. 1750), but he does not reproduce either.

Parkman (*Montcalm and Wolfe*, ii.) gives a picture of Wolfe in early youth — weak enough in aspect — which follows a photograph from an original portrait owned by Admiral Warde.

Wright, in his *Life of Wolfe*, gives a photograph of the same. See *Ibid.*, p. 604, for an account of various portraits and memorials.

The common picture representing him standing and in profile is engraved in Parkman's *Historical Hand-book of the Northern Tour;* in the Eng. ed. of Warburton's *Conquest of Canada*, etc.

to pass it without loss, much to the disappointment of the French, who had failed to plant a battery on the side of Cape Tourmente, whence they could have plunged shot into the passing vessels. Past the dangers of the


DEFENCES of QUEBEC
BATTERIES
A The Citadel
B The Clergy en Barbette
C Sailors Leap
D The Hospital
E A new Battery over the Jetty
F Queens Battery
G New Battery at the upper part of the Kings Yard
H New Battery at the lower part of the Kings Yard
I Royal Battery
K Dauphin Battery
L M New Battery
A VIEW of the ACTION gained by the ENGLISH Sep 13 1759 near QUEBEC
Sillery
THE ENGLISH ARMY
R. St LAWRENCE
St CHARLES R.
FRENCH ENCAMPMENT
Place of Arms
Charlebourg or le Petit Village
Beauport
Les Batures de Beauport a Shoal dry at low Water
FRENCH ENCAMPT
GENERAL WOLFE CAMP
THE ADMIRAL B
SAUNDERS SQ
DAVIS SQ
RIVER St LAURENCE
ENGLISH ENCAMPMENT
NORTH CHANNEL
ISLE OF ORLEANS
Part of the Transports at Anchor
PLAN OF THE RIVER St LAWRENCE from Sillery to the Fall of Montmorency with the Operations of the SIEGE OF QUEBEC, 1759

SIEGE OF QUEBEC, 1759.[1]

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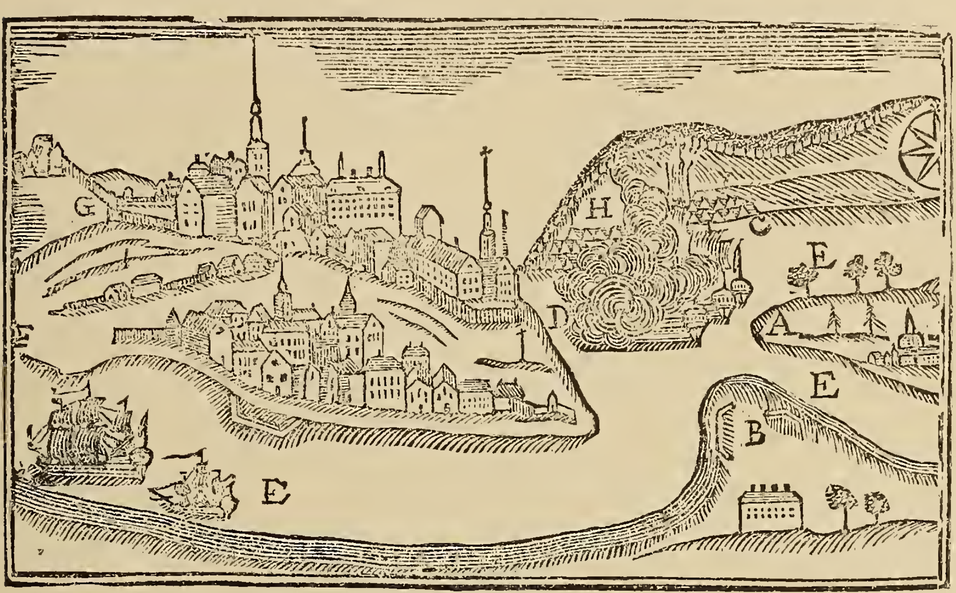
[1] Reproduced from the map in Miles's *Canada*, called "Plan of the St. Lawrence River from Sillery to the Fall of Montmorency, with the operations of the siege of Quebec, 1759," which has a corner "View of the action gained by the English, Sept. 13, 1759, near Quebec." This map is a reduction of one engraved by Jefferys, and dedicated to Pitt, entitled "Authentic plan of the River St. Lawrence from Sillery to the Fall of Montmorenci, with the operations of the siege of Quebec, under the command of Vice-Admiral Saunders and Major-General Wolfe, down to the fifth of September, 1759, drawn by a captain in his Majesty's navy." The side-plan is called "View of the action gained by the English Sept. 13, 1759, near Quebec, brought from thence by an officer of distinction." This was also inserted by Jefferys in his *History of the French Dominion in America*, London, 1760, p. 131. The same map is given in Entick's *General Hist. of the Late War*, London, 1770 (3d ed.), iv. 107; and a similar one is in the *American Atlas.* Jefferys repeats this map in his *General Topography of North America and the West Indies*, London, 1768 (no. 18), and adds another (no. 21), called "A correct plan of the environs of Quebec and the battle fought 13 Sept., 1759," which is accompanied by a superposed "second plate," showing the disposition of the forces on the Plains of Abraham. This plan had already appeared separately in *Journal of the siege of Quebec, to which is annexed a correct plan of the environs of Quebec, and of the battle fought on the 13th September*, 1759, *together with a particular detail of the French lines and batteries, and also of the encampments, batteries, and attacks of the British army, etc. Engraved from original survey by Thomas Jefferys* [London, 1760], 16 pp. (Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,276.)

The maps given in James Grant's *British Battles*, ii. 91, and in Cassell's *United States*, are seemingly based on Jefferys'.

The *London Magazine* for 1759 has a plan of Quebec (Apr.) and of the siege (Nov.), with a map of the river (Sept.); and for 1760, a view of the taking of Quebec (p. 280), and a view of the town from the basin (p. 392).

There is a large folding plan, showing the fleet and the landing of the boats, in Mante's *Hist. of the Late War*, 1772, p. 233.

stream, the English landed their army on the island,[1] less than 9,000 in all, for Wolfe could count little on the sailors who were needed for the management of the fleet.[2] He knew also that he must place little reliance



PLAN OF THE CITY OF QUEBEC.[3]

Alfred Hawkins published at London, in 1842, *A Plan of the Naval and Military Operations before Quebec*, accompanied by an engraving of West's "Death of Wolfe." (H. J. Morgan, *Bibliotheca Canadensis*, no. 179.)

In the *Atlantic Neptune* (Additional Plates, no. 1) is a plan of three sheets, called "A plan of Quebec and environs, with its defences and the occasional entrenched camps of the French, commanded by the Marquis of Montcalm, showing likewise the principal works and operations of the British forces under the command of Maj.-Gen. Wolfe, during the siege of that place, 1759." It is accompanied by a key. In the same, Part ii. no. 16, there is a map of the St. Lawrence from Quebec to the gulf, which shows the region of Quebec on a large scale.

Among existing MS. plans of Wolfe's attack may be noted one in the Faden Collection of maps in the library of Congress (E. E. Hale's *Catal. of the Faden Maps*); others in the *Catal. of the King's Maps* (Brit. Mus.), ii. 220, under date of 1755, 1759, 1760; also *Brit. Mus. MSS.*, no. 15,535; and *Additional MSS.*, no. 31,357; this last is a large plan in four sheets. Parkman (ii. 440) refers to a large MS. plan, 800 feet to an inch, belonging to the Royal Engineers, which was made by three engineers of Wolfe's army, and of which he says that he possesses a fac-simile. In his *Montcalm and Wolfe* (ii. 200) he gives an eclectic plan; and other plans are in Lemoine's *Picturesque Quebec*, p. 301 (being Jefferys' on a small scale); Bancroft's *United States*, orig. ed., iv. 315, etc., repeated in vol. i. of his *Hist. of the Amer. Revolution* (English edition).

A plan was published at Amsterdam in 1766.

Dussieux, in *Le Canada sous la domination Française*, gives a map of the siege, "D'après un manuscrit Anglais du Dépôt de la Guerre."

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[1] Turcotte's *Hist. de l'île d'Orléans* (Quebec, 1867), ch. iii.

[2] Among the officers of the army and navy here acting together were some who were later very famous, — Jervis (Earl St. Vincent), Cook, the navigator, Isaac Barré, the parliamentary friend of America, Guy Carleton, and William Howe, afterwards Sir William.

[3] From *Father Abraham's Almanac* (by Abraham Weatherwise, Gent.), 1761. Key: A, the west part of the Island of Orleans, on which General Wolfe landed. B, Point Leveé, on which one grand battery was erected. C, Wolfe's camp to the east of Montmorency Falls. D, the river St. Charles. E E E, the river St. Lawrence, with some of the English ships going up. F, the lower town, to the right of which is a cross (in the middle of the passage to the upper town), and a man kneeling before it, saying his Ave Maria. G, the upper town and passage to

on the cannon of the ships, for the high rocks and bluffs of the defences were above the elevation which could be given to the guns, and a broad stretch of mud-flats kept the vessels from a near approach to that portion of the French camp which was low and lay nearest the St. Charles. Cape Diamond, the promontory of Quebec, so jutted out that Wolfe could not inspect at present the banks of the river above the town.

Montcalm had determined on a policy of wearing out his assailants, — and he came very near doing it, — and when a gale sprang up he hoped that its power of devastation would be his best ally. When he saw that fail, he tried his fire-ships; but the British sailors grappled them and towed them aground, where they were harmless.

Wolfe's next movement was to occupy Point Levi, opposite the city,[1] whence he showered shot and shell into the town, and drove the non-combatants out. The French tried to dislodge him, but failed. The English army was now divided by the river, and ran some risk of attack in detail. Montcalm, however, was not tempted; nor was he later, when Wolfe next landed a force below him, beyond the Montmorenci, and began to entrench himself, though the English general was interrupted in the beginning of this movement by an attack of Canadians, who had crossed the Montmorenci by an upper ford. The attack was not persisted in, however, and Wolfe was soon well entrenched. The cannonading was incessant. Night after night the sky was streaked with the shells from the vessels, and from each of Wolfe's three camps.

The dilatory policy of Montcalm soon began to tell on his force, and then weariness and ominous news from Bourlamaque and Pouchot hastened the desertion of his Canadians. Wolfe tried to affect the neighboring peasantry by proclamations more and more threatening, and felt himself obliged at last to enforce his authority by the destruction of crops and villages.

On the 18th of July, in the night, the "Sutherland" and some smaller vessels pushed up the river beyond the town, while a fleet of boats was dragged overland back of Point Levi and launched above, out of gun-shot from the town. A force was sent by a détour to operate with them. Thus Wolfe, in defiance of the French general, had made a fourth division of his troops, each liable to separate attack. The English vessels above the town made descents along the north shore, and took some prisoners, but did little else. The French made their final attempt with a huge fire-raft, but it was as unsuccessful as the earlier ones.

the castle. H, Montcalm's camp and entrenchments, to the west of Montmorency Falls, from whence he marched when Wolfe recrossed the river to Point Leveé, in order to get above the city, where they luckily met, and fought it out bravely. I, Montmorency Falls and Saunders' ships playing upon the town.

This cut has interest as a contemporary sketch for popular instruction.

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[1] This point is prominent in most views of Quebec from below the town. Cf. Lossing, *Field-Book of the Revolution*, i. 185, etc. Montcalm was overruled by Vaudreuil, and was not allowed to entrench a force at Point Levi, as he wished Beatson's *Naval and Mil. Memoirs*.

Wolfe now determined to provoke Montcalm to fight, and under cover of a cannonade from Point Levi and from some of his ships [1] he landed a force from boats beneath the precipice at the lower end of the French camp. An additional body at the same time crossed by a ford, in front of the falls of Montmorenci, which was traversable at low tide. The impetuosity of the grenadiers, who were in advance, not waiting for support, and a tempest which at the moment broke over them, convinced the quick eye of Wolfe that the attempt was to fail, and he recalled his men. The French let them retire in good order, and began to think their Fabian policy was to be crowned with success. Wolfe was correspondingly shaken and rebuked the grenadiers. He began to think, even, that the season might wear away with no better results, and that he should have to abandon the campaign.

There was one plan yet, which might succeed, and he sought to push more ships and march more troops above the town. Murray, who now took command at that point, began to raid upon the shore, but with poor success. Montcalm sent Bougainville with 1,500 men to patrol the shore, and incessant marching they had, as the English by water flitted up and down the river with the tides, threatening to land. The English restlessness was too oppressive, however, for the French camp at Beaufort, which felt that its supplies from Three Rivers and Montreal might be cut off at any moment by an English descent. Desertions increased, and rapidly increased when in August the French got decisive and unfavorable news from Lake Champlain and Ontario. The French fearing an approach of Amherst down the St. Lawrence, Quebec was further weakened by the despatch of Lévis to confront the English in that direction. By the end of August there were no signs of immediate danger at Montreal, and the French took heart.

Wolfe was now ill, — not so prostrate, however, but he could propose various new plans to a council of his brigadiers, but his suggestions were all rejected as too hazardous. They recommended, in the end, an attempt to gain the heights somewhere above the town, and force Montcalm to fight for his communications. Wolfe was ready to try it; but it was the first of September before he was able to undertake it.[2] He saw no other hope, slight as this one was. The letter which Amherst had sent to him by the Kennebec route had just reached him, and he felt there was to be no assistance from that quarter. On the 3d of September he evacuated the camp at Montmorenci, Montcalm being prevented from molesting him by a feint which was made by boats in front of his Beauport lines. Other troops were now marched above Quebec, and when Wolfe himself joined

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[1] The *Life of Cook* gives some particulars of an exploit of Cook in taking soundings in the river, preparatory to the attack from Montmorenci.

[2] On the 2d, in a despatch to Pitt, he used a phrase, since present to the mind of many a baffled projector, for when referring to the plans yet to be tried, he spoke of his option as a "choice of difficulties."

Admiral Holmes, who commanded that portion of the fleet which was above the town, he found he had almost 3,600 men, beside what he might draw from Point Levi, for his adventurous exploit. The French were deceived, and thought that the English were to go down the river, as indeed, if the scheme to scale the banks failed on the first attempt, they were. Bougainville's corps of observation was increased, and it was its duty to patrol a long stretch of the river shore.

Wolfe with a glass had discovered a ravine,[1] up which it seemed possible for a forlorn hope to mount, and the number of tents at its top did not indicate that there was a numerous guard there to be overcome. Robert Stobo, who had been a prisoner in Quebec after the fall of Fort Necessity, had recently joined the camp, and his biographer says that his testimony confirmed Wolfe in the choice, or rather directed him to it.[2] While the preparations were going on, the English ships perplexed Bougainville by threatening to land troops some distance up the river, near his headquarters; and by floating up and down with the tide, the English admiral kept the French on the constant march to be abreast of them.

BOUGAINVILLE.[3]

The plan was now ripe. Wolfe was to drop down the river in boats with the turn of the tide, having with him his 3,600 men, and 1,200 were to join him by boat from Point Levi. As night came on, Admiral Saunders, who commanded the fleet in the basin below Quebec, made every disposition as if to attack the Beauport lines, and Montcalm thought the main force of the British was still before him.

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[1] Wolfe's Cove, as it has since been called. Views of it are numerous. Cf. *Picturesque Canada*; Lossing's *Field-Book*; and the drawing by Princess Louise in Dent's *Last forty years*, ii. 345.

[2] *Memoirs of Robert Stobo.* Cf. *Boston Post Boy*, no. 97; *Boston Evening Post*, no. 1,258. Stobo had made his escape from Quebec early in May, 1759. Cf. Montcalm's letter in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 970.

[3] After a cut in Bonnechose's *Montcalm*, 5th ed., 1882, p. 138.

As the ships opposite Bougainville began to swing downward with the tide, the French general took pity on his weary men, and failed to follow the moving vessels. This kept the main part of his troops well up the river. This French general had, as it happened, informed the shore guards and batteries towards the town that he should send down by water a convoy with provisions, that night, which was to creep along to Montcalm's camp under the shadow of the precipice. Wolfe heard of this through some deserters, and he seized the opportunity to cast off his boats and get ahead of the convoy, in order that he might answer for it if hailed. He was hailed, and answered in the necessary deceitful French. This quieted the suspicion of the sentries as he rowed gently along in the gloom.

As it happened, the Canadian officer, Colonel de Vergor, who commanded the guard at the top of the ravine, where Wolfe's advanced party clambered up, was asleep in his tent, and many of his men had gone home, by his permission, to hoe their gardens. The English forlorn hope made, therefore, quick work, when they reached the top, as they rushed on the tents. Their shots and huzzas told Wolfe, waiting below, that a foothold was gained, and he led his army up the steeps with as much haste as possible. While the line of battle was forming, detachments were sent to attack the batteries up the river, which, alarmed by the noise, were beginning to fire on the last of the procession of boats. The celerity of the movement accomplished its end, and the French were driven off and the batteries taken.

BRITISH SOLDIERS.[2]

Sheer good luck, quite as much as skill and courage, had at last placed Wolfe in an open field, where Montcalm must fight him, if he would save his communications and prevent the guns of Quebec, in the event of its capture,[1] being turned upon his camp.

Not a mile from Quebec, and fronting its walls, Wolfe had formed his final line, but he had turned its direction on the left, and there the line faced the St. Charles. In the early morning he saw the French form on a ridge in front of him, when some skirmishing ensued, as also in his rear, where a detachment sent by Bougainville began to harass him. With a foe before and behind, quick and decisive work was necessary.

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[1] Montgomery, nearly twenty years later, with a similar task before him, said, "Wolfe's success was a lucky hit, or rather a series of such hits; all sober and scientific calculations of war were against him until Montcalm gave up the advantage of his fortress." (Force's *Am. Archives*, iii. 1,638.)

[2] Reduced fac-simile of a cut in J. Luard's *Hist. of the Dress of the British Soldier*, London, 1852, p. 95. This shows a heavy and light dragoon and two guardsmen of about the time of Wolfe's attack, 1759. The cap of the guardsmen is of German origin, and was in general use by the English grenadiers of this period. The heavy dragoon is on the right. The one on the left is a light dragoon of the 15th regiment. The breeches are of leather; the coat is of scarlet.

Montcalm, whom Admiral Saunders had been deceiving all night, hurried over to Vaudreuil's headquarters in the morning to learn what the firing above the town meant. From this position he saw the seriousness of the situation at once. The red coats of the British line were in full view beyond the St. Charles. He hastened across the bridge, and was soon on the ground, bringing the regiments into line as they came up. But all the help he had a right to expect did not come. Ramezay made excuses for not sending cannon. Vaudreuil kept back the left wing at Beaufort, for fear that Saunders meant something, after all.

Montcalm's impetuosity, now that it was unshackled, could not brook delay. It would take time to concert with Bougainville an attack on the front and rear of the British simultaneously, and that time would give Wolfe the chance to entrench and bring up reinforcements, if he had any. So the decision in Montcalm's council was for an instant onset.

It was ten o'clock when Wolfe saw it coming. He advanced his line to meet it, and when the French were close

LOUIS-JOSEPH. MARQUIS DE MONTCALM LIEUTENANT GENERAL DES ARMEES DE FRANCE.
Non Sibi,
Sed Patriæ vixit.

MONTCALM.[1]

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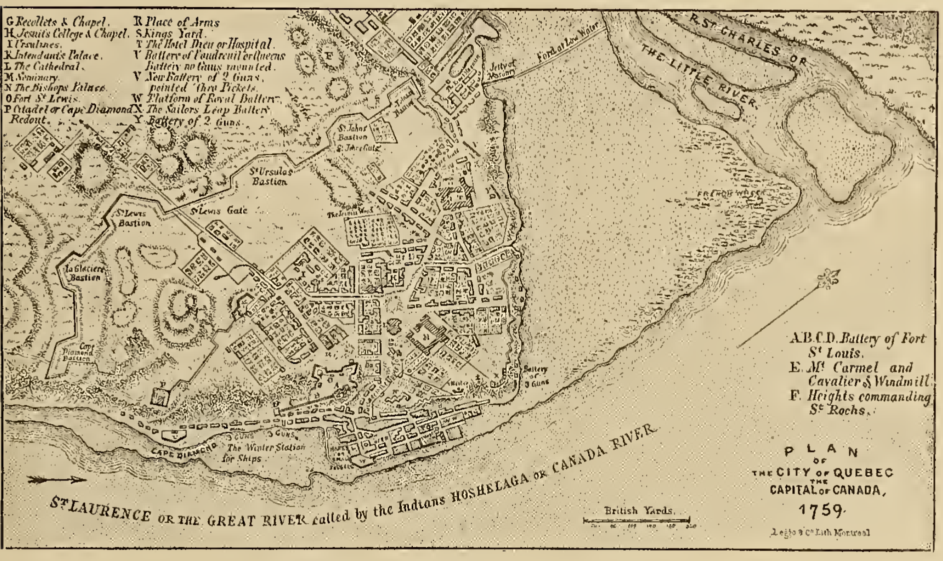
[1] After a portrait, "une gravure du temps," in Charles de Bonnechose's *Montcalm et le Canada Français*, 5th ed., Paris, 1882. Cf. the likeness in Daniel, *Nos Gloires*, ii. 273, and in Martin, *De Montcalm en Canada*.

The portrait given in Parkman (*Montcalm and Wolfe*, vol. i.) is after a photograph from an original picture, representing him at 29, now in the possession of the present Marquis de Montcalm. Cf. the likeness in Higginson's *Larger Hist. of the United States*, p. 190.

upon them the fire burst from the English ranks. Another volley followed; and as the smoke passed away, Wolfe saw the opportunity and gave the word to charge. As he led the Louisbourg grenadiers he was hit twice before a shot in the breast bore him to the ground. He was carried to the rear, and as he was sinking he heard those around him cry that the enemy was flying. He turned, praised God, and died.[1]


G Recollets & Chapel.
H Jesuits College & Chapel.
I Ursulines.
K Intendant's Palace.
L The Cathedral.
M Seminary.
N The Bishops Palace.
O Fort St Lewis.
P Citadel or Cape Diamond Redout.
R Place of Arms
S Kings Yard.
T The Hotel Dieu or Hospital.
V Battery of Vaudreuil or Queens Battery no Guns mounted.
V New Battery of 2 Guns, pointed thro Pickets.
W Platform of Royal Battery.
X The Sailors Leap Battery.
Y Battery of 2 Guns.
St Ursulas Bastion
St Lewis Gate
St Lewis Bastion
St Johns Bastion
St Johns Gate
La Glaciere Bastion
Cape Diamond Bastion
Cape Diamond
The Winter Station for Ships
Battery 3 Guns
Jetty
Ford at Low Water
St. Charles or The Little River
St. Laurence or the Great River called by the Indians Hoshelaga or Canada River.
British Yards.
A.B.C.D. Battery of Fort St Louis.
E. Mt Carmel and Cavalier & Windmill.
F. Heights commanding St Rochs.
PLAN OF THE CITY OF QUEBEC THE CAPITAL OF CANADA, 1759.
Leggo & Co Lith Montreal

QUEBEC AS IT SURRENDERED, 1759.[2]

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[1] Sabine collates the various accounts of Wolfe's death, believing that Knox's is the most trustworthy. The *Memoirs of Donald Macleod* (London), an old sergeant of the Highlanders, says that Wolfe was carried from the field in Macleod's plaid. There is an account of his pistols and sash in the *Canadian Antiquarian*, iv. 31.

Capt. Robert Wier, who commanded a transport, timed the firing from the first to the last gun, and made the conflict last ten minutes. (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, iii. 307.)

[2] After a plan in Miles's *Hist. of Canada*, p. 363, which is mainly the same as the large folding map by Jefferys, published Jan. 15, 1760, which also makes part of the *Hist. of the French Dominion in America*, London, 1760, and of his *General Topog. of North America and the West Indies*, London, 1768, no. 19. There is another plan in the *Nouvelle Carte de la Province de Québec selon l'edit du Roi d'Angleterre du* 8 *Sepbre*, 1763, *par le Capitaine Carver et autres, traduites de l'Anglois, à Paris*, 1777. One is annexed to Joseph Hazard's *Conquest of Quebec*, a poem, London, 1769; and another to Lemoine's *Picturesque Quebec*, 1882. Cf. *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Apr., 1884, p. 280.

Richard Short made some drawings of the condition of Quebec after the bombardment, which were engraved and published in 1761.

The French plans of Quebec of this period, to be noted, are those of Bellin in Charlevoix, viz.: *Plan du bassin de Québec et de les environs*, 1744 (vol. iii. p. 70); *Plan de la ville de Québec*, 1744 (*Ibid.*, p. 72); and *Carte de l'isle d'Orléans, et du passage de la traverse dans le Fleuve St. Laurent*, 1744 (*Ibid.*, p. 65); beside the plan of Quebec in Bellin's *Petit Atlas Maritime*, vol. i., 1764.

In vol. lxiv. of the *Shelburne MSS.* there are various plans of the fortifications and citadel, made after the surrender. Edw. Fitzmaurice reported on these in the *Hist. MSS. Commission's Fifth Report*, p. 231.

Such books as Hawkins's *Picturesque Quebec* and Lossing's paper in *Harper's Magazine*, xviii. 176, give pictures of most of the points of historical interest in and about the town. Cf. J. M. Lemoine's "Rues de Québec," in the *Revue Canadienne*, xii. 269.

Various views connected with the siege of Quebec are given in *Picturesque Canada*, Toronto, 1884, showing the present condition of Wolfe's Cove and the ascent from it (pp. 25, 47), the martello towers (p. 27), as well as the mon-

Montcalm, mounted, borne on by the panic, was shot through the breast just before he entered the town, and was taken within to die.

Part of the fugitives got into Quebec with their wounded general ; part fled down the declivity towards the St. Charles, and, under cover of a stand which some Canadian bushrangers made in a thicket, succeeded in getting across the river to the camp, where everything was in the confusion which so easily befalls an army without a head. It was necessary for the English to cease from the pursuit, for Townshend,[1] who had come to the command (Monckton being wounded), feared Bougainville was upon his rear, as indeed he was. When that general, however, found that the English commander had recalled his troops, and was forming to receive him, he withdrew, for he had only 2,000 men, — probably all he could collect from their scattered posts, — and seeing the English were twice as many, he did not dare attack. So Townshend turned to entrenching, and working briskly he soon formed a line of protection, and had a battery in position confronting the horn-work beyond the St. Charles, which commanded the bridge.

Vaudreuil was trying to get some decision, meanwhile, out of a council of war at Beaufort. They sent to Quebec for Montcalm's advice, and the dying man told them to fight, retreat, or surrender. The counsel was broad enough, and the choice was promptly made. It was retreat. That night it began. Guns, ammunition, provisions, — everything was left. The troops by a circuitous route flocked along like a rabble, and on the 15th they went into camp on the hill of Jacques Cartier, thirty miles up the St. Lawrence.

The morning after the fight, the tents still standing along the Beaufort lines were a mockery ; for Ramezay knew that Vaudreuil had gone, since he had received word from him to surrender the town when his provisions failed.

Bougainville was still at Cap Rouge, and undertook to send provisions into Quebec. Lévis had joined Vaudreuil at Jacques Cartier,[2] and inspired the governor with hope enough to order a return to his old camp. On the evening of the 18th the returning army had reached St. Augustine, when they learned that Ramezay had surrendered and the British flag waved over Quebec.

Preparations for the departure of the fleet were soon made, and munitions and provisions for the winter were landed for the garrison, which under Murray was to hold the town during the winter. The middle of October had passed, when Admiral Saunders, one of his ships bearing the embalmed body of Wolfe, sailed down the river. Montcalm lay in a grave, which, before the altar of the Ursulines, had been completed out of a cavity made by an English shell.[3]

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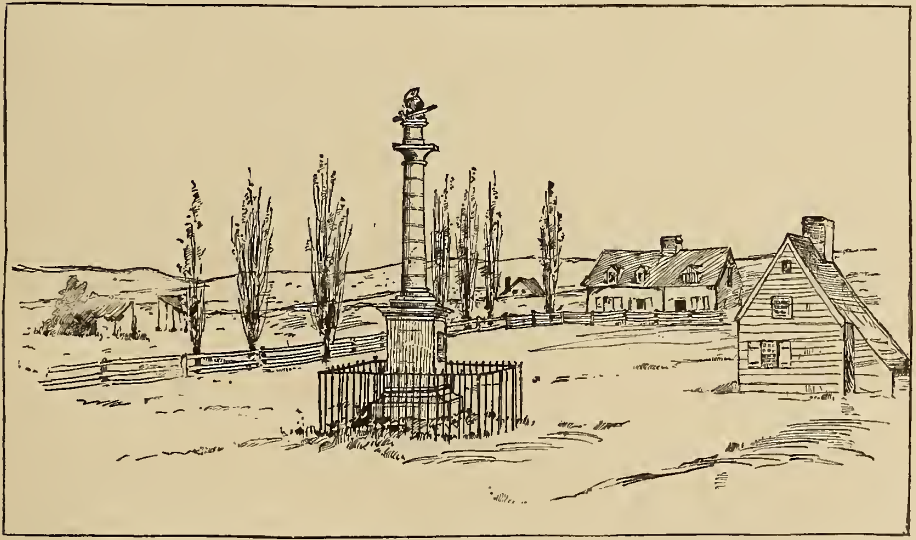
uments to commemorate Wolfe and Montcalm (pp. 27, 46).

[1] Doyle's *Official Baronage*, iii. 543.

[2] A view or plan of this post is given in *Mémoires sur les affaires du Canada*, 1749–60, p. 40.

[3] Dr. O'Callaghan (*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 400) threw some doubt on this statement, but it seems to be well established by contemporary record (Parkman, ii. 441). The remains of Montcalm were disturbed in digging another grave in 1833

The winter passed with as much comfort as the severe climate and a shattered town would permit. There were sick and wounded to comfort, and the sisters of the hospitals devoted themselves to French and English alike. A certain rugged honesty in Murray won the citizens who remained, and the hours were beguiled in part by the spirits of the French ladies. There was an excitement in November, when a fleet of French ships from up the river tried to run the batteries, and seven or eight of them which did so carried the first despatches to France which Vaudreuil had succeeded in transmitting. There was rough work in December, in getting their winter's wood from the forest of Sainte-Foy, for they had no horses, and the merriment of companionship, checkered with the danger of the skulking enemy, was the only lightening of the severities of the task. De-



HEIGHTS OF ABRAHAM, WITH WOLFE'S MONUMENT.

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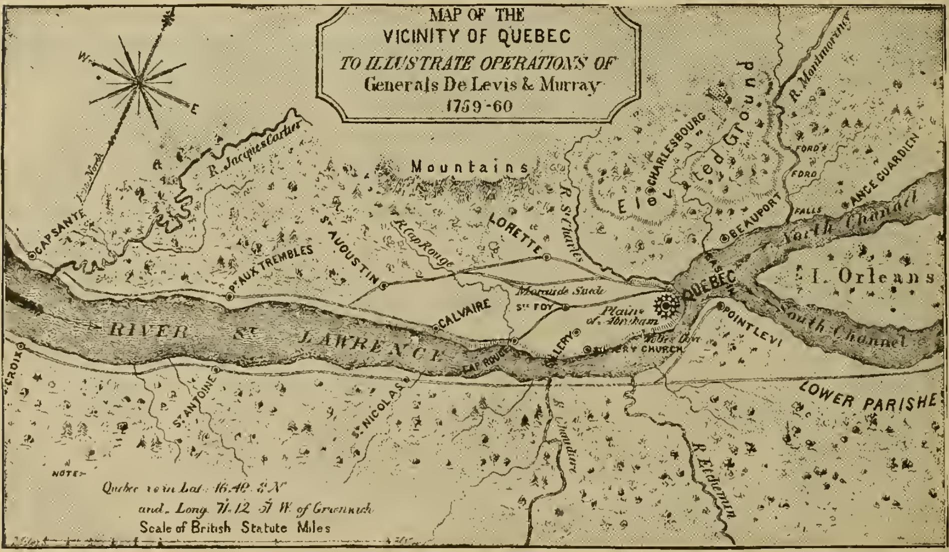
but little was found except the skull, which is still shown in the convent. (Miles's *Canada*, p. 415.) See the view in *Harper's Magazine*, xviii. 192.

Dalhousie, when governor, caused a monument, inscribed with the names of both Wolfe and Montcalm, to be erected in the town. (*Harper's Mag.*, xviii. 188; *Canadian Antiquarian*, vi. 176.) A monument near the spot where Wolfe was struck down, and inscribed, "Here Wolfe died victorious," fell into a decay, which relic-seekers had helped to increase (see a view of it in its dilapidated condition in Lossing's *Field-Book of the Revolution*, i. p. 189), and was in 1849 replaced by a monument surmounted with a helmet and sword, which is now seen by visitors, and, beside repeating the inscription on the old one, bears this legend: "This pillar was erected by the British army in Canada, A. D. 1849, . . . to replace that erected . . . in 1832, which was broken and defaced, and is deposited beneath." (See views in *Harper's Mag.*, xviii. p. 183.) A view of it from a sketch made in 1851 is annexed. An account of these memorials, with their inscriptions, is given in Martin's *De Montcalm en Canada*, p. 211, with the correspondence which passed between Pitt and the secretary of the French Academy respecting an inscription which the army of Montcalm desired to place over his grave in Quebec. (Cf. Martin, p. 216; Bonnechose, *Montcalm et Canada*, App.; Warburton's *Conquest of Canada*, ii., App.; and Watson's *County of Essex*, p. 490.)

Cf. also Lossing in *Harper's Mag.*, xviii. 176, 192, etc.

serters occasionally brought in word that Lévis was gathering and exercising his forces for an attack, so vigilance was incessant. Both sides preserved the wariness of war in onsets and repulses at the outposts, and the English usually got the better of their enemies. Captain Hazen and some New England rangers merited the applause which the regular officers gave them when they buffeted and outwitted the enemy in a series of skirmishes.

By April it became apparent that Lévis was only waiting for the ice in the river to break up, when he could get water carriage for his advance. Murray knew that the enemy could bring much greater numbers against him, for his 7,000 men of the autumn, by sickness and death, had been reduced to about 3,000 effectives, and the spies of Lévis kept the French general well informed of the constant weakening of the English forces.



CAMPAIGN OF LÉVIS AND MURRAY.[1]

The French placed their cannon and stores on the frigates and smaller vessels which had escaped up the river in the autumn, and with their army in bateaux they started on the 21st April for the descent from Montreal. With the accessions gained on the way, by picking up the scattered garrisons, Lévis landed between eight and nine thousand men at Cap Rouge, and advanced on Sainte-Foy. The English at the outposts fell back, and the delay on the part of the French was sufficient for Murray to learn of their approach. He resolved to meet them outside the walls. It must be an open-field fight for Murray, since the frozen soil still rendered entrenching impossible in the time which he had. He led out about three thousand men, and at first posted himself on the ridge, where Montcalm had drawn up his lines the year before. He pushed forward till he occupied Wolfe's ground of the same morning, when, with his great superiority of cannon, he found a position that gave him additional advantage, which he ought to have kept. The fire of the English guns, however, induced Lévis to withdraw his men to the cover of a wood, a movement which Murray took for a retreat, and, emulous of Wolfe's success in seizing an opportune moment, he ordered a general advance. His cannon were soon stuck in some low ground, and no longer helped him. The fight was fierce and stubborn; but after a two hours' struggle, the greater length of the enemy's line began to envelop the English, and Murray ordered a retreat. It was rapid, but not so disordered that Lévis dared long to follow.

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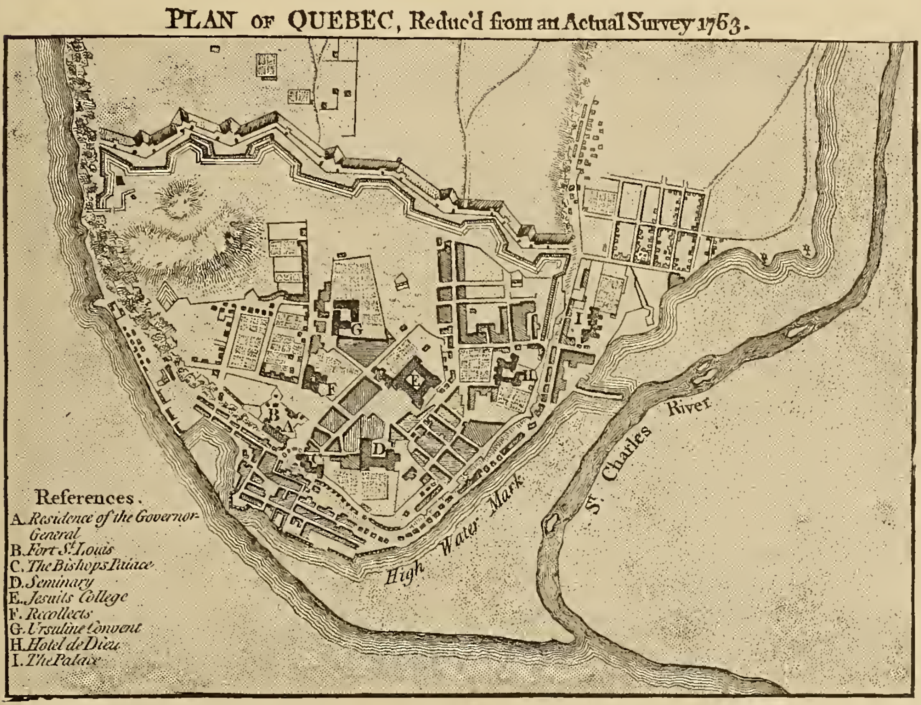
[1] This follows a map in Miles's *Hist. of Canada*, p. 427; also in Lemoine's *Picturesque Quebec*, p. 419.



QUEBEC, 1763.[1]

The English had lost a third of their force; the French loss was probably less. Murray got safely again within the walls, and could muster about 2,400 men for their defence.[2] There was sharp work, and little time left further to strengthen the walls and gates. Officer and man worked like cattle. A hundred and fifty cannon were soon belching upon the increasing trenches of Lévis, who finally dragged some artillery up the defile where Wolfe had mounted, and was thus enabled to return the fire.

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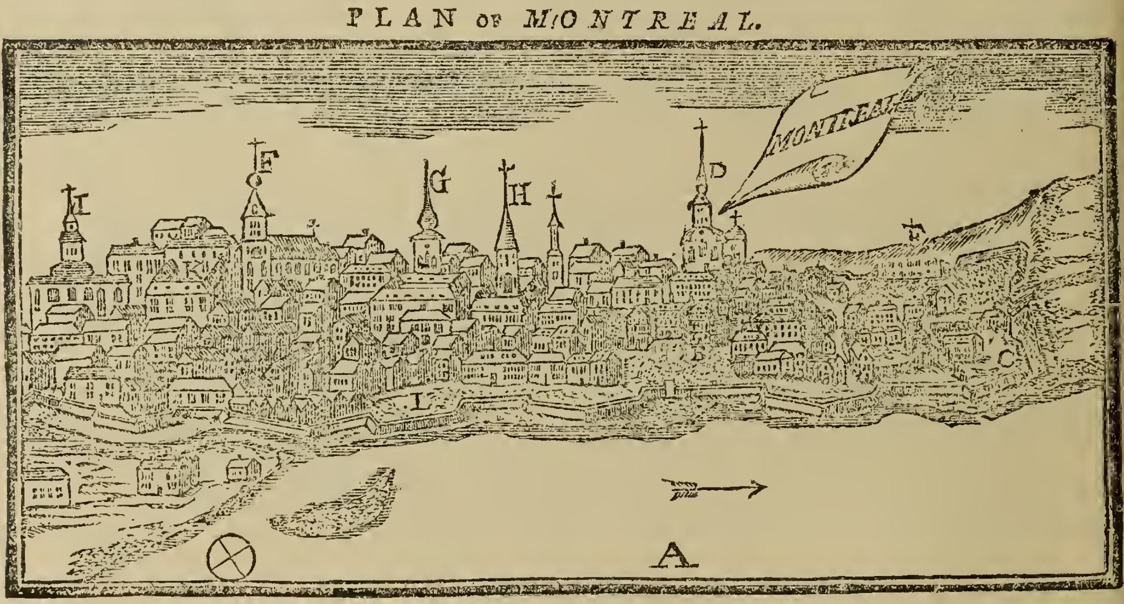
[1] From *A set of plans and forts in America, reduced from actual surveys*, 1763, published in London.

[2] The news which reached England from Murray did not encourage the government to hope that Quebec could be saved. *Grenville Correspondence*, i. 343.

Both sides were anxiously waiting expected reinforcements from the mother country. On the 9th of May a frigate beat up the basin, and to the red flag which was run up at Cape Diamond she responded with similar colors. It was ominous to Lévis, for he felt she was the advanced ship of a British squadron, as she proved to be. It was a week before others arrived, when some of the heavier vessels passed up the river and destroyed the French fleet. As soon as the naval result was certain, Lévis deserted his trenches, left his guns and much else, with his wounded, and hastily fled. This was in the night; in the morning the French were beyond Murray's reach.



VIEW OF MONTREAL.[1]

Their loss of cannon and munitions was a serious one, and the stores from France which might have replaced them were already intercepted by the English cruisers. Vaudreuil and Lévis made their dispositions to defend Montreal, their last hope; yet it was not a place in itself capable of successful defence, for its lines were too weak. It soon became evident that it was to be attacked on three sides; and the French had hopes that so dangerous a combination of armies, converging without intercommunication, would enable them to crush the enemy in detail.

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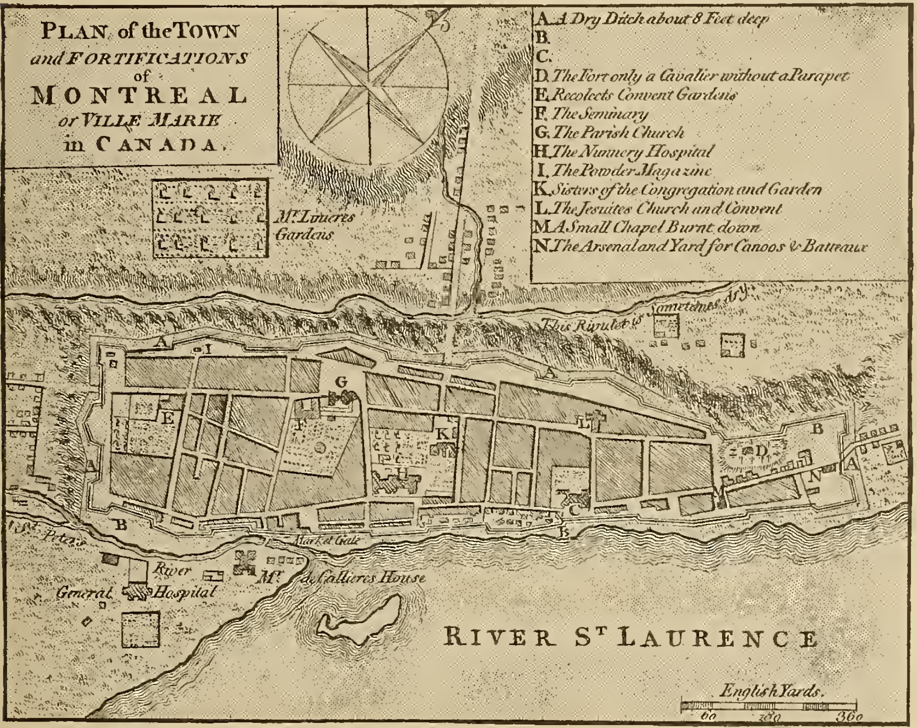
[1] A sample of the popular graphic aids of the day, which is taken from *Father Abraham's Almanac*, 1761 (Philadelphia). "Key: A, river St. Lawrence; B, the governor's house and parade; C, arsenal and yard for canoes and battoes; D, Jesuits' Church and Convent; E, the fort, a cavalier, without a parapet; F, the Parish Church; G, the nunnery hospital and gardens; H, Sisters of the Congregation, and gardens; I, Recollects' convents and gardens; K, the Seminary; L, the wharf."

Cf. view and plan published in *London Mag.*, Oct., 1760. Parkman (ii. 371) refers, as among the king's maps in the Brit. Mus., to an east view of Montreal, drawn on the spot by Thomas Patten. Cf. Lossing's *Field-Book of the Revolution*, i. 179.

Amherst was directing the general advance on the English side. He kept the largest force with him, and passed from Oswego, across Ontario, and down the St. Lawrence. If Lévis sought to escape westward and hold out at Detroit, Amherst intended to be sure to intercept him. He had about 11,000 men, including a body of Indians under Johnson. Near the head of the rapids he stopped long enough to capture Fort Lévis, now under Pouchot, and because they could not kill the prisoners, three fourths of Johnson's Indians mutinied and went home. Amherst now shot the rapids with his flotilla, not without some loss, and on September 6th he reached Lachine, nine miles above Montreal.


PLAN of the TOWN
and FORTIFICATIONS
of
MONTREAL
or VILLE MARIE
in CANADA.
A. A Dry Ditch about 8 Feet deep
B.
C.
D. The Fort only a Cavalier without a Parapet
E. Recolects Convent Gardens
F. The Seminary
G. The Parish Church
H. The Nunnery Hospital
I. The Powder Magazine
K. Sisters of the Congregation and Garden
L. The Jesuites Church and Convent
M. A Small Chapel Burnt down
N. The Arsenal and Yard for Canoos & Batteaux
Mr. Louires Gardens
This Rivulet is Sometimes dry
St. Peters River
General Hospital
Market Gate
Mr. de Callieres House
RIVER ST LAURENCE
English Yards.
60
180
360

MONTREAL.[1]

Meanwhile, the other commanders had already approached the city so near as to open communication with each other. Murray had sailed up the river with about 2,500 men, but was soon reinforced by Lord Rollo with 1,300 others from Louisbourg. The English had some skirmishes along the banks, but Bourlamaque, who was opposing them, fell back with a constantly diminishing force, as the Canadians, despite all threats and blandishments, deserted him. Murray was ahead of the others, when he stopped just before reaching Montreal, and encamped on an island in the river. He was not without apprehension that he might have to bear the brunt of an attack alone.

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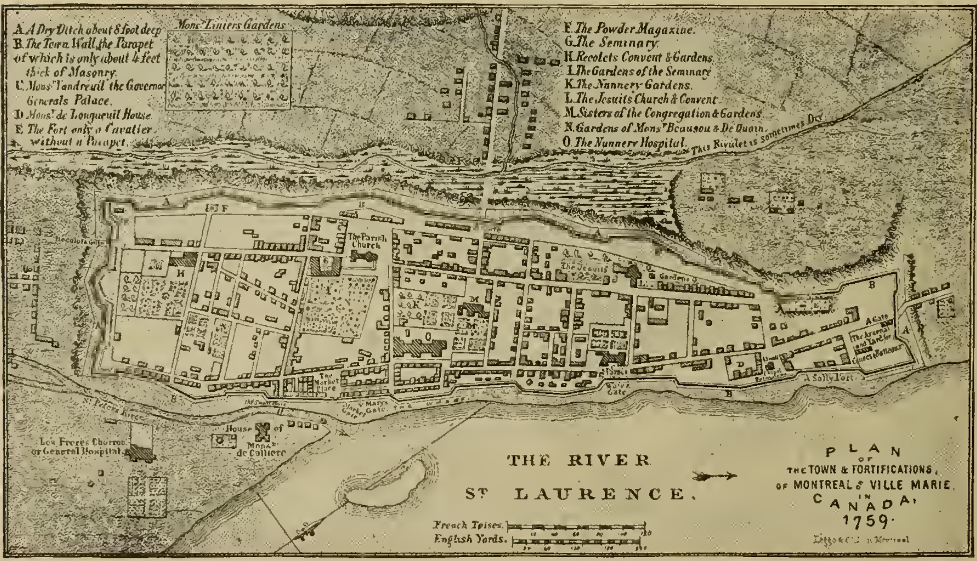
[1] From *A set of plans and forts in America, reduced from actual surveys*, 1763, published in London. There is a plan of Montreal, and of Isle Montreal in a *Carte de la Province de Québec . . . par le Capitaine Carver, etc., traduites de l'Anglois, à Paris*, 1777. The isle of Montreal as surveyed by the French engineers is mapped in the *London Mag.*, Jan., 1761.

Bougainville, meanwhile, was trying to resist Haviland's advance at the Isle-aux-Noix, for this English general now commanded on the Champlain route. The two sides were not ill-matched as to numbers; but the English advance was skilfully conducted, and the French found themselves obliged to retreat down the river and unite with Bourlamaque. It was now that Haviland, pushing on, opened communication by his right with Murray, and both stood on the defensive, waiting to hear of Amherst's approach above the town.


A. A Dry Ditch about 8 foot deep
B. The Town Wall, the Parapet of which is only about 4 feet thick of Masonry.
C. Monsr. Vandreuil the Governor Generals Palace.
D. Monsr. de Longueuil House.
E. The Fort only a Cavalier without a Parapet.
Monsr. Liniers Gardens
F. The Powder Magazine.
G. The Seminary.
H. Recolets Convent & Gardens.
I. The Gardens of the Seminary
K. The Nunnery Gardens.
L. The Jesuits Church & Convent.
M. Sisters of the Congregation & Gardens.
N. Gardens of Monsr. Beausou & De Quain.
O. The Nunnery Hospital.
This Rivulet is Sometimes Dry
The Parish Church
The Jesuits
A Sally Port
The Market Place
House of Monsr. de Colliere
Les Freres Charron or General Hospital
THE RIVER ST LAURENCE.
PLAN OF THE TOWN & FORTIFICATIONS, OF MONTREAL or VILLE MARIE, IN CANADA, 1759.
French Toises.
English Yards.

MONTREAL, 1758.[1]

The delay was brief. Amherst, advancing from Lachine, encamped before Montreal, above it, while Murray ferried his men from the island and encamped below. What there was left of the force which opposed

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[1] Follows a plan in Miles's *Hist. of Canada*, p. 297. It is mainly the same as the large folding map by Thomas Jefferys, published Jan. 30, 1758, and making part of the *Hist. of the French Dominion in America*, London, 1760, p. 12. This last is in the F. North Collection in Harvard College Library, vol. iii. no. 22; and was again used by Jefferys in his *General Topog. of No. America and the West Indies*, London, 1768, no. 22.

These other plans belonging to the 18th century may be noted: —

MS. plans of 1717 and 1721 recorded in the *Catalogue of the Library of Parliament*, Toronto, 1858, p. 1618, nos. 58 and 59.

Map of 1729, made by Chaussegros de Léry, in the Paris Archives.

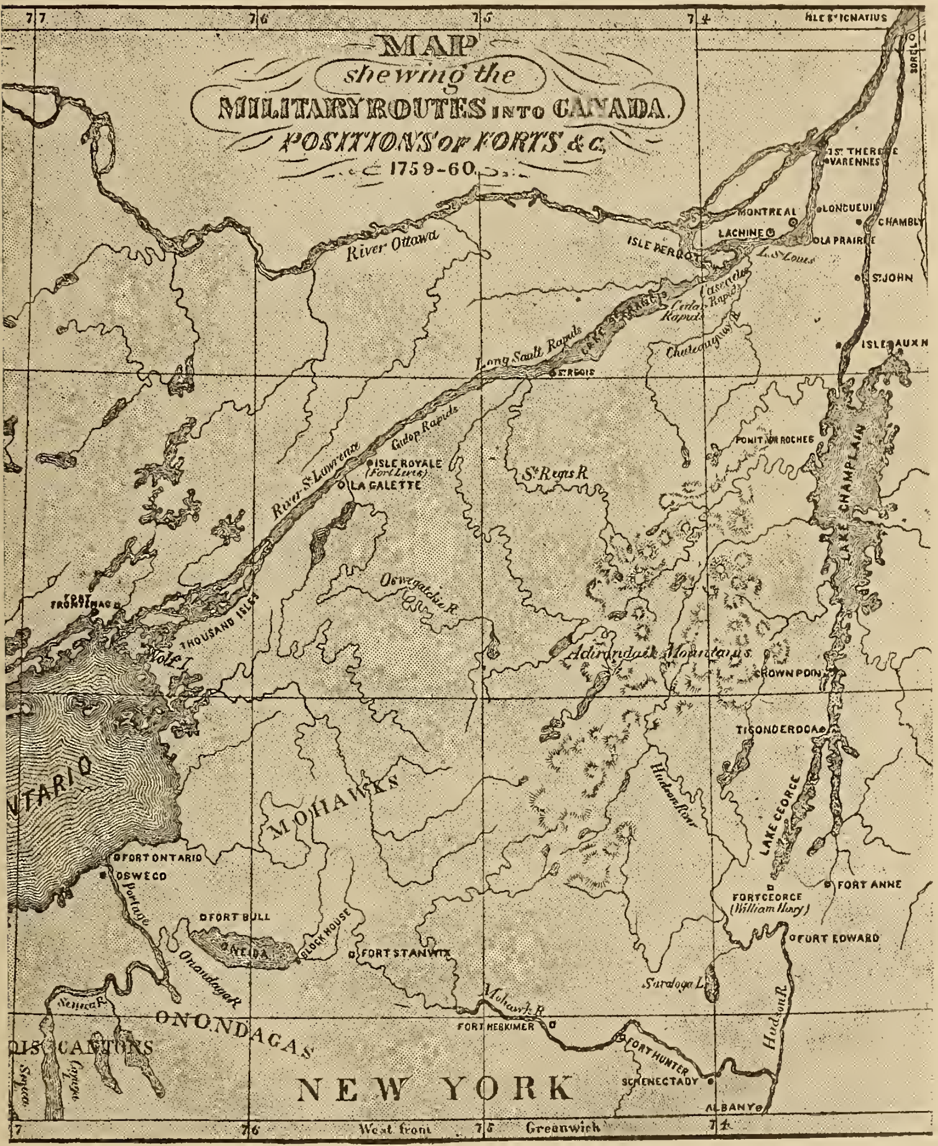
Carte de l'isle de Montreal et de ses environs, par N. Bellin, 1744, in Charlevoix, i. p. 227, and reproduced in Dr. Shea's edition of Charlevoix; as well as the plan of the town, in Charlevoix, ii. 170.

A MS. plan of 1752, giving details not elsewhere found, is noted in the *Library of Parliament Catal.*, p. 1620, no. 81.

A plan of 1756, and one of 1762 by Patten, engraved by Canot, are marked in the *Catal. of the King's Maps* (Brit. Mus.), ii. 54.

A plan of Montreal and its neighborhood by Bellin, in his *Petit Atlas Maritime*, 1764.

Haviland withdrew across the river into the town, and Haviland's tents dotted the shore which the French had left. The combined French army now numbered scarce 2,500; Amherst held them easily with a force of 17,000.



ROUTES TO CANADA, 1755–1763.[1]

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[1] Follows map in Miles's *Hist. of Canada*, p. 293.

Other contemporary maps showing the country, brought within the campaigns about Lakes Champlain and Ontario, are the following: —

A chorographical map of the country between Albany, Oswego, Fort Frontenac, and Les Trois Rivières, exhibiting all the grants by the French on Lake Champlain, which was included by Jefferys in his *General Topog. of North America*

Vaudreuil saw there was no time for delays, and at once submitted a plan of capitulation. A few notes were exchanged to induce less onerous conditions; but Amherst was not to be moved. On September 8th the paper was signed, and all Canada passed to the English king; the whole garrison to be sent as prisoners to France in British ships.

ROBERT ROGERS.[1]

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and the West Indies, London, 1768. It is, in fact. the northerly sheet of Jefferys' *Provinces of New York and New Jersey, with part of Pensilvania, drawn by Capt. Holland.* The same *General Topography*, no. 32, etc., contains also in Blanchard and Langdon's *Map of New Hampshire* (Oct. 21, 1761) a corner map, showing "The River St. Lawrence above Montreal to Lake Ontario, with the adjacent country on the west from Albany and Lake Champlain."

[1] From the *Geschichte der Kriege in und ausser Europa, Elfter Theil*, Nürnberg, 1777. This follows a print published in London, Oct. 1, 1776, described in Smith's *Brit. Mezzotint Portraits*, and in Parkman's *Pontiac*, i. p. 164.

This stipulation was adhered to, and during the autumn the principal French officers were on their way to France. The season for good weather on the ocean was passed, and the transportation was not accomplished without some wrecks, accompanied by suffering and death. Vaudreuil, Bigot, Cadet, and others found a dubious welcome in France after they had weathered the November storms. The government was not disposed that the loss of Canada should be laid wholly to its account, and the ministry had heard stories enough of the peculations of its agents in the colony to give a chance of shifting a large part of the responsibility upon those whose bureaucratic thefts had sapped the vitals of the colony. Trials ensued, the records of which yield much to enable us to depict the rotten life of the time ; and though Vaudreuil escaped, the hand of the law fell crushingly on Bigot and Cadet, and banishment, restitution, and confiscation showed them the shades of a stern retribution. They were not alone to suffer, but they were the chief ones.

The war was over, and a new life began in Canada. The surrender of the western posts was necessary to perfect the English occupancy, and to receive these Major Rogers was despatched by Amherst on the 13th of September. On the way, somewhere on the southern shore of Lake Erie,[1] he met (November 7) Pontiac, and, informing him of the capitulation at Montreal, the politic chief was ready to smoke the calumet with him. Rogers pushed on towards Detroit.[2] There was some apprehension that Belêtre, who commanded there, would rouse his Indians to resist, but the French leader only blustered, and when (November 29) the white flag came down and the red went up, his 700 Indians hailed the change of masters with a yell ; and it was with open-eyed wonder that the savages saw so many succumb to so few, and submit to be taken down the lake as prisoners. An officer was sent along the route from Lake Erie to the Ohio to take possession of the forts at Miami and Ouatanon ; but it was not till the next season that a detachment of the Royal Americans pushed still farther on to Michillimachinac and the extreme posts.[3]

English power was now confirmed throughout all the region embraced in the surrender of Vaudreuil.

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[1] There is doubt where Rogers encamped, — the river "Chogage." Parkman in the original edition of his *Pontiac* (1851, p. 147) called it the site of Cleveland ; but he avoids the question in his revised edition (i. p. 165). Bancroft (orig. ed., iv. 361) and Stone, *Johnson* (ii. 132), have notes on the subject. Cf. also Chas. Whittlesey's *Early Hist. of Cleveland*, p. 90; and C. C. Baldwin's *Early Maps of Ohio*, p. 17.

[2] Parkman has a plan of Detroit, made about 1750 by the engineer Léry.

[3] The *London Mag.* for Feb., 1761, had a map of the "Straits of St. Mary, and Michilimakinac."

CRITICAL ESSAY ON THE SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

THE ninth volume of the *N. Y. Col. Docs.* richly illustrates the French movements near the beginning of the century to secure Indian alliances.[1]

A number of papers from the archives of the Marine, respecting the founding of Detroit (1701), is given by Margry (*Découvertes*, etc.) in his fifth volume (pp. 135–250), as well as records of the conferences held by La Motte Cadillac with the neighboring Indians (p. 253, etc.). These papers come down to 1706.[2]

The contracts made at Quebec in 1701 and later, respecting the right to trade at the straits, are given in Mrs. Sheldon's *Early Hist. of Michigan* (N. Y., 1856, pp. 93, 138).

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[1] Here we find Bellomont's correspondence (1698) with the French governor as to the relations of the Five Nations to the English, pp. 682, 690. Cf. also *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iv. 367, 420; Shea's *Charlevoix*, v. 82; a tract, *Propositions made by the Five Nations of Indians . . . to Bellomont in Albany, 20th of July*, 1698 (N. Y., 1698), containing the doings of Bellomont and his council on Indian affairs up to Aug. 20, 1698. (Brinley, ii. 3,400.) The same vol. of *N. Y. Col. Docs.* (ix.) gives beside a memoir (p. 701; also in *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., vi. 45) on the encroachments of the English; conferences with the Indians at Detroit (p. 704) and elsewhere in 1700; the ratification of the treaty of peace at Montreal, Aug. 4, 1701 (p. 722); conferences of Vaudreuil with the Five Nations in 1703 and 1705 (pp. 746, 767); the scheme of seizing Niagara, 1706 (p. 773); Sieur d'Aigrement's instructions and report on the Western posts (p. 805); a survey (p. 917) of English invasion of French territory (1680–1723); a memoir (p. 840) on the condition of Canada (1709), — not to name others.

For the period covered by the survey of this present chapter, these *N. Y. Col. Docs.* give from the London archives papers 1693–1706 (vol. iv.); 1707–1733 (vol. v.), 1734–1755 (vol. vi.), 1756–1767 (vol. vii.); and from the Paris archives, 1631–1744 (vol. ix.), 1745–1778 (vol. x.). The index to the whole is in vol. xi. See Vol. IV. pp. 409, 410.

There has been a recent treatment of the relations of the English with the Indians in Geo. W. Schuyler's *Colonial New York*, in which Philip Schuyler is a central figure, during the latter end of the seventeenth and for the first quarter of the eighteenth century. The book touches the conferences in Bellomont's and Nanfan's time. Colden, who was inimical to Schuyler, took exception to some statements in Smith's *New York* respecting him, and Colden's letters were printed by the N. Y. Hist. Society in 1868.

[2] The biography of Cadillac has been best traced in Silas Farmer's *Detroit*, p. 326. He extended his inquiries among the records of France, and (p. 17) enumerates the grants to him about the straits. Cf. T. P. Bédard on Cadillac in *Revue Canadienne*, new ser., ii. 683; and a paper on his marriage in *Ibid.*, iii. 104; and others by Rameau, in *Ibid.*, xiii. 403. The municipality of Castelsarrasin in France presented to the city of Detroit a view of the old Carmelite church — now a prison — where Cadillac is buried. An engraving of it is given by Farmer. Julius Melchers, a Detroit sculptor, has made a statue of the founder, of which there is an engraving in Robert E. Roberts' *City of the Straits*, Detroit, 1884, p. 14.

Farmer (p. 221) gives a description of Fort Pontchartrain as built by Cadillac, and (p. 33) a map of 1796, defining its position in respect to the modern city. Cf. also Roberts' *City of the Straits*, p. 40. The oldest plan of Detroit is dated 1749, and is reproduced by Farmer (p. 32). Of the oldest house in Detroit, the Moran house, there are views in Farmer (p. 372) and Roberts (p. 50), who respectively assign its building to 1734 and 1750.

Among the later histories, not already mentioned, reference may be made to Charlevoix (Shea's ed., vol. v. 154); E. Rameau's *Notes historiques sur la colonie canadienne de Détroit. Lecture prononcée à Windsor sur le Détroit, comté d'Essex, C. W., 1er avril*, 1861, Montréal, 1861. Rufus Blanchard's *Discovery and Conquests of the Northwest*, Chicago, 1880; and Marie Caroline Watson Hamlin's *Legends of le Détroit, Illus. by Isabella Stewart*, Detroit, 1884. These legends, covering the years 1679–1815, relate to Detroit and its vicinity. On p. 263, etc., are given genealogical notes about the early French families resident there. A brief sketch of the early history of Detroit by C. I. Walker, as deposited beneath the corner-stone of the new City Hall in 1868, is printed in the *Hist. Mag.*, xv. 132. Cf Henry A. Griffin on "The City of the Straits" in *Mag. of Western History*, Oct., 1885, p. 571.

In Shea's *Relation des affaires du Canada*, 1696–1702 (N. Y., 1865), there is a "Relation du Destroit," and other papers touching these Western parts.[1]

Mrs. Sheldon's *Early History of Michigan* contains various documents on the condition of the colony at Detroit and Michilimackinac.[2]

On the attack on Detroit in 1712, made by the Foxes, in which, as confederates of the Iroquois, they acted in the English interest, we find documents in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, ix. pp. 857, 866; and the Report of Du Buisson, the French commander, is in W. R. Smith's *Hist. of Wisconsin*, iii. 316.[3]

The report of Tonti, on affairs at Detroit in 1717, is given by Mrs. Sheldon (p. 316).

In Margry's *Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Amérique Septentrionale* (vol. v. p. 73) is a "Relation du Sieur de Lamothe Cadillac, capitaine en pied, ci-devant commandant de Missilimakinak et autres postes dans les pays élorgnés, où il a été pendant trois années" (dated July 31, 1718).

In the third volume of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections* there are other documents among the Cass papers.[4]

There is in another chapter some account of preparations at Boston for the fatal expedition of 1711, under Admiral Sir Hovenden Walker, with its contingent of Marlborough's veterans.[5] An enumeration of the forces employed was printed in the *Boston Newsletter*, no. 379 (July 16–23, 1711), and is reprinted in what is the authoritative narrative, the *Journal or full account of the late expedition to Canada*, which Walker printed in London in 1720,[6] partly in vindication of himself against charges of peculation and incompetency. The failure of the expedition was charged by constant reports in England to the dilatoriness of Massachusetts in preparing the outfit. Walker does not wholly share this conviction, it is just to him to say; but Jeremiah Dummer, then the agent of the province in London, thought it worth while to defend the provincial government by printing in

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[1] See Vol. IV. p. 316. Shea's volume is entitled: *Relation des affaires du Canada, en* 1696. *Avec des lettres des Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus depuis* 1696 *jusqu'en* 1702. (N. Y., 1865.) *Contents:* La guerre contre les Iroquois; De la mission Iroquoise du Sault Saint François Xavier en 1696, ex literis Jac. de Lamberville; De la mission Illinoise en 1696, par le P. Gravier; Lettre du P. J. Gravier à Monseigneur Laval, 17 sept., 1697; Lettre de M. de Montigni au Rev. P. Bruyas [Chicago, 23 avril, 1699]; Lettre du P. Gabriel Marest, 1700; Lettre du P. L. Chaigneau sur le rétablissement des missions Iroquoises en 1702; Relation du Destroit; Lettre du P. G. Marest [du pays des Illinois, 29 avril, 1699]; Lettre du P. J. Binneteau [du pays des Illinois, 1699]; Lettre du P. J. Bigot [du pays des Abnaquis, 1699].

These papers illustrate affairs in the extreme west just at the opening of the period we are now considering. Cf. also the "Mémoire sur le Canada" (1682–1712) in *Collection de Manuscrits . . . relatifs à la Nouvelle France*, Quebec, 1883, p. 551, etc.

[2] Letters (1703) from Cadillac to Count Pontchartrain (p. 101), and to La Touche (p. 133); the developments of Cadillac's defence in 1703 and later years (p. 142); Père Marest's letter from Michilimackinac in 1706 (p. 206); a letter of Cadillac in the same year (p. 218), reports of Indian councils held at Montreal, Detroit, and Quebec in 1707 (pp. 232, 251, 263); a letter of Cadillac to Pontchartrain (p. 277) and D'Aigrement's report on an inspection of the posts (p. 280), both in 1708. Speeches of Vaudreuil and an Ottawa chief, from a MS. brought from Paris by Gen. Cass, are printed in the *Western Reserve Hist. Soc. Papers*, no. 8. These papers, as translated by Whittlesey, pertaining to affairs about Detroit in 1706, are revised by that gentleman and reprinted in Beach's *Indian Miscellany*, p. 270.

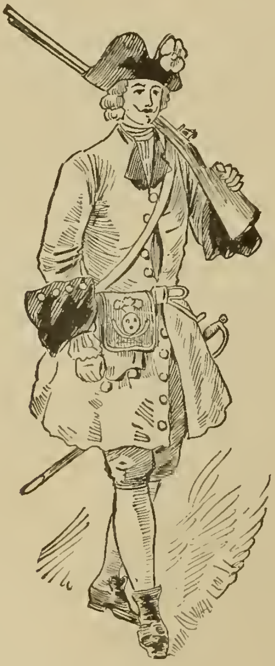
[3] Cf. Shea's *Charlevoix*, v. 257; Sheldon's *Michigan*, 297.

[4] A memoir on the peace made by De Lignery, the commandant at Mackinac, with the Indians in 1726 (p. 148); letters of Longueil, July 25, 1726 (p. 156), and Beauharnois, Oct. 1, 1726 (p. 156); a petition of the inhabitants of Detroit to the Intendant in 1726, with Tonti's remonstrance (pp. 169, 175); a memoir of the king on the Indian war, and another by Longueil on the peace (pp. 160, 165).

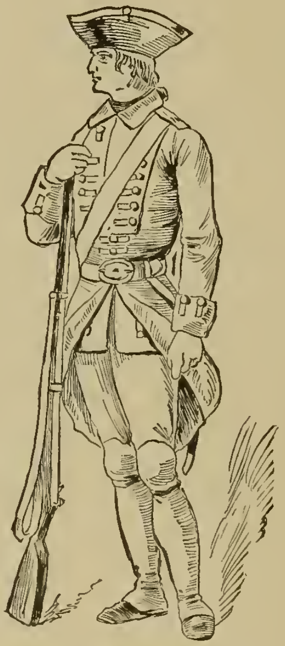
[5] Cf. ch. ii. Dudley's speech in aid of the expedition is given in the *Boston Newsletter*, no. 377, and his call of June 9, 1711, upon New Hampshire to furnish its contingent appears in the *N. H. Prov. Papers*, iii. 479.

[6] Carter-Brown, iii. no. 295; Harv. Coll. Lib., 4375.11; Cooke, no. 2,544; Menzies, no. 2,026; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, ii. 63.

London, 1712 (reprinted, Boston, 1746), a *Letter to a noble lord concerning the late expedition to Canada*,[1] in which he contended that this expedition was wisely planned, and that its failure was not the fault of New England. There is another tract of Dummer's to a similar purpose: *A letter to a friend in the country, on the late expedition to Canada*, London, 1712.[2] Palfrey[3] says that he found various letters and documents among the British Colonial Papers, including a "Journal of the expedition, by Col. Richard King."[4]



FRENCH SOLDIER, 1710.[5]



FRENCH SOLDIER, 1710.[6]

We have the French side in Charlevoix (Shea's),[7] with annotations and references by that editor. Walker, in his *Journal*, gives a rough draft in English of a manifesto intended to be distributed in Canada. Charlevoix gives the French into which it was translated for that use.[8]

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[1] Carter-Brown, iii. nos. 166, 825; Harv. Coll. Lib., 4375.16; 6374.36.

[2] Carter-Brown, iii. no. 167; Bost. Pub. Lib., H. 98.18. Cf. also *Letter from an old whig in town . . . upon the late expedition to Canada* [signed X. Z.], published at London in 1711. (Carter-Brown, iii. no. 146; Harv. Coll. lib., 4375.14.)

[3] *New England*, iv. 281, 282.

[4] Notwithstanding the failure of the expedition, Dudley issued a Thanksgiving proclamation for other mercies, etc. *N. H. Prov. Papers*, ii. 629. In general, see *Boston Newsletter*, nos. 379–81; Penhallow, pp. 62–67; Niles, in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxxv. 328; Hutchinson's *Massachusetts*, ii. 175, 180; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iv. 277; v. 284; ix., *passim*; Chalmers' *Revolt*, etc., i. 349; Lediard's *Naval History*, 851; Williamson's *Maine*, ii. 63; Palfrey's *New England*, iv. 278, etc., with references; *Mem. Hist. Boston*, ii. 106. The tax for the expedition was the occasion of Thomas Maule's *Tribute to Cæsar, with some remarks on the late vigorous expedition against Canada*, Philadelphia [1712]. Hildeburn's *Century of Printing*, no. 120.

[5] After a water-color sketch in the *Mass. Archives: Documents collected in France*, vi. p. 1. The coat is red, faced with blue.

[6] After a water-color sketch in the *Mass. Archives: Documents collected in France*, viii. p. 1. The coat is blue, faced with red. Cf. sketches in Gay's *Pop. Hist. United States*, ii. 545.

[7] Vol. v. 238, 245, 247, 252.

[8] Cf. also Garneau, *Histoire de Canada* (1882), ii. 48; Juchereau, *Hist. de l'hôtel Dieu*; Grange de Chessieux, *La conduite des Français justifiée*, and an edition of the same edited by Butel-Dumont.

The recurrent interest taken, during Alexander Spotswood's term of office (1710–1722) as governor of Virginia, in schemes for occupying the region beyond the mountains is traceable through his *Official Letters*, published by the Virginia Historical Society in 1882–5.[1]

The journey of Spotswood over the mountains in 1716 is sometimes called the "Tramontane Expedition;" it was accomplished between Aug. 20 and Sept. 17.[2]

At the time when Spotswood was urging, in 1718, that steps should be taken to seize upon the Ohio Valley,[3] James Logan was furnishing to Gov. Keith, to be used as material for a memorial to the Board of Trade, a report on the French settlements in the valley (dated Dec., 1718).[4]

Previous to 1700 the Iroquois had scoured bare of their enemies a portion, at least, of the Ohio country; but during the first half of the last century, the old hunting grounds were reoccupied in part by the Wyandots, while the Delawares centred upon the Muskingum River, and the Shawanoes, or Shawnees, coming from the south, scattered along the Scioto and Miami valleys,[5] and allied themselves with the French. The Ottawas were grouped about the Sandusky and Maumee rivers in the north.[6]

Respecting the Indians of the Ohio Valley we have records of the eighteenth century, in a *Mémoire* on those between Lake Erie and the Mississippi, made in 1718.[7]

Among the Cass MSS. is a paper on the life and customs of the Indians of Canada[8] in 1723, which has been translated by Col. Whittlesey.[9]

A report (1736) supposed to be by Joncaire, dated at Missilimakinac, is called, as translated, "Enumeration of the Indian tribes connected with the government of Canada.[10]

Conrad Weiser's notes on the Iroquois and the Delawares (Dec., 1746) have been also translated.[11]

An account of the Miami confederacy makes part of a book published at Cincinnati in 1871, *Journal of Capt. William Trent from Logstown to Pickawillany in* 1752, edited by Alfred T. Goodman, secretary of the Western Reserve Hist. Soc. It includes papers from the English archives; secured by John Lothrop Motley.[12] In 1759 Capt. George

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[1] The two volumes are edited, with an introduction, by R. A. Brock. Bancroft had used these papers when owned by Mr. J. R. Spotswood, of Orange County, Va. The MS. was carried to England by Mr. G. W. Featherstonehaugh, and of his widow it was bought by the Virginia Hist. Society in 1873.

[2] Mr. Brock refers to accounts of it in Hugh Jones's *Present State of Virginia;* the preface to Beverly's *Virginia;* Campbell's *Virginia;* Slaughter's *Hist. of Bristol Parish;* and in Slaughter's *St. Mark's Parish* is a paper on "The Knights of the Golden Horseshoe," crediting the diary of John Fontaine, which he reprints (it is also in Maury's *Huguenot Family*, N. Y., 1872, p. 281), with giving the most we know of the expedition. Cf. also J. Esten Cooke's *Stories of the Old Dominion*, N. Y., 1879; and W. A. Caruthers' *Knights of the Horseshoe*. Slaughter also gives a map of Spotswood's route from Germanna to the Shenandoah.

Palmer, the editor of the *Calendar of Virginia State Papers* (p. lix.), could find nothing official throwing light on this expedition.

[3] Spotswood's *Official Letters*, ii. 296, 329.

[4] It is printed in *Hist. Mag.*, vi. 19. The treaty between Keith and the Five Nations at Albany, Sept., 1722, was printed that year in Philadelphia, as were treaties at a later date at Conestogoe (May, 1728) and Philadelphia (June, 1728), made with the Western Indians. Hildeburn's *Century of Printing*, nos. 189, 356. There were reports in 1732 of the French being then at work building near the Ohio "a fort with loggs" (*Penna. Archives*, i. 310), and delivering speeches to the Shawanese (*Ibid.*, p. 325).

[5] Cf. C. C. Royce on the identity and history of the Shawnees in *Mag. of West. History*, May, 1885, p. 38.

[6] Walker's *Athens Co., Ohio*, p. 5.

[7] Printed in the *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., vi. 49, and in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, ix. 885.

[8] The Ohio was the division between Canada and Louisiana. Cf. Du Pratz, Paris, 1758, vol. i. 329.

[9] *Wisconsin Hist. Coll.*, vols. i. and iii. (p. 141).

[10] *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, octavo ed., i. p. 15.

[11] *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, i. 163, 319; ii. 407. It was printed in English by Franklin in 1757. (*Franklin's Works in the Boston Public Library*, p. 40.) A journal of his mission to the Ohio Indians in 1748 is given in the *Penna. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, i. (1853) p. 23. Cf. T. J. Chapman in *Mag. of West. Hist.*, Oct., 1885, p. 631.

[12] There is an abstract of Trent's Journal in Knapp's *Maumee Valley*, p. 23.

Croghan made "a list of the Indian nations, their places of abode and chief hunting."[1]

The subject of the dispersion and migrations of the Indians of the Ohio Valley has engaged the attention of several of the Western antiquaries.[2] The most exhaustive collation of the older statements regarding these tribal movements is in Manning F. Force's lecture before the Historical and Philosophical Soc. of Ohio, which was printed at Cincinnati in 1879 as *Some Early Notices of the Indians of Ohio.* "In the latter half of the seventeenth century, after the destruction of the Eries in 1656 by the Five Nations," he says, "the great basin, bounded north by Lake Erie, the Miamis, and the Illinois, west by the Mississippi, east by the Alleghanies, and south by the head-waters of the streams that flow into the Gulf of Mexico, seems to have been uninhabited except by bands of Shawnees, and scarcely visited except by war parties of the Five Nations." He then confines himself to tracing the history of the Eries and Shawnees. He tells the story of the destruction of the Eries, or "Nation du Chat," in 1656; and examines various theories about remnants of the tribe surviving under other names. The Chaouanons of the French, or Shawanoes of the English (Shawnees), did not appear in Ohio till after 1750. Parkman[3] says: "Their eccentric wanderings, their sudden appearances and disappearances, perplex the antiquary and defy research." Mr. Force adds to the investigations of their history, but still leaves, as he says, the problem unsolved. The earliest certain knowledge places them in the second half of the seventeenth century on the upper waters of the Cumberland, whence they migrated northwest and northeast, as he points out in tracking different bands.

The claim of the English to the Ohio Valley and the "Illinois country," as for a long series of years the region east of the upper Mississippi and north of the Ohio was called,[4] was based on a supposed conquest of the tribes of that territory by the Iroquois in 1672 or thereabouts. No treaty exists by which the Iroquois transferred this conquered country to the English, but the transaction was claimed to have some sort of a registry,[5] as expressed, for instance, in a legend on Evans' map[6] (1755), which reads: "The Confederates [Five Nations], July 19, 1701, at Albany surrendered their beaver-hunting country to the English, to be defended by them for the said Confederates, their heirs and successors forever, and the same was confirmed, Sept. 14, 1728 [1726], when the Senecas, Cayugaes, and Onondagoes surrendered their habitations from Cayahoga to Oswego and six miles inland to the same for the same use." The same claim is made on Mitchell's map[1] of the same year (1755), referring to the treaty with the Iroquois at Albany, Sept. 1726, by which the region west of Lake Eric and north of Erie and Ontario, as well as the belt of land from Oswego westward, was confirmed to the English.[2]

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[1] *Penna. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, i. p. 85. Cf. Proud's *Pennsylvania*, ii. 296, and Mr. Russel Errett on the Indian geographical names along the Ohio and the Great Lakes in the *Mag. of West. Hist.*, 1885.

[2] C. C. Baldwin's *Indian Migrations in Ohio*, reprinted from the *Amer. Antiquarian*, April, 1879; *Mag. of West. Hist.*, Nov., 1884, p. 41; Hiram W. Beckwith's paper on the *Illinois and Indiana Indians*, which makes no. 27 of the *Fergus Historical Series.* It includes the Illinois, Miamis, Kickapoos, Winnebagoes, Foxes and Sacks, and Pottawatomies. Cf. Davidson and Struvé's *Hist. Illinois*, 1874, ch. iv., and the reference in Vol. IV. p. 298.

[3] *Pontiac*, i. 32.

[4] W. R. Smith's *Wisconsin*, i. p. 60. Cf. also Breese's *Early Hist. of Illinois.* The more restricted application of this term is seen in a "plan of the several villages in the Illinois country, with a part of the River Mississippi, by Thomas Hutchins;" showing the position of the old and new Fort Chartres, which is in Hutchins' *Topographical Description of Virginia*, etc. (London, 1778, and Boston, 1787), and is reëngraved in the French translation published by Le Rouge in Paris, 1781. This same translation gives a section of Hutchins' large map, showing the country from the Great Kenawha to Winchester and Lord Fairfax's, and marking the sites of Forts Shirley, Loudon, Littleton, Cumberland, Bedford, Ligonier, Byrd, and Pitt. Logstown is on the north side of the Ohio. The portages connecting the affluents of the Potomac with those of the Ohio are marked. The map is entitled: *Carte des environs du Fort Pitt et la nouvelle Province Indiana, dediée à M. Franklin.* The province of Indiana is bounded by the Laurel Mountain range, the Little Kenawha, the Ohio, and a westerly extension of the Northern Maryland line, being the grant in 1768 to Samuel Wharton, William Trent, and George Morgan.

[5] Sparks, *Franklin*, iv. 325., Smith (*New York*, 1814, p. 266) says "there was only an entry in the books of the secretary for Indian affairs," and the surrender "through negligence was not made by the execution of a formal deed under seal." Cf. *French encroachments exposed, or Britain's original right to all that part of the American continent claimed by France fully asserted. . . . In two letters from a merchant retired from business to his friend in London.* London, 1756. (Carter-Brown, iii. 1,115.)

[6] James Maury in 1756, referring to Evans' map, says, "It is but small, not above half as large as Fry and Jefferson's, consequently crowded. It gives an attentive peruser a clear

Not much is known of the Indian occupation of the Ohio Valley before 1750,[3] and any right by conquest which the Iroquois might have obtained, though supported at the time of the struggle by Colden,[4] Pownall,[5] and others,[6] was first seriously questioned, when Gen. W. H. Harrison delivered his address on the *Aborigines of the Ohio Valley.*[7] He does not allow that the Iroquois pushed their conquests beyond the Scioto.

The uncertainty of the English pretensions is shown by their efforts for further confirmation, which was brought about as regards westerly and northwesterly indefinite

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idea of the value of the now contested lands and waters to either of the two competitor princes, together with a proof, amounting to more than a probability, that he of the two who shall remain master of Ohio and the Lakes must in the course of a few years become sole and absolute lord of North America." Maury's *Huguenot Family*, 387. T. Pownall's *Topographical description of such parts of North America as are contained in the* (*annexed*) *map of the British middle colonies, etc., in North America* (London, 1776) contains Evans' map, pieced out by Pownall, and it reprints Evans' preface (1755), with an additional preface by Pownall, dated Albemarle Street (London), Nov. 22, 1775, in which it is said that the map of 1755 was used by the officers during the French war, and served every practicable purpose. He says Evans followed for Virginia Fry and Jefferson's map (1751), and that John Henry's map of Virginia, published by Jefferys in 1770, enabled him (Pownall) to add little. For Pennsylvania Evans had been assisted by Mr. Nicholas Scull, who in 1759 published his map of Pennsylvania, and for the later edition of 1770 Pownall says he added something. As to New Jersey, Pownall claims he used the drafts of Alexander, surveyor-general, and that he has followed Holland for the boundary line between New Jersey and New York. Pownall affirms that Holland disowned a map of New York and New Jersey which Jefferys published with Holland's name attached, though some portions of it followed surveys made by Holland. What Pownall added of New England he took from the map in Douglass, correcting it from drafts in the Board of Trade office, and following for the coasts the surveys of Holland or his deputies. Pownall denounces the "late Thomas Jefferys" for his inaccurate and untrustworthy pirated edition of the Evans map, the plate of which fell into the hands of Sayer, the map publisher, and was used by him in more than one atlas.

[1] Sparks, *Franklin*, iv. 330.

[2] This deed is in Pownall's *Administration of the Colonies*, London, 1768, p. 269.

[3] Evans' map of 1755 is held to embody the best geographical knowledge of this region, picked up mainly between 1740 and 1750. The region about Lake Erie with the positions of the Indian tribes, is given from this map, in Whittlesey's *Early Hist. of Cleveland*, p. 83. This author mentions some instances of axe-cuts being discovered in the heart of old trees, which would carry the presence of Europeans in the valley back of all other records.

There are stories of early stragglers, willing and unwilling, into Kentucky from Virginia, after 1730. Collins, *Kentucky*, i. 15; Shaler, *Kentucky*, 59. A journey of one John Howard in 1742 is insisted on. Kercheval's *Valley of Virginia*, 67; Butler's *Kentucky*, i., introd.; *Memoir and Writings of J. H. Perkins*, ii. 185.

[4] *Five Nations.*

[5] *Administration of the Colonies.*

[6] Sparks, *Franklin*, iv. 326.

[7] This has been reprinted as no. 26 of the *Fergus Hist. Series*, "with notes by Edward Everett;" certain extracts from a notice of the address, contributed by Mr. Everett to the *No. Amer. Review* in 1840, being appended. A recent writer, Alfred Mathews, in the *Mag. of Western History* (i. 41), thinks the Iroquois conquests may have reached the Miami River. Cf. also C. C. Baldwin in *Western Reserve Hist. Tracts*, no. 40; and Isaac Smucker in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, June, 1882, p. 408.

J. H. Perkins (*Mem. and Writings*, ii. 186) cites what he considers proofs that the Iroquois had pushed to the Mississippi, but doubts their claim to possess lands later occupied by others.

Franklin's recapitulation of the argument in favor of the English claim is in Sparks' *Franklin*, iv. 324; but Sparks (*Ibid.*, iv. 335) allows it is not substantiated by proofs, and enlarges upon the same view in his *Washington*, ii. 13.

extensions of Virginia and Pennsylvania by the treaty of Lancaster in 1744 (June 22–July 4).[1]

In 1748 Bollan in a petition to the Duke of Bedford on the French encroachments, complains that recent English maps had prejudiced the claims of Great Britain.[2] Since Popple's map in 1732, of which there had been a later edition, maps defining the frontiers had appeared in Keith's *Virginia* (1738), in Oldmixon's *British Empire* (1741) by Moll, and in Bowen's *Geography* (1747).

There is in the *Penna. Archives* (2d series, vi. 93) a paper dated Dec., 1750, on the English pretensions from the French point of view. On the English side the claims of the French are examined in the *State of the British and French Colonies in North America*, London, 1755.[3]

J. H. Perkins, in the *North American Review*, July, 1839, gave an excellent sketch of the English effort at occupation in the Ohio Valley from 1744 to 1774, which later appeared in his *Memoir and Writings* (Boston, 1852, vol. ii.) as "English discoveries in the Ohio Valley." His sketch is of course deficient in points, where the publication of original material since made would have helped him.

The rivalry in the possession of Oswego and Niagara, beginning in 1725, is traced in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.* (ix. 949, 954, 958, 974), and in a convenient form an abstract of the French despatches for 1725–27 is found in *Ibid.*, ix. 976, with a French view (p. 982) of the respective rights of the rivals.[1]

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[1] Colden's official account of this conference and treaty was printed in Philadelphia the same year by Benjamin Franklin: *A Treaty held at the Town of Lancaster in Pennsylvania by the Honourable the lieutenant governor of the Province, and the Commissioners for the provinces of Virginia and Maryland, with the Indians of the Six Nations in June*, 1744. There is a copy in Harvard College library [5325.38]. Quaritch priced a copy in 1885 at £6. 10*s*. Cf. Barlow's *Rough List*, no. 879; Brinley, iii. no. 5,488; Carter-Brown, iii. 785, with also (no. 784) an edition printed at Williamsburg the same year. There was a reprint at London in 1745. It was included in later editions of Colden's *Five Nations*. Cf. J. I. Mombert's *Authentic Hist. of Lancaster County*, 1869, app. p. 51. The journal of William Marshe, in attendance on the commissioners, is printed in the *Mass. Hist. Collections*, vii. 171. Cf. Wm. Black's journal in *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, vols. i. and ii. Black was the secretary of the commission, and his editor is R. A. Brock, of Richmond. Stone, in his *Life of Sir Wm. Johnson*, i. 91, gives a long account of the meeting. See the letter of Conrad Weiser in Proud's *Pennsylvania*, ii. 316, wherein he gives his experience (1714–1746) in observing the characteristics of the Indians. Weiser was an interpreter and agent of Pennsylvania, and a large number of his letters to the authorities during his career are in the *Penna. Archives*, vols. i., ii., and iii. The *Brinley Cat.*, iii. p. 105, shows various printed treaties with the Ohio Indians of about this time. Those that were printed in Pennsylvania are enumerated in Hildeburn's *Century of Printing*, nos. 852, 870, 907, etc.; and those printed by Franklin, as most of them were, are noted in the *Catal. of Works relating to Benjamin Franklin in the Boston Public Library*, p. 39.

[2] *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vi. 134.

[3] Thomson, *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 1,099; Carter-Brown, iii. 1,092. The French posts north of the Ohio in 1755, according to the *Present State of North America*, published that year in London, were Le Bœuf and Venango (on French Creek), Duquesne, Sandusky, Miamis, St. Joseph's (near Lake Michigan), Pontchartrain (Detroit), Michilmackinac, Fox River (Green Bay), Crèvecœur and Fort St. Louis (on the Illinois), Vincennes, Cahokia, Kaskaskia, and at the mouths of the Wabash, Ohio, and Missouri. A portion of Gov. Pownall's map, showing the location of the Indian villages and portages of the Ohio region, is given in fac-simile in *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., ii. Cf. map in *London Mag.*, June, 1754; Kitchin's map of Virginia in *Ibid.*, Nov., 1761; and his map of the French settlements in *Ibid.*, Dec., 1747.

James Maury (1756) contrasts the enterprise of the French in acquiring knowledge of the Ohio Valley with the backwardness of the English. Maury's *Huguenot Family*, 394.

Smith (*New York*, ii. 172), referring to the period of the alarm of French encroachments on the Ohio, speaks of its valley as a region "of which, to our shame, we had no knowledge except by the books and maps of the French missionaries and geographers."

A tract called *The wisdom and policy of the French, . . . with observations on disputes between the English and French colonists in America* (London, 1755) examines the designs of the French in their alliance with the Indians.

There had been a stockade at Niagara under De Nonville's rule, and the fort bore his name; but it was soon abandoned.[2] The place was re-occupied in 1725–26, and the fort rebuilt of stone.[3]

In 1731 the French first occupied permanently the valley of Lake Champlain,[4] but not till 1737 did they begin to control its water with an armed sloop, and to build Fort St. Frederick.[5]

Beauharnois' activity in seeking the Indian favor is shown in his conference with the Onondagas in 1734 and in his communications with the Western tribes in 1741.[6] The condition of the French power at this time is set forth in a *Mémoire sur le Canada*, ascribed to the Intendant Gilles Hocquart (1736).[7]

In 1737 Conrad Weiser was sent to the Six Nations to get them to agree to a truce with the Cherokees and Catawbas, and to arrange for a conference between them and these tribes.[8]

The expedition to the northwest, which resulted in Vérendrye's discovery of the Rocky Mountains in Jan., 1743, is followed with more or less detail in several papers by recent writers.[9]

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[1] Beauharnois' despatches about Oswego begin in 1728 (*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, ix. 1,010). That same year Walpole addressed a paper on the two posts to the French government, and with it is found in the French archives a plan of Oswego, "fait à Montreal 17 Juillet, 1727, signé De Lery." The correspondence of Gov. Burnet and Beauharnois is in *Ibid.*, ix. p. 999. The plan just named is also in the *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, vol. i., in connection with papers respecting the founding of the post. Smith (*New York*, 1814, p. 273) holds that the French purpose to demolish the works at Oswego in 1729 caused a reinforcement of the garrison, which deterred them from the attempt. Smith says of the original fort there that its situation had little regard to anything beside the pleasantness of the prospect. Burnet, the New York governor, exerted himself to destroy the trade between Albany and Montreal, and the report of a committee which he transmitted to the home government is printed in Smith's *New York* (Albany, 1814 ed., p. 246); but in 1729 the machinations of those interested in the trade procured the repeal of the restraining act. (*Ibid.*, 274; cf. Smith, vol. ii. (1830) p. 97.) At a late day (1741) there is an abstract of despatches to the French minister respecting Oswego in the *Penna. Archives* (2d ser., vi. 51), and a paper on the state of the French and English on Ontario in 1743 is in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi. 227.

[2] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, ix. 386.

[3] O. H. Marshall on the Niagara frontier, in the *Buffalo Hist. Soc. Publications*, vol. ii. Smith (*New York*, 1814, p. 268) says that "Charlevoix himself acknowledges that Niagara was a part of the territory of the Five Nations; yet the pious Jesuit applauds the French settlement there, which was so manifest an infraction of the treaty of Utrecht."

A view of the neighboring cataract at this period is given by Moll on one of his maps (1715), and is reproduced in Cassell's *United States*, i. 541.

[4] Of the occupation of Crown Point by the French, Smith (*New York*, 1814, p. 279) says: "Of all the French infractions of the treaty of Utrecht, none was more palpable than this. The country belonged to the Six Nations, and the very spot upon which the fort stands is included within the patent to Dellius, the Dutch minister of Albany, granted in 1696." Again he says (p. 280): "The Massachusetts government foresaw the dangerous consequences of the French fort at Crown Point, and Gov. Belcher gave us the first intimation of it." It was not till 1749 that there were reports that the French were beginning to plant settlers about Crown Point. (*Penna. Archives*, ii. 20.) Jefferys published a map showing the grants made by the French about Lake Champlain.

The English fort at Crown Point was built farther from the lake than the earlier French inconsiderable work. Chas. Carroll (*Journal to Canada* in 1776, ed. of 1876, p. 78) describes its ruins at that time, — the result of an accidental fire.

[5] W. C. Watson's *Hist. of the County of Essex*, Albany, 1869, ch. iii.

[6] *N. Y. Col. Docs.* ix. 1,041, etc.

[7] *Hist. Documents* of the Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Quebec, in 1840.

[8] A translation of Weiser's journal on this mission is in the *Penna. Hist. Col.*, i. 6.

[9] Pierre Margry has two articles in the *Moniteur Universel*, and a chapter, "Les Varennes de Vérendrye," in the *Revue Canadienne*, ix. 362. The Canadian historian, Benjamin Sulte, has a monograph, *La Vérendrye*, a paper, "Champlain

The first settlement in Wisconsin took place in 1744–46 under Charles de Langlade.

The Five Years' War (1744–48) so far as it affected the respective positions of the combatants in the two great valleys was without result. The declaration of war was in March, 1744, on both sides.[2]

In 1744 the Governor of Canada sent an embassy to the Six Nations, assuring them that the French would soon beat the English.[3]

In 1744 Clinton proposed the erection of a fort near Crown Point, and of another near Irondequot "to secure the fidelity of the Senecas, the strongest and most wavering of all the six confederated tribes." [4]

The scalping parties of the French are tracked in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 32, etc., with the expedition against Fort Clinton in 1747 (p. 78) and a retaliating incursion upon Montreal Island by the English (p. 81).

In 1745 both sides tried by conferences to secure the Six Nations. In July, August, and September, Beauharnois met them.[5] Delegates from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania convened under the New York jurisdiction at Albany, in October, 1745, and did what they could by treaty to disabuse the Indian mind of an apprehension which the French are charged with having raised, that the English had proposed to them to dispossess the Iroquois of their lands.[6]

Upon the abortive Crown Point expedition of 1746,[7] as well as the other military events of the war, we have *Memoirs of the Principal Transactions of the last War between the English and French in North America*, London, 1757 (102 pp.).[8] It is attributed sometimes to Shirley, who had a chief hand in instigating the preparations of the expedition. This will be seen in the letters of Shirley and Warren, in the *R. I. Col. Rec.*, v. 183, etc.; and in *Penna. Archives*, i. 689, 711, as in an *Account of the French settlements in North America . . . and the two last unsuccessful expeditions against Canada and the present on foot. By a gentleman.* Boston, 1746.[9]

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et la Vérendrye," in the *Revue Canadienne*, 2d ser., i. 342, and one on "Le nom de la Vérendrie" in *Nouvelles Soirées Canadiennes*, ii. p. 5. The Rev. Edw. D. Neill has a pamphlet, *Le Sieur de la Vérendrye and his sons, discoverers of the Rocky Mountains by way of Lakes Superior and Winnipeg*, Minneapolis, 1875. Cf. also Garneau, *Hist. du Canada*, 4th ed., ii. 96.

In the Kohl Collection (no. 128) of the Department of State there are copies of three maps in illustration. The first is a MS. map by La Vérendrye, preserved in the Dépôt de la Marine, "donnée par Monsieur de la Galissonière, 1750," which Kohl places about 1730, showing the country, with portages, forts, and trading posts, between Lake Superior and Hudson's Bay. The second (no. 129) is an Indian map made by Ochagach, likewise in the Marine. Kohl supposes it to have been carried to Europe by La Vérendrye, who used it in making the map first named. The third map (no. 130), also in the same archives, is inscribed: *Carte des nouvelles découvertes dans l'ouest du Canada et des nations qui y habitent; Dressée, dit-on, sur les Mémoires de Monsieur de la Véranderie, mais fort imparfaite à ce qu'il m'a dit. Donnée au Dépôt de la Marine par Monsieur de la Galissonière en* 1750.

[1] Cf. *Wisconsin Hist. Coll.*, iii. 197; *Hist. Mag.*, i. 295; Joseph Tassé on "Charles de Langlade" in *Revue Canadienne*, v. 881, and in his *Les Canadiens de l'ouest*, Montreal, 1878 (p. 1, etc.); also M. M. Strong, in his *Territory of Wisconsin* (Madison, 1885), p. 41.

[2] It will be found in Beatson's *Naval and Military Memoirs*, p. 144, and in the *Amer. Magazine*, i. pp. 381–84.

[3] Conrad Weiser's letter, Sept. 29, 1744, in *Penna. Archives*, i. 661.

[4] Smith's *New York*, ii. p. 71.

[5] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 22, etc.

[6] Hildeburn, *Cent. of Printing*, no. 959; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi. 289, etc.; Brinley, iii. no. 5,490. Stone, *Life of Johnson*, i. ch. iv., gives a long account. There was about the same time (1745–47) a plot laid by Nicholas, a Huron, to exterminate the French in the West. Knapp's *Maumee Valley*, p. 14. Smith (*New York*, ii. 35) gives an account of the conference of Aug., 1746.

[7] Lord John Russell, in his introduction to the *Bedford Correspondence*, i. p. xlviii., says: "Had the Duke of Bedford been allowed to order the sailing of the expedition, it is most probable the conquest of Canada would not have been reserved for the Seven Years' War; but the indecision or timidity of the Duke of Newcastle delayed and finally broke up the expedition." A representation of the Duke of Bedford and others upon the reduction of Canada, made March 30, 1746, is in *Bedford Corresp.*, i. 65.

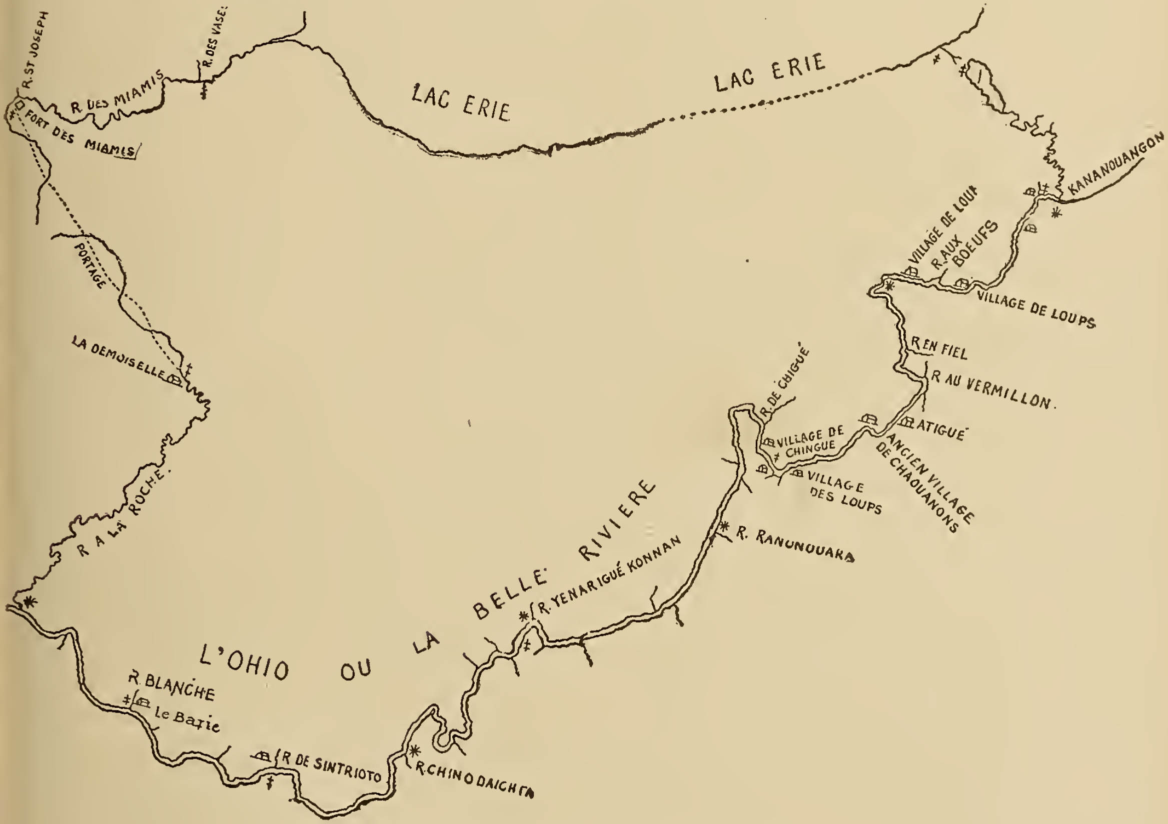
[8] Harv. Coll. lib., 4375.25; Carter-Brown, iii. 1,161; Stevens, *Bibl. Geog.*, no. 1,835.

[9] Brinley, i. 61. Cf. Stone's *Johnson*, i. 190.

A letter of Col. John Stoddard, May 13, 1747, to Governor Shirley, showing how the Six Nations had been enlisted in the proposed expedition to Canada, and deprecating its abandonment, is in *Penna. Archives*, i. 740; as well as a letter of Shirley, June 1, 1747 (p. 746).

A letter of Governor Shirley (June 29, 1747) respecting a congress of the colonies to be held in New York in September is in *Penna. Archives*, i. 754; and a letter of Conrad Weiser, doubting any success in enlisting the Six Nations in the English favor, is in *Ibid.*, p. 161.

Clinton (November 6, 1747) complains to the Duke of Bedford of De Lancey's efforts to thwart the government's aims to secure the assistance of the Six Nations for the invasion of Canada.[1]



BONNECAMP'S MAP, AFTER THE KOHL COPY.

In February, 1749–50, a long report was made to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury on the expenses incurred by the colonies during the war for the attempts to invade Canada. It is printed in the *New Jersey Archives*, 1st ser., vii. 383–400. The annual summaries on the French side, 1745–48, are in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 38, 89, 137.

A stubborn fight in 1748 with some marauding Indians near Schenectady is chronicled in Pearson's *Schenectady Patent*, p. 298.

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[1] *Bedford Correspondence*, i. 285. There was a treaty with the Ohio Indians at Philadelphia, Nov. 13, 1747 (Hildeburn, no. 1,110); and another at Lancaster in July, 1748, for admitting the Twightwees into alliance. (*Ibid.*, no. 1,111.)

In 1749 came Céloron's expedition to forestall the English by burying his plates at the mouths of the streams flowing into the Ohio. A fac-simile of the inscription on one of these plates has been given already (*ante*, p. 9).[1]

While Céloron was burying his plates, and La Galissonière was urging the home government to settle 10,000 French peasants on the Ohio, the kinsmen of Washington and others were forming in 1748 the Ohio Company, which received a royal grant of half a million acres between the Monongahela and the Kenawha rivers, on condition of settling the territory;[2] "which lands," wrote Dinwiddie,[3] "are his Majesty's undoubted right by the treaty of Lancaster and subsequent treaties at Logstown[4] on the Ohio. Colonel Thomas Cresap was employed to survey the road over the mountains, — the same later followed by Braddock.

Of the subsequent exploration by Christopher Gist, in behalf of the Ohio Company, and of George Croghan and Montour for the governor of Pennsylvania, note has been taken on an earlier page.[5] A paper on Croghan's transactions with the Indians previous to the outbreak of hostilities has been printed.[6] Referring to the Ohio region in 1749,

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[1] In addition to the references there given, note may be taken of a paper on the expedition, by O. H. Marshall, in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, ii. 129 (Mar., 1878), with reference to the original documents in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 189, and in the *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., vi. 63. Cf. Bancroft, orig. ed., iv. 43. On his plates, see *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, ix. 248; *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Jan., 1878, p. 52; and *Mag. of Western History*, June, 1885, p. 207. A representation of a broken plate found at the mouth of the Muskingum River, in 1798, is given in S. P. Hildreth's *Pioneer Hist. of the Ohio Valley*, Cincinnati, 1848, p. 20, with the inscription on the one found at the mouth of the Kenawha in 1846 (p. 23). An account of the Muskingum plate was given by De Witt Clinton in the *Amer. Antiq. Soc. Trans.*, ii. 430. Its defective inscription is given in the *Mémoires sur les Affaires du Canada*, p. 209. Cf. Sparks's *Washington*, ii. 430. Other fac-similes of these plates can be seen in *Olden Time*, p. 288; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi. 611; Egle's *Pennsylvania* (p. 318; also cf. p. 1121); De Hass's *Western Virginia*, p. 50.

The places where the plates were buried are marked on a map preserved in the Marine at Paris, made by Père Bonnecamps, who accompanied Céloron. It shows eight points where observations for latitude were taken, and extends the Alleghany River up to Lake Chautauqua. It is called *Carte d'un voyage, fait dans la belle rivière en la Nouvelle France*, 1749, *par le reverend Père Bonnecamps, Jesuite mathématicien.* There is a copy in the Kohl Collection, in the Department of State at Washington.

Kohl identifies the places of burial as follows: Kananouangon (Warren, Pa.); Rivière aux bœufs (Franklin, Pa.); R. Kanonouara (near Wheeling); R. Yenariguékonnan (Marietta); R. Chinodaichta (Pt. Pleasant, W. Va.); R. à la Roche (mouth of Great Miami River).

There are two portages marked on the map: one from Lake Chautauqua to Lake Erie, and the other from La Demoiselle on the R. à la Roche to Fort des Miamis on the R. des Miamis, flowing into Lake Erie.

In the annexed sketch of the map, the rude marks of the fleur-de-lis show "les endroits ou l'on enterré des lames de plomb;" the double daggers "les latitudes observées;" and the houses "les villages."

The map has been engraved in J. H. Newton's *Hist. of the Pan Handle, West Virginia* (Wheeling, 1879), p. 37, with a large representation of a plate found at the mouth of Wheeling Creek (p. 40).

Spotswood in 1716 had taken similar measures to mark the Valley of Virginia for the English king. John Fontaine, who accompanied him, says in his journal: "The governor had graving irons, but could not grave anything, the stones were so hard. The governor buried a bottle with a paper enclosed, on which he writ that he took possession of this place, and in the name of and for King George the First of England." Maury's *Huguenot Family*, p. 288.

[2] The home government ordered Virginia to make this grant to the Ohio Company. In 1749, 800,000 acres were granted to the Loyal Company. In 1751 the Green Briar Company received 100,000 acres. Up to 1757, Virginia had granted 3,000,000 acres west of the mountains.

[3] *Dinwiddie Papers*, i. 272. The American Revolution ended the company's existence. See *ante*, p. 10; also Rupp's *Early Hist. Western Penna.*, p. 3; Lowdermilk's *Cumberland*, p. 26; Sparks's *Washington*, ii., app.; Sparks's *Franklin*, iv. 336.

[4] This treaty was made June 13, 1752. The position of Logstown is in doubt. Cf. *Dinwiddie Papers*, i. p. 6. It appears on the map in Bouquet's *Expedition*, London, 1766. Cf. De Hass's *West. Virginia*, 70.

[5] *Ante*, p. 10

[6] *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., vi. 516, and in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vii. 267, etc.

Croghan wrote: "No people carry on the Indian trade in so regular a manner as the French."[1]

Reference has already been made (*ante*, pp. 3. 4) to the movement in 1749 of Father Piquet to influence the Iroquois through a missionary station near the head of the rapids of the St. Lawrence, on the New York side, at the site of the present Ogdensburg. The author of the *Mémoires sur le Canada*, whence the plan of La Présentation (*ante*, p. 3)[2] is taken, gives an unfavorable account of Piquet.[3]

The new French governor, Jonquière, had arrived in Quebec in August, 1749. Kalm[4] describes his reception, and it was not long before he was having a conference with the Cayugas,[5] followed the next year (1751) by another meeting with the whole body of the Iroquois.[6] His predecessor, La Galissonière,[7] was busying himself on a memoir, dated December, 1750,[8] in which he shows the great importance of endeavoring to sustain the posts connecting Canada with Louisiana, and the danger of English interference in case of a war.

William Johnson, meanwhile, was counteracting the French negotiation with the Indians as best he could;[9] and both French and English were filing their remonstrances about reciprocal encroachments on the Ohio.[10] Cadwallader Colden was telling Governor Clinton how to secure (1751) the Indian trade and fidelity,[11] the Privy Council was reporting (April 2, 1751) on the condition of affairs in New York province,[12] and the French government was registering ministerial minutes on the English encroachments on the Ohio.[13]

What instructions Duquesne had for his treatment of the Indians on the Ohio and for driving out the English may be seen in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 242.

Edward Livingston, in 1754, writing of the French intrigues with the Indians, says, "They persuade these people that the Virgin Mary was born in Paris, and that our Saviour was crucified at London by the English.[14]

The English trading-post of Picktown, or Pickawillany, at the junction of the Great Miami River and Loramie's Creek, was destroyed by the French in 1752.[15] This English post and the condition of the country are described in the "Journal of Christopher Gist's journey . . . down the Ohio, 1750, . . . thence to the Roanoke, 1751, undertaken on account of the Ohio Company," which was published in Pownall's *Topographical Description of North America*, app. (London, 1776). Gist explored the Great Miami River.[16]

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[1] *Penna. Archives*, ii. 31. William Smith, in 1756, spoke of the French "seizing all the advantages which we have neglected." (*Hist. of N. York*, Albany, 1814, Preface, p. x.)

[2] This plan is also reproduced in Hough's ed. of Pouchot, ii. 9; in Hough's *St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties*, 70; in the papers on the early settlement of Ogdensburg, in *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, i. 430.

[3] Translated in Hough's *St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties*, p. 85, where will be found an account of the mission (p. 49), and a view of it (p. 17) after the English took possession. De la Lande's "Mémoires" of Piquet are in the *Lettres Édifiantes*, vol. xv., and there is an abridged version in the *Doc. Hist. N. Y.* The Canadian historian, Joseph Tassé, gives an account of Piquet in the *Revue Canadienne*, vii. 5, 102.

[4] *Travels*, London, 1771, ii. 310.

[5] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 205, May 15, 1750.

[6] *Penna Archives*, 2d ser., vi. 108.

[7] A paper in *Hist. Mag.*, viii. 225, dwells on the impolicy of the French government in superseding Galissonière.

[8] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 220.

[9] Stone's *Johnson*; *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., vi.

[10] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi. 734; x. 239, etc.

[11] *Ibid.*, vi. 738.

[12] *Ibid.*, vi. 614-39.

[13] *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., vi. 123, 125.

[14] Sedgwick's *William Livingston*, p. 99; Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, i. p. 54.

[15] Thomson, *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 1,149; Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, i. 85. Cf. Sparks's *Franklin*, iv. 71, 330; *Contest in North America*, p. 36, etc.

[16] Thomson, nos. 449, 940. Thomas Cresap writes in 1751, "Mr. Muntour tells me the Indians on the Ohio would be very glad if the French traders were taken, for they have as great a dislike to them as we have, and think we are afraid of them, because we patiently suffer our men to be taken by them." Palmer's *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, p. 247.

Parkman[1] tells graphically the story of the incidents, in which Washington was a central figure, down to the retreat from Fort Necessity.[2] The journal of Gist, who accompanied Washington to Le Bœuf,[3] is printed in the *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxv. 101.[4]

The *Dinwiddie Papers* (vol. i. pp. 40–250) throw full light on the political purposes and other views during this interval. Parkman had copies of them, and partial use had been made of them by Chalmers. Sparks copied some of them in 1829, when they were in the possession of J. Hamilton, Cumberland Place, London, and these extracts appear among the Sparks MSS. in Harvard College library as "Operations in Virginia, 1754–57," accompanied by other copies from the office of the Board of Trade, "Operations on the Frontier of Virginia, 1754–55."[5]

The Dinwiddie papers later passed into the hands of Henry Stevens, and are described at length in his *Hist. Collections*, i. no. 1,055; and when they were sold, in 1881, they were bought by Mr. W. W. Corcoran, of Washington, and were given by him to the Virginia Historical Society, under whose auspices they were printed in 1883–4, in two volumes, edited, with an introduction and notes, by R. A. Brock.[6]

Very soon after Washington's return to Williamsburgh from Le Bœuf, his journal of that mission was put to press under the following title: *The Journal of Major George Washington, sent by the Hon. Robert Dinwiddie, Esq., his Majesty's Lieutenant-Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Virginia, to the Commandant of the French forces in Ohio; to which are added the Governor's letter and a translation of the French Officer's answer.* Williamsburgh, 1754. This original edition is so rare that I have noted but two copies.[7] It has been used by all the historians, — Sparks, Irving, Parkman, and the rest.

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[1] *Montcalm and Wolfe*, i. ch. v.

[2] His foot-notes indicate the particular papers on which he depends among the Parkman MS. in the Mass. Hist. Soc. library, as well as papers in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi. 806, 835, etc., x. 255, and in the *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, v. 659. Cf. papers on the French movements in the Ohio Valley in 1753, in the *Mag. of Western Hist.*, Aug., 1885, p. 369; and T. J. Chapman on "Washington's first public service," in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, 1885, p. 248, and on "Washington's first campaign," in *Ibid.*, Jan., 1886.

[3] Cf. *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 259, note.

[4] Cf. Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, 450.

[5] *Sparks's Catal.*, p. 224; also Sparks's *Washington*, i. 48, ii. p. x. Sparks considered that these papers "filled up the chasm occasioned by the loss of Washington's papers" in the Braddock campaign. Referring to Washington's letters during the French war, Sparks (ii., introd.) says that Washington, twenty or thirty years after they were written, caused them to be copied, after he had revised them, and it is in this amended condition they are preserved, though several originals still exist. In his reply to Mahon (Cambridge, 1852, p. 30) Sparks says that this revision by Washington showed "numerous erasures, interlineations, and corrections in almost every letter," probably meaning in those whose originals are preserved. With the canons governing Sparks as an editor, this revision was followed in his edition of *Washington's Writings*; but the historian regrets, as he reads the record in Sparks's volumes, that the Washington of the French war has partly disappeared in the riper character which he became after he had known the experiences of the American Revolution.

[6] *The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie, lieutenant-governor of the Colony of Virginia*, 1751–58, Richmond, 1883–84, 2 vols.

[7] Brinley, ii. no. 4,189, a copy which brought $560. Though described as in "the original marble wrapper," it did not have a map, as the copy noted in the *Carter-Brown Catal.* (iii. 1,033) does, though this may have been added from the London reprint of the same year, which had "a new map of the country as far as the Mississippi." This map is largely derived from Charlevoix. Trumbull, in noting this reprint (Brinley, ii. 4,190), implies that the original edition did not have a map, which may be inferred from what Washington says of its being put hurriedly to press, after he had had only a single day to write it up from his rough notes. This London reprint is also in the Carter-Brown library (iii. no. 1,034), and Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio* (no. 1,187) records sales of it as follows: (1866) Morrell, $46; (1867) Roche, $49; (1869) Morrell, $40; (1870) Rice, $52; (1871) Bangs & Co., $28; (1875) Field, $30; (1876) Menzies, $48. The Brinley copy brought $80. Cf. Rich., *Bib. Amer. Nova* (after 1700), p. 105; Field, *Indian Bibliog.*, no. 1,623; Stevens, *Hist. Coll.*, i. no. 1,618; F. S. Ellis (1884), no. 310, £7 10*s*. Sabin reprinted the London edition in 1865 (200 copies, small paper), and other reprints of the text are in Sparks's *Washington*, ii. 432–447; in I. Daniel Rupp's *Early History of Western Pennsylvania, and of the West, and of Western Expeditions and*

Sparks[1] says he found the original sworn statement of Ensign Ward, who surrendered to Contrecœur, in the Plantation Office in London, which had been sent to the government by Dinwiddie. The French officer's summons is in De Hass's *West. Virginia*, p. 60, etc.

There is another journal of Washington, of use in this study of what a contemporary synopsis of events, 1752–54, calls the "weak and small efforts" of the English.[2] It no longer exists as Washington wrote it. It fell into the hands of the French at Braddock's defeat the next year (1755), and, translated into French, it was included in a *Mémoire contenant le précis des faits, avec leurs pièces justificatives pour servir de réponse aux Observations envoyées par les ministres d'Angleterre dans les cours de l'Europe.*[3] There were quarto and duodecimo editions of this book published at Paris in 1756;[4] and the next year (1757) appeared a re-impression of the duodecimo edition[5] and an English translation, which was called *The Conduct of the late ministry, or memorial containing a summary of facts, with their vouchers, in answer to the observations sent by the English ministry to the Courts of Europe*, London, 1757.[6] Sparks says that the edition appearing with two different New York imprints (Gaine; Parker & Weyman), as *Memorial, containing a summary of the facts, with their authorities, in answer to the observations sent by the English ministry to the Courts of Europe*, was translated from a copy of the original French brought by a prize ship into New York. He calls the version "worthy of little credit, being equally uncouth in its style and faulty in its attempts to convey the sense of the original."[7] Two years later (1759) the English version again appeared in London, under the title of *The Mystery revealed, or Truth brought to Light, being a discovery of some facts, in relation to the conduct of the late ministry. . . . By a patriot.*[8]

This missing journal of Washington, and other of these papers, are given in their re-Englished form in the second Dublin edition (1757) of a tract ascribed to William Livingston: *Review of the military operations in North America from the commencement of the French hostilities on the frontiers of Virginia in* 1753 *to the surrender of Oswego,* 1756 . . . *to which are added Col. Washington's journal of his expedition to the Ohio in* 1754, *and several letters and other papers of consequence found in the cabinet of General Braddock after his defeat.*[9]

There is also in this same volume, *Précis des Faits*, a "Journal de compagne de M. de

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Campaigns, from 1754 *to* 1833. *By a gentleman of the bar. With an appendix containing the most important Indian Treaties, Journals, Topographical Descriptions*, etc. Pittsburgh, 1846, p. 392; in the appendix to the *Diary of Geo. Washington*, 1789–91, ed. by B. J. Lossing, pp. 203–248, with notes by J. G. Shea, N. Y., 1860, and Richmond, 1861; and in Blanchard's *Discovery and Conquests of the North West*, app., 1–30, Chicago, 1880.

Stevens (*Hist. Coll.*, i. p. 131) says the "original autograph of Washington's Journal" is in the Public Record Office in London.

St. Pierre's letter to Dinwiddie was also printed in the *London Magazine*, June, 1754. This and the allied correspondence are in the *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., vi. 164, etc.; and in Lossing's ed. of *Washington's Diaries.*

The letter of Holdernesse to the governors of the English colonies, authorizing force against the French, is in Sparks's *Franklin*, iii. 251. Sir Thomas Robinson's letter (July 5, 1754) urging resistance to French encroachments, with the comments of the Lords of Trade, is in the *New Jersey Archives*, viii. pp. 292, 294; where will also be found Robinson's letter (Oct. 26, 1754) urging enlistments (*Ibid.*, Part ii. p. 17.)

[1] *Washington*, ii. 7.

[2] *Penna. Archives*, ii. 233.

[3] Sparks's *Washington*, ii. 23; Field, *Indian Bibliog.*, no. 1,051, with an erroneous note; Thomson, *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 809; Leclerc, *Bib. Amer.*, no. 761.

[4] Carter-Brown, iii. nos. 1,122–24.

[5] Leclerc, *Bib. Amer.*, no. 762.

[6] Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,151; Thomson, *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 264.

[7] Sparks's *Washington*, ii. 24; Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,162; Thomson, *Bibliog. of Ohio*, nos. 811, 812. It was reprinted in 1757 in Philadelphia. Thomson, no. 810; Hildeburn, *Century of Printing*, i. 1,537.

[8] Stevens, *Bibliotheca Hist.* (1870), no. 1,383; Carter-Brown, iii. 1,229; Sabin, xii. 51,661.

[9] Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,167; Cooke, no. 2,904; Sabin, x. p. 412; Murphy, no. 1,510; Field, *Indian Bibliog.*, no. 944. It is also reprinted in *Olden Time*, vol. ii. 140–277 (Field. no. 1,052), and in Lowdermilk's *Cumberland*, p. 55, etc.

Villiers (en 1754)," which Parkman[1] says is not complete, and that historian used a perfected copy taken from the original MS. in the Archives of the Marine.[2] The summons which Jumonville was to use, together with his instructions, are in this same *Précis des Faits*. The French view of the skirmish, of the responsibility for it, and of the sequel, was industriously circulated.[3] On the English side, the *London Magazine* (1754) has the current reports, and the contemporary chronicles of the war, like Dobson's *Chronological Annals of the War* (1763) and Mante's *Hist. of the Late War* (1772), give the common impressions then prevailing. Sparks, in his *Washington* (i. p. 46; ii. pp. 25–48, 447), was the first to work up the authorities. Irving, *Life of Washington*, follows the most available sources.[4]

The Indian side of the story was given at a council held at Philadelphia in December, 1754.[5] The transaction, in its international bearings, is considered as Case xxiv. by J. F. Maurice, in his *Hostilities without Declaration of War*, 1700–1870, London, 1883.

For the battle of Great Meadows and surrender at Fort Necessity,[6] the same authorities suffice us in part, particularly Sparks;[7] and Parkman points out the dependence he puts upon a letter of Colonel Innes in the *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania*, vi. 50, and a letter of Adam Stephen in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* (no. 1,339), 1754, part of which he prints in his Appendix C.[8] The provincial interpreter,[9] Conrad Weiser, kept a journal, which is printed in the *Col. Rec. of Penna.*, vi. 150; and Parkman found in the Public Record Office in London a *Journal* of Thomas Forbes, lately a private soldier in the French service, who was with Villiers.[1] That the French acted like cowards and the English like fools is given as the Half-King's opinion, by Charles Thomson, then an usher in a Quaker grammar-school in Philadelphia, and later the secretary of Congress, in his *Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians*, London, 1759, — a volume of greater rarity than of value, in Sargent's opinion.[2]

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[1] *Montcalm and Wolfe*, i. 155.

[2] Parkman also characterizes as "short and very incorrect" the abstract of it which is printed in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vol. x.

[3] Cf. letter of Contrecœur in the *Précis des Faits;* in Pouchot's *Mémoire sur la dernière Guerre*, i. p. 14 (also Hough's translation); in *Le Politique Danois, ou l'ambition des Anglais demasquée par leurs Pirateries*, Copenhagen, 1756 (Stevens, *Bibliotheca Geographica*, no. 2,212; Sabin, xv. no. 63,831); in *Histoire de la Guerre contre les Anglois* (Geneva, 1759, two vols.), attributed to Puellin de Lumina, who speaks of "le cruel Washington;" in Thomas Balch's *Les Français en Amérique* (p. 45); in Dussieux's *Le Canada sous la domination Française*, 118; in Gaspe's *Anciens Canadiens*, 396. There are other particular references given by Parkman. Garneau's account and inferences in his *Histoire du Canada* are held to be strictly impartial. Jumonville's loss is noted in the *Collection de Manuscrits*, etc. (Quebec, 1884), vol. iii. p. 521.

[4] Poole's *Index* refers to the following: "Washington and the death of Jumonville," by W. T. Anderson, in *Canadian Monthly*, i. p. 55; "Washington and the Jumonville of M. Thomas," in *Historical Magazine*, vi. 201. The "Jumonville" of Thomas was a poem published in 1759, reflecting severely on Washington, and may be found in *Œuvres de Thomas, par M. Saint-Surin*, v. p. 47. Peter Fontaine represents the current opinion among the English, as to Jumonville's action, when he says that the French "were in ambush in the woods waiting for" Washington. (Maury's *Huguenot Family*, 361.) It is not necessary to particularize the references to Smollett, and Mahon, Marshall's *Washington*, Warburton's *Conquest of Canada*, and other obvious books; though something of local help will be found in W. H. Lowdermilk's *History of Cumberland, Maryland, from 1728 up to the present day, embracing an account of Washington's first campaign, and battle of Fort Necessity, with a history of Braddock's expedition*, etc., Washington, 1878. Sargent also goes over the events in the introduction to his *Braddock's Expedition*, p. 43, etc., and epitomizes the account by Adam Stephen in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, no. 1,343.

[5] *Col. Rec. of Penna.*, vi. 195.

[6] A view of the fort is noted in the *Catal. of Paintings, Pa. Hist. Soc.*, 1872, no. 64. A diagram of Fort Necessity and its surroundings, from a survey made in 1816, is given in Lowdermilk's *Cumberland*, p. 76. A plan of the attack is in Sparks's *Washington*, i. 56. De Hass (*Western Virginia*, 63, 65) says that in 1851 the embankments of the fort could be traced; and that at one time a proposition had been made to erect a monument on the site.

[7] *Washington*, ii. 456–68.

[8] Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*. Cf. also *Penna. Archives*, ii. 146; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 260; Walpole's *Mem. of the Reign of George II.*, 2d ed., i. p. 399.

[9] "It is a constant maxim among the Indians that if even they can speak and understand English, yet when they treat of anything that concerns their nation, they will not treat but in their own language." Journal of John Fontaine in Maury's *Huguenot Family*, p. 273.

A map of the most inhabited part of Virginia, drawn by Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson in 1751, as published later by Jefferys, and included by him in his *General Topography of North America and the West Indies*, 1768 (no. 53), shows the route of Washington in this campaign of 1754.

In Pittsburgh, 1854, was published *Memoirs of Major Robert Stobo of the Virginia Regiment*,[3] with an introduction by Neville B. Craig, following a copy of a MS., procured by James McHenry from the British Museum. The publication also included, from the Pennsylvania Archives, copies of letters (July 28, 1754), with a plan of Duquesne which Stobo sent to Washington while himself confined in that fort as a hostage, after the capitulation at Fort Necessity, as well as a copy of the articles of surrender.[4] These letters of Stobo were published by the French government in their *Précis des Faits*, where his plan of the fort is called "exact."

The most extensive account of the battle of Monongahela and of the events which led to it is contained in a volume published in 1855, by the Pennsylvania Historical Society, as no. 5 of their *Memoirs*, though some copies appeared independently. It is ordinarily quoted as Winthrop Sargent's *Braddock's Expedition*.[5] The introductory memoir goes over the ground of the rival territorial claims of France and England, and the whole narrative, including that of the battle itself (p. 112, etc.), is given with care and judgment. Then follow some papers procured in England for the Penna. Historical Society by Mr. J. R. Ingersoll. The first of these is a journal of Robert Orme, one of Braddock's aids, which is no. 212 of the King's MSS., in the British Museum.[6] It begins at Hampton on Braddock's arrival, and ends with his death, July 13. It was not unknown before, for Bancroft quotes it. Parkman later uses it, and calls it "copious and excellent." It is accompanied by plans, mentioned elsewhere. There is also a letter of Orme, which

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[1] Henry Reed added to Mahon's account in the Amer. ed. of that historian (1849), ii. 307. There is a detailed account in Lowdermilk's *Cumberland*, p. 77.

[2] *Braddock's Expedition*, p. 55; Proud's *Pennsylvania*, ii. 331. The *Enquiry* has a map of the country, and the second journal of Christian Frederic Post. The book was reprinted in Philad. in 1867. (Thomson, *Bibliog. of Ohio*, nos. 1145, 1146; Barlow's *Rough List*, no. 951, 952; H. C. lib., 5325.44.) Parkman (*Pontiac*, i. 85) refers to Thomson's tract "as designed to explain the causes of the rupture, which took place at the outbreak of the French war, and the text is supported by copious references to treaties and documents." Referring to a copy with MS. notes by Gov. Hamilton, Parkman says that the proprietary governor cavils at several unimportant points, but suffers the essential matter to pass unchallenged. Cf. *Several Conferences between . . . the Quakers and the Six Indian Nations in order to reclaim their brethren the Delaware Indians from their defection*, Newcastle upon-Tyne, 1756. (Brinley, iii. 5,497.)

[3] J. M. Lemoine epitomizes Stobo's career in his *Maple Leaves*, new series, 1873, p. 55.

[4] These articles are also in Livingston's *Review of Mil. Operations*, etc.; *Penna. Archives*, ii. 146; De Hass's *Western Virginia*, p. 67; S. P. Hildreth's *Pioneer Hist. of the Ohio Valley*, p. 36; Sparks's *Washington*, ii. 459.

[5] *History of an expedition against Fort Du Quesne, in* 1755, *under Edward Braddock. Ed. from the original MSS.*, Phila., 1855. *Contents:* — Preface. Introductory memoir, pp. 15–280; Capt. [Robert] Orme's journal, pp. 281–358; Journal of the expedition, by an unknown writer, in the possession of F. O. Morris, pp. 359–389; Braddock's instructions, etc., pp. 393–397; Letter by Col. Napier to Braddock, pp. 398–400; Fanny Braddock [by O. Goldsmith], pp. 401–406; G. Croghan's statement, pp. 407, 408; French reports of the action of the 9th July, 1755, pp. 409–413; Ballads, etc., pp. 414–416; Braddock's last night in London, pp. 417, 418; Index, pp. 419–423. Sargent was born in 1828, and died in 1870. *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, 1872, p. 88.

[6] Cf. *Catal. of Sparks MSS.*, under vol. xliii., no. 4, for the same.

Parkman quotes from the Public Record Office, London, in a volume marked *America and West Indies*, lxxiv.[1]

It will be remembered that Admiral Keppel,[2] who commanded the fleet which brought Braddock over, had furnished four cannon and a party of sailors to drag them. An officer of this party seems to have been left at Fort Cumberland during the advance, and to have kept a journal, which begins April 10, 1755, when he was first under marching orders. What he says of the fight is given as "related by some of the principal officers that day in the field." The diary ends August 18, when the writer reëmbarked at Hampton. It is this journal which is the second of the papers given by Sargent. The third is Braddock's instructions.[3]

The Duke of Cumberland, as commander-in-chief, directed through Colonel Napier a letter (November 25, 1754) to Braddock, of which we have fragments in the *Gent. Mag.*, xxvi. 269, but the whole of it is to be found only in the French version, as published by the French government in the *Précis des Faits*. Sargent also gives a translation of this, collated with the fragments referred to.

Parkman had already told the story of the Braddock campaign in his *Conspiracy of Pontiac*,[4] but, with the aid of some material not accessible to Sargent, he retold it with greater fulness in his *Montcalm and Wolfe* (vol. i. ch. 7), and his story must now stand as the ripest result of investigations in which Bancroft[5] and Sparks[6] had been, as well as Sargent, his most fortunate predecessors, for Irving[1] has done scarcely more than to avail himself gracefully of previous labors. The story as it first reached England[2] will be found in the *Gentleman's Mag.*, and, after it began to take historic proportions, is given in Mante's *Hist. of the Late War in North America*, London, 1772, and in Entick's *General History of the Late War*, London, 1772–79.[3] Braddock himself was not a man of mark to be drawn by his contemporaries, yet we get glimpses of his rather unenviable town reputation through the gossipy pen of Horace Walpole[5] and the confessions of the actress, George Anne Bellamy,[6] which Parkman and Sargent have used to heighten the color of his portraiture. He did not, moreover, escape in his London notoriety the theatrical satire of Fielding.[7] His rise in military rank can be traced in Daniel MacKinnon's *Origin and Hist. of the Coldstream Guards*, London, 1833. His

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[1] Cf. letter dated Fort Cumberland, July 18, 1755, given in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xviii. 153, with list of officers killed; also in *Hist. Mag.*, viii. 353 (Nov., 1864); and in Lowdermilk's *Cumberland*, p. 180. It describes the flight of the army.

[2] Keppel's letter to Gov. Lawrence, of Nova Scotia, is in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, Jan., 1886, p. 489.

[3] Also in the *Penna. Archives*, ii. 203 (cf. 2d series, vi. 211), and *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi. 920. In *Olden Time*, ii. 217, will be found a re-Englished form of these instructions, taken from a French version of them, which the French government published from the original, captured among Braddock's baggage.

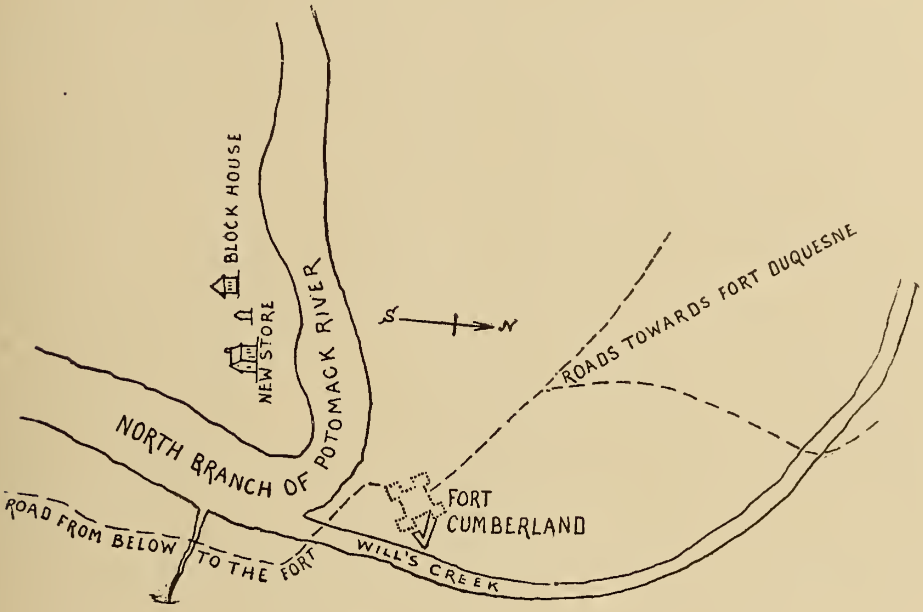
[4] Second ed., 1870, i. 101.

[5] Orig. ed., iv. 184–192; final revision, ii. 420.

[6] *Life and Writings of Washington*, vol. i., Memoir, and vol. ii. 16–26, 68–93, 468. Sparks also encountered the subject in dealing with Franklin, for the Autobiography of Franklin (*Franklin's Works*, ed. Sparks, i. 183, — some errors pointed out, p. 192; Bigelow's ed., p. 303) gives some striking pictures of the confidence of Braddock and the assurance of the public, the indignation of Braddock towards what he conceived to be the apathy if not disloyalty of the Pennsylvanians, and the assistance of Franklin himself in procuring wagons for the army (in which he advanced money never wholly repaid, — *Franklin's Works*, vii. 95). On this latter point, see Sargent, p. 164; and *Penna. Archives*, vol. ii. 294.

Neville B. Craig's *Washington's First Campaign, Death of Jumonville, and taking of Fort Necessity; also Braddock's Defeat and the March of the unfortunate General explained by a Civil Engineer*, Pittsburgh, 1848, is made up of papers from Mr. Craig's monthly publication, *The Olden Time*, published in Pittsburgh in 1846–1848, and reprinted in Cincinnati in 1876. It had a folded map of Braddock's route, repeated in the work first named. Many of these *Olden Time* papers are reprinted in the *Virginia Historical Register*, v. 121.

The full title of Craig's periodical was *The Olden Time; a monthly publication devoted to the preservation of documents and other authentic information in relation to the early explorations and the settlement of the country around the head of the Ohio.* (Cf. Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, nos. 280, 892, 893; Field, *Ind. Bibliog.*, no. 381.) Thomson refers to a similar publication of a little earlier date: *The American Pioneer. A Monthly Periodical, devoted to the objects of the Logan Historical Society; or to Collecting and Publishing Sketches relative to the Early Settlement and Successive Improvement of the Country. Edited and Published by John S. Williams.* Vol. i., Chillicothe, 1842; vol. ii., Cincinnati, 1843. After the removal of the place of publication to Cincinnati, vol. i. was reprinted, which accounts for the fact that in many copies vol. i. is dated Cincinnati, 1844, and vol. ii. 1843. The publication was discontinued at the end of no. 10, vol. ii. It contains journals of campaigns against the Indians, narratives of captivity, incidents of border warfare, biographical sketches, etc. The Logan Historical Society was first organized on July 28, 1841, at Westfall, Pickaway County, near the spot where Logan, the Mingo chief, is said to have delivered his celebrated speech. The society flourished for two or three years. Mr. Williams was the secretary of the society. An attempt was again made in 1849 to revive the society, without success.



FORT CUMBERLAND AND VICINITY.[4]

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[1] *Life of Washington*, i. ch. xiv.

[2] For 1755, pp. 378, 426. The first intelligence which Gov. Morris sent to England was from Carlisle, July 16. *Penna. Archives*, ii. 379.

[3] The latest local rendering is in W. H. Lowdermilk's *History of Cumberland (Maryland) from 1728, embracing an account of Washington's first campaign, with a history of Braddock's expedition, etc. With maps and illustrations.* Washington, D. C., 1878. It is only necessary to refer to such other later accounts as Hutchinson's *Mass.*, iii. 32; Chalmers' *Revolt*, ii. 275; Marshall's *Washington*; Grahame's *United States*; Mahon's *England*, vol. iv.; Hildreth's *United States*, ii. 459–61; Scharf's *Maryland*, i. ch. 15; J. E. Cooke's *Virginia*, p. 344; A. Matthews in the *Mag. of Western History*, i. 509; Viscount Bury's *Exodus of the Western Nations* (ii. p. 237), who quotes largely from a despatch which he found in the Archives de la Guerre (Carton marked "1755, Marine").

[4] Reduced — but not in fac-simile — from a sketch among the Sparks maps in the library of Cornell University, kindly submitted to the editor by the librarian. The original is on a sheet 14 × 12 inches, and is endorsed on the back in Washington's handwriting, apparently at a later date, "Sketch of the situation of Fort Cumberland."

[5] *Letters* (1755), and *Mem. Geo. II.*, i. 190.

[6] *Apology for her Life.*

[7] Capt. Bilkum in the *Covent Garden Tragedy*, 1732.

correspondence in America is preserved in the Public Record Office; and some of it is printed in the *Colonial Records of Penna.*, vi., and in *Olden Time*, vol. ii.[1] His plan of the campaign is illustrated in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi. 942, 954.[2] Of the council which he held at Alexandria with Shirley and others, the minutes are given in the *Doc. Hist. New York*, ii. 648.[3]

From Braddock's officers we have letters and memoranda of use in the history of the movement. The Braddock orderly books in the library of Congress (Feb. 26–June 17, 1755) are printed in the App. of Lowdermilk's *Cumberland*, p. 495. The originals are a part of the Peter Force Collection, and bear memoranda in Washington's handwriting. His quartermaster-general, Sir John St. Clair, had arrived as early as January 10, 1755, to make preliminary arrangements for the march, and to inspect Fort Cumberland,[4] which the provincials had been building as the base of operations.[5]

From Braddock's secretary, Shirley the younger, we have a letter dated May 23, 1755, which, with others, is in the *Col. Rec. of Penna.*, vi. 404, etc. Of Washington, there is a letter used by Parkman in the Public Record Office.[6] Of Gage, there is a letter to Albemarle in Keppel's *Life of Keppel*, i. 213, and in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xxxiv., p. 367, is a statement which Gage prepared for the use of Chalmers. A letter of William Johnston, commissary, dated Philadelphia, Sept. 23, 1755, is in the *Eng. Hist. Review* (Jan., 1886), vol. i. p. 150. A letter of Leslie (July 30, 1755), a lieutenant in the 44th regiment, is printed in *Hazard's Penna. Reg.*, v. 191; and *Ibid.*, vi. 104, is Dr. Walker's account of Braddock's advance in the field. Livingston, in his *Rev. of Military Operations*, 1753–56, gives a contemporary estimate.[7] Other letters and traditions are noted in *Ibid.*, iv. pp. 389, 390, 416.[8] The depositions of some of the wagoners, who led in the flight from the field, are given in *Col. Rec. of Penna.*, vi. 482.[9]

The progress of events during the preparation for the march and the final retreat can be gleaned from the *Dinwiddie Papers*. Sargent found of use the *Shippen MSS.*, in the cabinet of the *Penna. Hist. Society*. A somewhat famous sermon, preached by Samuel Davies, Aug. 17, 1755, before an independent troop in Hanover County, Va., prophesying the future career of "that heroic youth Col. Washington,"[10] shows what an impression the stories of Washington's intrepidity on the field were making upon observers. The list of the officers present, killed, and wounded, upon which Parkman depends, is in the Public Record Office.[1]

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[1] See a single letter in *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, July, 1882, p. 502, dated June 11, 1755.

[2] Braddock, at a later stage, was supplied with Evans' map, for acquiring a knowledge of the Ohio Valley. *Penna. Archives*, ii. 309, 317. There is in the Faden collection (Library of Congress), no. 4, "Capt. Snow's sketch of the country [to be traversed by Braddock] by himself and the best accounts he could receive from the Indian tribes," — a MS. dated 1754, with also Snow's original draft (no. 5).

[3] Cf. Parton's *Franklin*, i. 349. Gov. Sharpe's letter on this council is printed in Scharf's *Maryland*, vol. i. 454.

[4] A plan of Fort Cumberland, 1755, from a drawing in the King's Maps (Brit. Museum), is given in Lowdermilk's *History of Cumberland*, p. 92. (Cf. Scharf's *Maryland*, i. p. 448.) A lithographic view (1755), in Lowdermilk's *Hist. of Cumberland*, is given in a reduced wood-cut in Scharf's *Maryland*, vol. i p. 458.

[5] Cf. a memoir and portrait of St. Clair by C. R. Hildeburn, in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, 1885, p. 1.

[6] *America and West Indies*, vol. lxxxii.

[7] *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vii. 91–94. Cf. *Letter to the people of England on the present situation and conduct of national affairs* (London, 1755). Sabin, x. no. 40,651.

[8] See letter from Camp on Laurel Hill, July 12, 1755, on the defeat, in *Hist. Mag.*, vi. 160. In the *Penna. Mag. of History*, iii. p. 11, is a MS. Newsletter by Daniel Dulany, dated Annapolis, Dec. 9, 1755, giving the current accounts.

[9] Parkman notes (p. 221) as among his copies a letter of Gov. Shirley to Robinson, Nov. 5, 1755, from the Public Record Office (*Amer. and W. Indies*, lxxxii.); a report of the court of inquiry into the behavior of the troops at the Monongahela; Burd to Morris, July 25; Sinclair to Robinson, Sept. 3, etc.

[10] The sermon was printed in Philad., and reprinted in London in 1756. (Sabin, v. 18,763; Hildeburn, i. no. 1,409; Brinley, i. 218.) There are other symptoms of the time in another sermon of the same preacher, Oct. 28, 1756. (Sabin, v. 18,757.) Cf. Tyler, *Amer. Literature*, ii. p. 242; and W. H. Foote's *Sketches of Virginia* (Phil., 1850), pp. 157, 284. See further on Davies (who was later president of Princeton College) and his relations to current events in Sprague's *Annals*, iii.; John H. Rice's memoir of him in the *Lit. and Evangelical Mag.*; Albert Barnes' "Life and Times of Davies," prefixed

The news of the defeat, with such particulars as were first transmitted north, will be found in the *New Hampshire Provincial Papers*, vi. 413, and in Akins' *Pub. Doc. of Nova Scotia*, 409, etc. The shock was unexpected. Seth Pomeroy, at Albany, July 15, 1755, had written that the latest news from Braddock had come in twenty-five days, by an Indian a few days before, and it was such that, in the judgment of Shirley and Johnson, Braddock was at that time in the possession of Duquesne. (*Israel Williams MSS.*, i. p. 154.) Governor Belcher announced Braddock's defeat July 19, 1755. *New Jersey Archives*, viii., Part 2d, 117. In a letter to his assembly, Aug. 1 (*Ibid.*, p. 119), he says: "The accounts of this matter have been very various, but the most authentic is a letter from Mr. Orme wrote to Gov. Morris, of Pennsylvania."

Governor Sharp's letters to Lord Baltimore and Charles Calvert are in Scharf's *Maryland* (i. pp. 465, 466).

The Rev. Charles Chauncy, of Boston, embodied the reports as they reached him (and he might have had excellent opportunity of learning from the executive office of Governor Shirley) in a pamphlet printed at Boston shortly after (1755), *Letter to a friend, giving a concise but just account, according to the advices hitherto received, of the Ohio defeat.*[2]

Two other printed brochures are of less value. One is *The life, adventures, and surprizing deliverances of Duncan Cameron, private soldier in the regiment of foot, late Sir Peter Halket's. 3d ed., Phila.*, 1756 (16 pp.).[3] The other is what Sargent calls "a mere catch-penny production, made up perhaps of the reports of some ignorant camp follower." The *Monthly Review* at the time exposed its untrustworthiness. It is called *The expedition of Maj.-Gen'l Braddock to Virginia, . . . being extracts of letters from an officer, . . . describing the march and engagement in the woods.* London, 1755.[4]

Walpole [5] chronicles the current English view of the time.

There was a young Pennsylvanian, who was a captive in the fort, and became a witness of the preparation for Beaujeu's going out and of the jubilation over the return of the victors. What he saw and heard is told in *An Account of the Remarkable Occurrences in the life and travels of Col. James Smith during his captivity with the Indians*, 1755-59.[6]

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to *Davies' Works* (N. Y., 1851); and David Bostwick's memoir of him accompanying Davies' fulsome *Sermon on the Death of George II.* (Boston, 1761).

[1] *America and West Indies*, lxxxii. Cf. the statement of loss in *Collection de Manuscrits* (Quebec), iii. 544, and in Sargent, p. 238. The list of Braddock's killed and wounded, as reported in the *Gentleman's Mag.*, Aug., 1755, is reprinted in Lowdermilk's *Cumberland*, p. 164. There is among the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xlviii.) a paper, apparently contemporary, giving the British loss, in which Washington is marked as "wounded."

[2] It is signed T. W., and is dated Boston, Aug. 25, 1755. There were other editions the same year at Bristol and London. Cf. Carter-Brown, iii. nos. 1,039, 1,120; Thomson, *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 182; Sabin, iii. no. 12,320, x. no. 40,382; Brinley, i. no. 213; Harvard Coll. lib., 5325.46. The *O'Callaghan Catalogue*, no. 1,749, says the T. W. was "probably Timothy Walker, afterwards chief justice of the Common Pleas in Boston."

[3] Hildeburn, i. no. 1,479.

[4] Carter-Brown, iii. 1,038; Thomson, no. 106; Sabin, ii. 7,210.

[5] *Mem. of the Reign of George II.*, 2d ed., ii. 29.

[6] The book, which is very rare, was published at Lexington, Ky., in 1799. (Field, *Ind. Bibliog.*, no. 1,438; Thomson, *Bibliog. of Ohio*, 1,055.) It was reprinted in Cincinnati, in 1870 "with an appendix of illustrative notes by W. M. Darlington," as no. 5 of the *Ohio Valley Historical Series.* (Field, no. 1,440.) It was reprinted at Philad. in 1831, since dated 1834. (Brinley, iii. 5,570.) The author published an abstract of it in his *Treatise on the mode and manner of Indian war*, Paris, Ky., 1812. (Field, no. 1,439.) Parkman calls the earlier book "perhaps the best of all the numerous narratives of captives among the Indians."

There is a sketch of Col. James Smith in J. A. M'Clung's *Sketches of Western Adventure* (Dayton, Ohio, 1852). There have been other reprints of the *Remarkable Occurrences* in Drake's *Tragedies of the Wilderness* (Boston, 1841); in

Let us turn now to the French accounts. The reports which Sparks used, and which are among his MSS. in Harvard College library, were first printed by Sargent in his fourth appendix.[1] These and other French documents relating to the campaign have been edited by Dr. Shea in a collection[2] called *Relations diverses sur la bataille du Malangueulé [Monangahela] gagné le* 9 *juillet* 1755, *par les François sous M. de Beaujeu, sur les Anglois sous M. Braddock. Recueillies par Jean Marie Shea. Nouvelle York,* 1860 (xv. 51 pp.).[3]

Pouchot[4] makes it clear that the French had no expectation of doing more than check the advance of Braddock.

The peculiar difficulties which beset the politics of Pennsylvania and Virginia at this time are concisely set forth by Sargent in the introduction of his *Braddock's Expedition* (p. 61), and by Parkman in his *Montcalm and Wolfe* (vol. i. p. 329). Dulany's letter gives a contemporary view of these dissensions.[5]

The apathy of New Jersey drew forth rebuke from the Lords of Trade.[6] Scharf[7] describes the futile attempts of the governor of Maryland to induce his assembly to furnish supplies to the army.

The belief was not altogether unpopular in Pennsylvania, as well as in Virginia, that the story of French encroachments was simply circulated to make the government support the Ohio Company in their settlement of the country, and Washington complains that his report of the 1753 expedition failed to eradicate this notion in some quarters.[8] In Penn-

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J. Pritt's *Mirror of Olden Time Border Life* (Abingdon, Va., 1849); in James Wimer's *Events in Indian History* (Lancaster, 1841); and in the *Western Review*, 1821, vol. iv. (Lexington, Ky.). These titles are noted at length in Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio.*

[1] They are: 1. "Relation du combat du 9 juillet, 1755."

2. "Relation depuis le départ des trouppes de Québec, jusqu'au 30 du mois de septembre, 1755."

3. Lettre "de Monsieur Lotbinière à Monsieur le Comte d'Argenson, au Camp de Carillon, le 24 oct., 1755."

[2] One hundred copies printed.

[3] *Contents.* — Notice sur D. H. M. L. de Beaujeu [par J. G. Shea]; Relation de l'action par Mr. de Godefroy; Relation depuis le départ des trouppes de Québec jusqu'au 30 du mois de septembre, 1755; Relation de l'action par M. Pouchot; Relation du combat tirée des archives du Dépôt général de la guerre; Relation officielle, imprimée au Louvre; Relation des diuers mouvements qui se sont passés entre les François et les Anglois, 9 juillet, 1755; État de l'artillerie, munitions de guerre et autres effets appartenant aux Anglais qui se sont trouvés sur le champ de battaille; Lettre de M. Lotbinière, 24 octobre 1755; Extraits du registre du Fort Du Quesne. (Cf. Field, *Indian Bibliog.*, no. 1,394.) Shea also edited in the Cramoisy series (100 copies), as throwing some light on the battle and its hero Beaujeu, *Registres des baptesmes et sepultures qui se sont faits au Fort Du Quesne pendant les années* 1753, 1754, 1755, & 1756. *Nouvelle York,* 1859. (iv. 3–51 pp.) An English translation of this by Rev. A. A. Lambing has been published at Pittsburgh.

Cf. the French account printed in the *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., vi. 256, and the statement of the captured munitions (p. 262). Cf. *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 303, 311. Parkman (app. to vol. ii. 424) brings forward the official report of Contrecœur to Vaudreuil, July 14, 1755, and (p. 425) a letter of Dumas, July 24, 1756, written to explain his own services, both of which Parkman found in the Archives of the Marine at Paris. It has sometimes been held that Beaujeu, not Contrecœur, commanded the post. (*Hist. Mag.*, Sept., 1859, iii. p. 274.) Parkman (i. p. 221) also notes other papers among his own MSS. (copies) now in the Mass. Hist. Soc. library. There is something to be gleaned from the *Mass. Archives, Doc. collected in France* (cf. vol. ix. 211), as well as from the documents copied in Paris for the State of New York (vol. xi., etc.).

Mauralt, in his *Histoire des Abénakis* (1866), gives a chapter to "les Abénakis à la bataille de la Mononagahéla." The part which Charles Langlade, the partisan chief, took is set forth in Tassé's *Notice sur Charles Langlade* (in *Revue Canadienne* originally), in Anburey's *Travels*, and in Draper's "Recollections of Grignon" in the *Wisconsin Hist. Coll.*, iii.

[4] Vol. i. p. 38.

[5] *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, iii. p. 11.

[6] *N. Jersey Archives*, 1st ser., viii. 294. The colony was finally alarmed through fear the enemy would reach her borders. *Ibid.*, viii., Part 2d, pp. 158, 174, 179, 182, 201.

[7] *Hist. of Maryland*, i. 459.

[8] Sparks's *Washington*, ii. 218.

sylvania there were among the Quaker population unreconcilable views of Indian management and French trespassing, and similar beliefs obtained among the German and Scotch-Irish settlers on the frontiers of the province, while the English churchmen and the Catholic Irish added not a little to the incongruousness of sentiment. The rum of the traders among the Indians further complicated matters.[1] This contrariety of views, as well as a dispute with the proprietary governor over questions of taxation, paralyzed the power of Pennsylvania to protect its own frontiers, when, following upon the defeat of Braddock, the French commander thrust upon the settlements all along the exposed western limits party after party of French and Indian depredators.[2] Dumas, now in command, issued orders enough to restrain the barbarities of his packs, but the injunctions availed nothing.[3] Washington, who was put in command of a regiment of borderers at Winchester, found it impossible to exercise much control in directing them to the defence of the frontiers thereabouts.[4] Fears of slave insurrection and a hesitating house of burgesses were quite as paralyzing in Virginia as other conditions were in Pennsylvania, and the *Dinwiddie Papers* explain the gloom of the hour.

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[1] Sargent, in picturing the condition of society which thus existed, finds much help in Joseph Doddridge's *Notes of the Settlement and Indian wars of the western parts of Virginia and Pennsylvania*, 1763–1783, *with a view of the state of society and manners of the first settlers of the western country*, Wellsburgh, Va., 1824. (Sargent, *Braddock's Exped.*, p. 80; Thomson, *Bibl. of Ohio*, no. 331.) Doddridge was reprinted, with some transpositions, in Kercheval's *Hist. of the Valley of Virginia* (Winchester, 1833, and Woodstock, 1850, — Thomson, nos. 668–9); and verbatim at Albany in 1876, edited by Alfred Williams, and accompanied by a memoir of Doddridge by his daughter (Thomson, no. 332).

Another monograph of interest in this study is John A. M'Clung's *Sketches of Western Adventure . . . connected with the Settlement of the West from* 1755 *to* 1794, Maysville, Ky., 1832. Some copies have a Philadelphia imprint. There were editions at Cincinnati in 1832, 1836, 1839, 1851, and at Dayton in 1844, 1847, 1852, 1854. An amended edition, with additions by Henry Waller, was printed at Covington, Ky., 1872. (Thomson, *Bibliog. of Ohio*, nos. 745–749.)

Of some value, also, is Wills De Hass's *History of the Early Settlement and Indian Wars of Western Virginia, previous to* 1795, Wheeling, 1851. (Thomson, no. 318.)

[2] James Maury gives a contemporary comment on this harassing of the frontiers. Maury's *Huguenot Family*, p. 403. Samuel Davies pictures them in his *Virginia's Danger and Remedy* (Williamsburg, 1756).

[3] *Penna. Archives*, ii. 600; *Le Foyer Canadien*, iii. 26; Sparks's *Washington*, ii. 137.

These murderous forays can be followed in the correspondence of Washington (1756); in the *Col. Recs. of Penna.*, vii.; *Penna. Archives*, ii.; Hazard's *Penna. Reg.*; and in the French documents quoted by Parkman, i. pp. 422–26. There is a letter of John Armstrong to Richard Peters in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, July, 1882, p. 500; and local testimony in Egle's *Pennsylvania*, 616, 714, 764, 874, 1,008; Rupp's *Northumberland County*, etc., ch. v. and vi.; Newton's *Hist. of the Panhandle, West. Va.* (Wheeling, 1879); Kercheval's *Valley of Virginia*, ch. vii., etc.; U. J. Jones's *Juniata Valley* (Phil., 1876); J. F. Meginness' *Otzinachson, or the West Branch Valley of the Susquehanna* (Phil., 1857, p. 62); Scharf's *Maryland*, vol. i. 470–492; Hand Browne's *Maryland*, 226.

There is record of the provincial troops of Pennsylvania employed in these years in the *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., vol. ii. In February, 1756, Governor Morris wrote to Shirley, describing the defences he had been erecting along the borders. (*Penna. Archives*, ii. 569.) There is in *Ibid.*, xii. p. 323, a list of forts erected in Pennsylvania during this period. The enumeration shows one built in 1747, one in 1749, two in 1753, seven in 1754, eleven in 1755, twenty-one in 1756, three in 1757, three in 1758, and one in 1759. Plans are given of Forts Augusta at Shamokin, Bedford at Raystown, Ligonier at Loyalhannon, and Pitt at Pittsburgh.

In 1756, William Smith (*Hist. New York*, 1814, p. 243) says that William Johnson, within nine months after the arrival of Braddock, received £10,000 to use in securing the alliance and pacification of the Indians.

There was published in London in 1756 an *Account of conferences and treaties between Sir William Johnson and the chief Sachems, etc., on different occasions at Fort Johnson, in* 1755 *and* 1756 (Brinley, iii. no. 5,495), and in New York and Boston in 1757 a *Treaty with the Shawanese on the west branch of the Susquehanna River, by Sir Wm. Johnson* (Sabin, xv. 65,759).

[4] Irving's *Washington*, i. p. 192, etc. A map of the region under Washington's supervision, with the position of the forts, is given in Sparks' *Washington*, ii. 110. The journal of John Fontaine describes some of the forts in the Virginia backwoods. Maury's *Huguenot Family*, 245, etc.

For the Pennsylvania confusion, the views of the anti-proprietary party found expression in the *Historical Review of the Constitution and Government of Pennsylvania*, a "hotly partisan and sometimes sophistical and unfair"[1] statement, inspired and partly written by Franklin, the leader in the assembly against the Penns.[2] While the quarrel went on, and the assembly was neglecting the petitions of the borderers for the organization of a militia to protect them, the two parties indulged in crimination and recrimination, and launched various party pamphlets at each other.[3] The *Col. Records of Penna.* (vol. vi.) chronicle the progress of this conflict. We get the current comment in Franklin's letters,[4] in the histories of Pennsylvania, and in such monographs as Edmund de Schweinitz's *Life and Times of David Zeisberger* (Philad., 1870),—for the massacre at Gnadenhütten brought the Moravians within the vortex, while the histories[5] of the missions of that sect reiterate the stories of rapine and murder.

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[1] Parkman, i. 351.

[2] The book was first published in London in 1759. (Carter-Brown, iii. 1,217.) Sparks, in reprinting it in his edition of *Franklin's Works*, ii. p. 107, examines the question of Franklin's relations to its composition and publication. The book had an appendix of original papers respecting the controversy. The copy which belonged to Thomas Penn is in the Franklin Collection, now in Washington. (*U. S. Doc.*, no. 60.) Cf. *Catal. of Franklin Books in Boston Public Library*, p. 8.

[3] Dr. Franklin and the Rev. William Smith are said to have had a hand in *A Brief State of the Province of Pennsylvania, in which the conduct of their assemblies for several years past is impartially examined*, London, 1755. (Rich, *Bibl. Americana Nova* (after 1700), p. 111; Thomson, *Bibliog. of Ohio*, 1,070; Carter-Brown, iii. nos. 1,082, 1,133; Brinley, ii. no. 3,034; Cooke, no. 2,007; a third edition bears date 1756. It was reprinted by Sabin in N. Y. in 1865.) The purpose of this tract was (in the opinion of the Quakers) to make them obnoxious to the British government by showing their factious spirit of opposition to measures calculated to advance the interests of the province; and on the other side, *An Answer to an invidious pamphlet entitled A Brief State*, etc., said to be by one Cross, was published the same year in London. (Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,083; Cooke, no. 2,008; Brinley, ii. 3,035; Rich, *Bib. Am. Nov.* (after 1700), p. 111.) A sequel to the *Brief State*, etc., appeared in London in 1756 as *A Brief View of the Conduct of Pennsylvania for the year* 1755, *so far as it affected the service of the British Colonies, particularly the Expedition under the late General Braddock* (Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,132; Thomson, *Bibl. of Ohio*, no. 1,072; Cooke, no. 2,006; Brinley, ii. 3,036; Menzies, 1,580–82; Field, *Ind. Bibliog.*, 1,446; Barlow's *Rough List*, no. 937), which included an account of the contemporary incursions of the Indians along the Pennsylvania frontiers. A French version was printed in Paris the same year, under the title of *Etat présent de la Pensilvanie* (Brinley, i. 225; Murphy, 329; Quaritch, 1885, no. 29,677, £2 10*s*.). The Barlow *Rough List*, no. 930, assigns it to the Abbé Delaville. It had "une carte particulière de cette colonie."

The Quakers found a defender in *An humble apology for the Quakers, occasioned by certain gross abuses and imperfect vindications of that people, . . . to which are added Observations on A Brief View, and a much fairer method pointed out than that contained in The Brief State, to prevent the encroachments of the French*, London, 1756. (Brinley, ii. 3,041.) The latest contribution to this controversy was *A True and Impartial State of the Province of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 1759. (Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,232; Brinley, ii. 3,040; Cooke, no. 2,009.) Hildeburn (*Century of Printing*, i. no. 1,649) says it was thought to be by Franklin. Parkman (i. p. 351) calls this "an able presentation of the case of the assembly, omitting, however, essential facts." This historian adds: "Articles on the quarrel will also be found in the provincial newspapers, especially the *New York Mercury*, and in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1755 and 1756. But it is impossible to get any clear and just view of it without wading through the interminable documents concerning it in the *Colonial Records of Pennsylvania* and the *Pennsylvania Archives*."

Parkman also traces the rise of the disturbance in his *Pontiac*, i. p. 83; and refers further to Proud's *Pennsylvania*, app., and Hazard's *Penna. Reg.*, viii. 273, 293, 323.

[4] *Works*, vii. pp. 78, 84, 94, etc.

[5] Georg Henry Loskiel, *Geschichte der mission der Evangelischen Brüder unter den Indianern in Nordamerica*, Leipzig, 1789 (Thomson, *Bibl. of Ohio*, no. 732), and the English version by Christian Ignatius La Trobe, *History of the Missions of the United Brethren*, London, 1794. The massacre is described in Part iii. p. 180. (Thomson, no. 733.)

John Heckewelder, *Narrative of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Delaware and Mohegan Indians*, 1740–1808, Philadelphia, 1820. (Thomson, no. 537; cf. *Hist. Mag.*, 1875, p. 287.)

Patience ceased to be a virtue, and a "Representation"[1] to the House was finally couched in the language of a demand for protection. The assembly mocked and shirked; but the end came. A compromise was reached by the proprietaries furnishing as a free gift the money which they denied as a tax on their estates, and Franklin undertook to manage the defence of the frontiers, with such force and munitions as were now under command.[2]

Any history of the acquisition of lands by the English, particularly by Pennsylvania, shows why the Indians of the Ohio were induced at this time to side with the French.[3]

Pownall, in his treatise[4] on the colonies, classified the Indian tribes by their allegiance respectively to the English and French interests.[5] It is claimed that the Iroquois were first allured by the Dutch, through the latter's policy of strict compensation for lands, and that the retention of the Iroquois to the English interests arose from the inheritance of that policy by their successors at Albany and New York.[6]

Braddock's instructions to Shirley for the conduct of the Niagara expedition are printed in A. H. Hoyt's *Pepperrell Papers* (1874), p. 20. This abortive campaign does not occupy much space in the general histories, and Parkman offers the best account. The *Massachusetts Archives* and the legislative *Journal* of that province, as well as Shirley's letters, give the best traces of the governor's efforts to organize the campaign.[7] Some descriptive letters of the general's son, John Shirley, will be found in the *Penna. Archives*, vol. ii.[8] The best contemporary narratives in print are found in *The Conduct of Shirley briefly stated*, and in Livingston's *Review of Military Operations*.[9]

The main dependence in the giving of the story of the Lake George campaign of 1755 is, on the English side, upon the papers of Johnson himself, and they are the basis of

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There is also a chapter on "the brethren with the commissioner of Pennsylvania during the Indian war of 1755–57," in the *Memorials of the Moravian Church*, ed. by William C. Reichel (Philad., 1870), vol. i. (Field, *Indian Bibliog.*, no. 1,270.)

[1] *Penna. Archives*, ii. 485.

[2] Cf. Parton's *Franklin*, i. 357; and Franklin's *Autobiography*, Bigelow's ed., p. 319. Franklin drafted the militia act of Pennsylvania, which was passed Nov. 25, 1755. (*Gentleman's Mag.*, 1756, vol. xxvi.) In Nov., 1755, Gov. Belcher informs Sir Thomas Robinson of expected forays along the western borders of Virginia and Pennsylvania. (*New Jersey Archives*, viii., Part 2d, 149.) Even New Jersey was threatened (*Ibid.*, pp. 156, 157, 158, 160, where the Moravians are called "snakes in the grass"), and Belcher addressed the assembly (*Ibid.*, p. 162), and, Nov. 26, ordered the province's troops to march to the Delaware (*Ibid.*, p. 174). On Dec. 16 he again addressed the assembly on the danger (p. 193).

[3] Cf. Thomson's *Alienation of the Delawares*, etc.; Heckewelder's *Acc. of the Hist. of the Indian Nations*, Phil., 1819; in German, Göttingen, 1821; in French, Paris, 1822; revised in English, with notes, by W. C. Reichel, and published by Penna. Hist. Soc., 1876. (Details in Thomson's *Bibliog. of Ohio*, nos. 533–36.)

[4] *Administration of the Colonies*, ii. 205.

[5] The statement is copied in Mills' *Boundaries of Ontario*, p. 3.

[6] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, xiii., introduction; Dr. C. H. Hall's *The Dutch and the Iroquois*, N. Y., 1882,—a lecture before the Long Island Hist. Society. In Morgan's *League of the Iroquois* there is a map of their country, with the distributions of 1720, based on modern cartography. The Tuscaroras, defeated by the English in Carolina, had come north, and had joined the Iroquois in 1713, or thereabouts, converting their usual designation with the English from Five to Six Nations.

[7] Cf. *N. H. Prov. Papers*, vi. 386, etc. Various letters of Shirley are in the *Penna. Archives*, vol. ii., particularly one to De Lancey, June 1, 1755 (p. 338), on the campaign in general, and one from Oswego, July 20 (p. 381), to Gov. Morris. William Alexander wrote letters to Shirley detailing the progress of the troops from May onward (p. 348, etc.).

[8] Especially one of Sept. 8 "in a wet tent" (p. 402). A letter from Shirley himself, the next day, Sept. 9, is in the *N. H. Prov. Papers*, vi. 432. Cf. also *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi. 956. The records of the two councils of war, first determining to continue, and later to abandon, the campaign, with Shirley's announcement of the decision to Gov. Hardy, are in *Penna. Archives*, ii. 413, 423, 427, 435.

[9] Cf. also *Gent. Mag.*, 1757, p. 73; *London Mag.*, 1759, p. 594. Cf. Trumbull's *Connecticut*, ii. 370, etc.

the *Life and Times of Sir William Johnson*,[1] which, being begun by William L. Stone, was completed by a son of the same name, and published in Albany in 1865, in two volumes.[2] The preface states that Sir William's papers, as consulted by the elder Stone, consist of more than 7,000 letters and documents, which were collected from various sources, but are in good part made up of documents procured from the Johnson family in England, and of the Johnson MSS. presented to the N. Y. State library by Gen. John T. Cooper.[3] An account of Johnson's preparatory conferences with the Indians (June to Aug., 1755) is printed in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi. 964, etc., and in *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., vi. 267–99.[4] On the 22d of August Johnson held a council of war at the great carrying place,[5] whence on the 24th he wrote a letter,[6] while Col. Blanchard, of the New Hampshire regiment, a few days later (Aug. 28–30) chronicled the progress of events.[7]

The account of the fight (Sept. 8), which Johnson addressed to the governors of the assisting colonies, was printed in the *Lond. Mag.*, 1755, p. 544.[8]

The sixth volume of the *New York Col. Docs.* (London documents, 1734–1755) contains the great mass of papers preserved in the archives of the State ;[9] but reference may also be made to vols. ii. 402, and x. 355. The *Mass. Archives* supplement them, and show many letters of Shirley and Johnson about the campaign.[10] In the *Provincial Papers of New Hampshire*, vol. vi., there are various papers indicating the progress of the campaign, particularly (p. 439) a descriptive letter by Secretary Atkinson, dated Portsmouth, December 9, 1755, and addressed to the colony's agent in London. It embodies the current reports, and is copied from a draft in the Belknap papers.[11]

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[1] See particularly for this fight vol. i. 501. Stone treats the subject apologetically on controverted points. Cf. Field, *Indian Bibliog.*, no. 1,511. Johnson's letter to Hardy is given in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi. p. 1013.

[2] Various books may be cited for minor characterizations of Johnson : Mrs. Grant's *Memoirs of an American Lady* ; J. R. Simms' *Trappers of New York, or a biography of Nicholas Stoner and Nathaniel Foster, and some account of Sir William Johnson and his style of living* (Albany, 1871, with the same author's *Schoharie County*, ch. iv.), called *Frontiersmen of New York* in the second edition, — works of little literary skill ; Ketchum's *Buffalo* (1864). Parkman's first sketch was in his *Pontiac* (i. p. 90). Mr. Stone has also a paper in *Potter's Amer. Monthly*, Jan., 1875. Cf. *Lippincott's Mag.*, June, 1879, and Poole's *Index*, p. 694. His character in fiction is referred to in Stone's *Johnson*, i. p. 57.

Peter Fontaine, in 1757, wrote : "General Johnson's success was owing to his fidelity to the Indians and his generous conduct to his Indian wife, by whom he has several hopeful sons." Ann Maury's *Huguenot Family*, p. 351.

William Smith (*New York*, ii. 83), who knew Johnson, speaks of his ambition "being fanned by the party feuds between Clinton and De Lancey," Johnson attaching himself to Clinton.

[3] Many of these which cover Johnson's public career have been printed in the *Doc. Hist. N. Y.* (vol. ii. p. 543, etc.), and *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., vol. vi., not to name places of less extent.

[4] Cf. *An account of conferences held and treaties made between Maj.-Gen. Sir Wm. Johnson, Bart., and the Chief Sachems and Warriours of the Indian nations*, Lond., 1756. (Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,119 ; Stevens' *Hist. Coll.*, i. 1,455 ; Harvard Coll. lib., 5325.48.) Johnson's views on measures necessary to be taken with the Six Nations to defeat the designs of the French (July, 1754) are in *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., vi. 203.

As early as 1750–51, Johnson was telling Clinton that the French incitement of the Iroquois was worse than open war, and that the only justification for the French was that the English were doing the same thing.

[5] *N. H. Prov. Papers*, vi. 422.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 421.

[7] *Ibid*, p. 429.

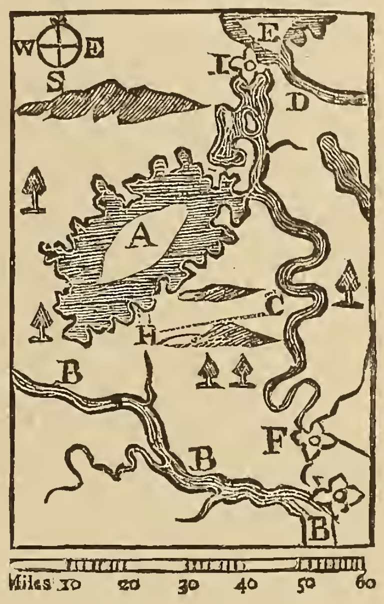
[8] Haven (Thomas, *Hist. Printing*, ii. p. 526) notes it as printed at the time separately in a three-page folio as a *Letter dated at Lake George, Sept.* 9, 1755, *to the governours of the several colonies who raised the troops on the present expedition, giving an account of the action of the preceding day.* There is a copy of a two-page folio edition in the cabinet of the Mass. Hist. Soc. Dr. O'Callaghan, in the *Doc. Hist. N. Y.* (ii. 691), copies it from the *Gent. Mag.*, vol. xxiv., and gives a map (p. 696) from that periodical, which is annexed herewith.

[9] Wraxall's letter, Sept. 10, p. 1003 ; a gunner's letter, p. 1005 ; and a list of killed and wounded, p. 1006.

[10] Shirley's commission to Johnson, and his instructions are given in the app. of Hough's ed. of *Rogers' Journal*, Albany, 1883.

[11] There is an account of Blanchard's New Hampshire regiment by C. E. Potter, in his contribution, "Military Hist. of New Hampshire, 1623–1861" (p. 129), which makes Part i. of the

The jealousy between Massachusetts and New York is explained in part by Hutchinson.[1] The Massachusetts assembly complained that Johnson's chief communication was with New York, and, as was most convenient, he sent his chief prisoners to the seaport of that province, while they should have been sent, as the assembly said, to Boston, since Massachusetts bore the chief burden of the expedition.[2] It was also complained that the £5,000 given by Parliament to Johnson was simply deducted from the appropriation for the colonies.[3]



DIESKAU'S CAMPAIGN.[5]

The jealousy of the two provinces was largely intensified in their chief men. Shirley did not hide his official eminence, and had a feeling that by naming Johnson to the command of the Crown Point expedition he had been the making of him. Johnson was not very grateful, and gained over the sympathy of De Lancey, the lieutenant-governor of New York.[4]

Parkman received copies of the journal of Seth Pomeroy from a descendant, and Bancroft had also made use of it. A letter of Pomeroy, written to headquarters in Boston, is preserved in the *Massachusetts Archives*, "Letters," iv. 109. He supposed himself at that time the only field-officer of his regiment left alive. The papers of Col. Israel Williams are in the Mass. Hist. Soc. library,[6] and

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2d vol. of the *Report of the Adj.-Gen. of N. H.* for 1866. Cf. also *N. H. Revolutionary Rolls*, Concord, 1885, vol. i. A second N. H. regiment, under Col. Peter Gilman, was later sent. (*Ibid.*, p. 144.) Col. Bagley, who commanded the garrison left in Fort William Henry the following winter, had among his troops the N. H. company of Capt. Robert Rogers. (*Ibid.*, p. 156.)

[1] *Mass. Bay*, iii. 36.

[2] The *Mass. Archives* attest this; cf. also *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, ii. 667, 677. Out of a reimbursement of £115,000 made by Parliament to be shared proportionately, Massachusetts was given £54,000 and New York £15,000, while Connecticut got £26,000, — Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and New Jersey the rest. (Parkman, i. 382.) The rolls which show the numbers of troops which Massachusetts sent on the successive "Crown Point expeditions," 1755–60, are in the *Mass. Archives*, vols. xciii.–xcviii.

[3] The friends of Gen. Lyman were angry at Johnson for his neglect in his report to give him any share of the credit of the victory. Cf. Fowler's *Hist. of Durham, Conn.*, 108; Coleman's *Lyman Family* (Albany, 1872), p. 204. A letter from Gen. Lyman to his wife is given by Fowler, p. 133.

[4] Parkman (vol. i. p. 327) touches on this unpleasantness, referring to *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vols. vi. and vii., Smith's *Hist. of New York*, and Livingston's *Review of Military Operations;* and adds that both Smith and Livingston were personally cognizant of the course of the dispute.

[5] Fac-simile of the map in the *Gentleman's Mag.*, xxv. 525 (Nov., 1755), which is thus explained: "The French imagined the English army would have crossed the carrying place from Fort Nicholson at G [B in southeast corner?] to Fort Anne at F, and accordingly had staked Wood Creek at C to prevent their navigation; but Gen. Johnson, being informed of it, continued his route on Hudson's River to H. The French marched from C to attack his advanced detachments near the lake. The dotted lines show their march. A, Lake George, or Sacrament. B, Hudson's River. C, Wood Creek. D, Otter Creek. E, Lake Champlain. F, Fort Anne. G, Fort Nicholson. H, the place where Gen. Johnson beat the French. H C, the route of the French."

A copy of the map used by Dieskau on his advance, and found among his baggage, as well as plans of the fort at Crown Point, are among the Peter Force maps in the Library of Congress. A MS. "Draught of Lake George and part of Hudson's river taken Sept. 1756 by Joshua Loring" is also among the Faden maps (no. 19); as is also Samuel Langdon's MS. *Map of New Hampshire and the Adjacent Country* (MS.), with a corner map of the St. Lawrence above Montreal, including observations of Lieut. John Stark.

[6] Cf. vol. i. pp. 174, 182, 184, etc. They

give considerable help. The campaign letters of Surgeon Thomas Williams, of Deerfield, addressed chiefly to his wife (1755 and 1756), are in the possession of William L. Stone, and are printed in the *Historical Magazine*, xvii. 209, etc. (Apr., 1870).[1] The French found in the pocket of a captured English officer a diary of the campaign, of which Parkman discovered a French version in the Archives of the Marine.

The Rev. Samuel Chandler, who joined the camp at Lake George in October as chaplain of a Massachusetts regiment, kept a diary, in which he records some details of the previous fights, as he picked them up in camp, giving a little diagram of the ambush into which Williams was led.[2] In it are enumerated (p. 354) the various reasons, as he understood them, on account of which the further pursuit of the campaign was abandoned. Johnson's chief of ordnance, William Eyre, advised him that his cannon were not sufficient to attack Ticonderoga.[3] Parkman speaks of the text accompanying Blodget's print[4] and the *Second Letter to a Friend* as "excellent for information as to the condition of the ground and the position of the combatants." Some months later, and making use of Blodget, Timothy Clement also published in Boston another print, which likewise shows the positions of the regiments after the battle and during the building of Fort William Henry.[5]

There are three contemporary printed comments on the campaign. The first is a sequel to the letter written by Charles Chauncy on Braddock's defeat, which was printed at Boston, signed T. W., dated Sept. 29, 1755, and called *A second Letter to a Friend; giving a more particular narrative of the defeat of the French army at Lake George by the New England troops, than has yet been published, . . . to which is added an account of what the New England governments have done to carry into effect the design against Crown Point, as will show the necessity of their being helped by Great Britain, in point of money.*[6] This and the previous letter were also published together under the title

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include Pomeroy's account of the fight of Sept. 8, 1755, addressed to his wife; a letter of Perez Marsh, dated at Lake George, Sept. 26, 1755; and a list of the killed, wounded, and missing in Col. Williams' regiment in the same action, with a summary of the killed in the whole army, 191 in all.

[1] They are from Albany, June 6, 1755, July 12; from the carrying place, Aug. 14, 17, 23; from Lake George, Sept. 11, 26, Oct. 8, 19, Nov. 2; from Albany, June 19, 1756; from Stillwater, July 16; from Albany, July 31, August 25, 28, Sept. 2.

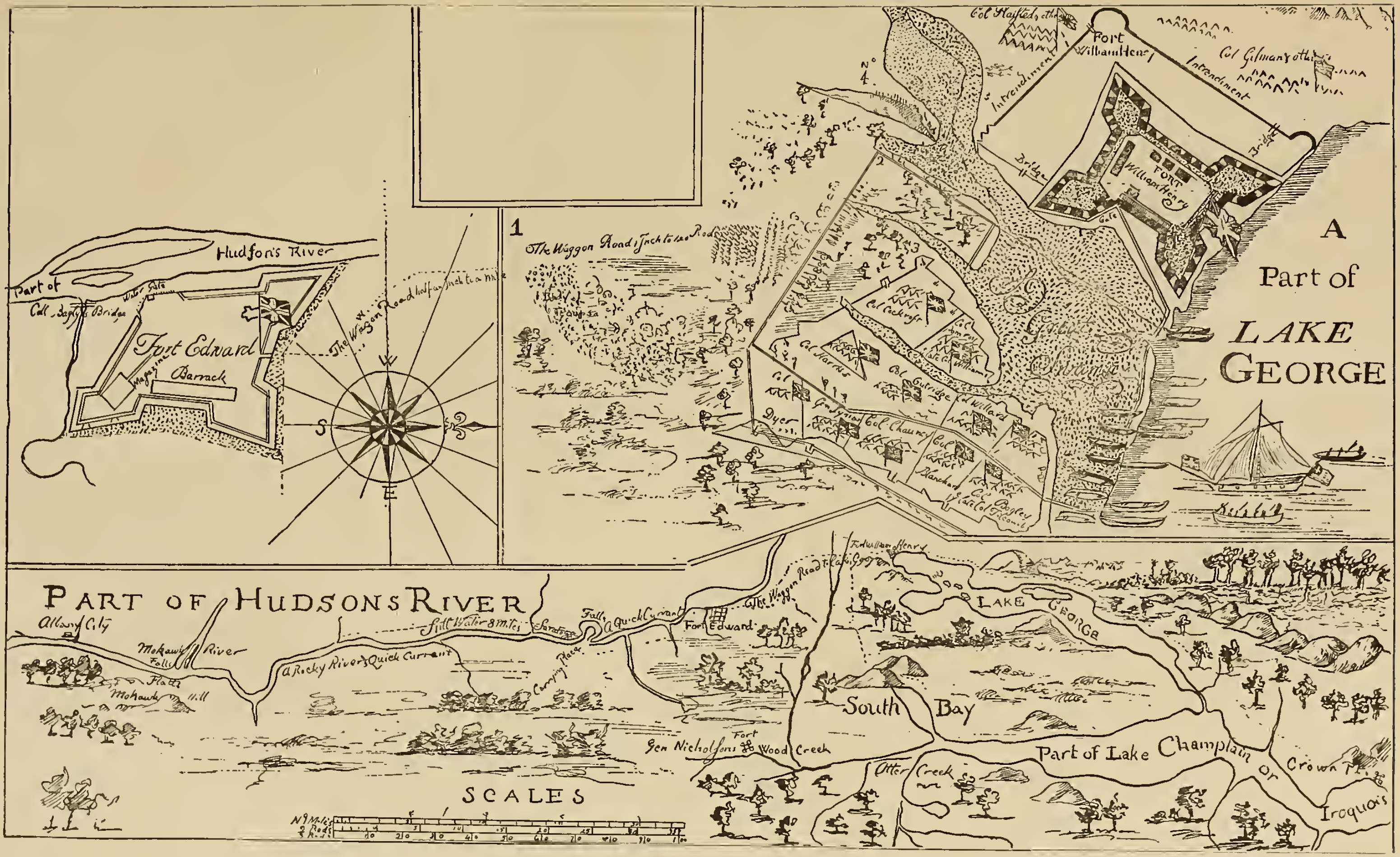
[2] Printed in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Oct., 1863, p. 346, etc.

[3] Stone's *Johnson*, i. 523.

[4] Samuel Blodget's *Prospective plan of the battle near Lake George, on the eighth day of September*, 1755, *with an explanation thereof; containing a full, tho' short History of that important affair*, was engraved by Thomas Johnston, and published in Boston by Richard Draper, 1755. (Brinley, i. 209.) The size of the plate is 14 × 18 inches, and the text is called *Account of the engagement near Lake George, with a whole sheet plan of the encampment and view of the battle between the English and the French and Indians* (4to, pp. 5). It is dedicated to Gov. Shirley. A copy belonging to W. H. Whitmore is at present in the gallery of the Bostonian Society, Old State House, Boston. It was reëngraved ("not very accurately," says Trumbull) by Jefferys in London, and was published Feb. 2, 1756, accompanied by *An Explanation . . . by Samuel Blodget, occasionally at the Camp, when the battle was fought.* (Sabin, ii. 5,955; Harv. Coll. library, 5325.45.) Jefferys inserted the plate also in his *General Topog. of North America and the West Indies*, London, 1768. It was from Jefferys' reproduction that it was repeated in Bancroft's *United States* (orig. ed., iv. 210); in Gay's *Pop. Hist. United States*, iii. p. 288; in *Doc. Hist. New York*, iv. 169; and in Dr. Hough's ed. of *Pouchot*. The plate shows two engagements, with a side chart of the Hudson from New York upwards: *first*, the ambuscade in which Williams and Hendrick were killed; and *second*, the attack of Dieskau on the hastily formed breastwork at the lake. The plate, as engraved by Jefferys, is entitled *A prospective View of the Battle fought near Lake George on the 8th of Sepr*, 1755, *between* 2,000 *English and* 250 *Mohawks under the Command of Genl Johnson, and* 2,500 *French and Indians under the Command of Genl Dieskau, in which the English were victorious, captivating the French General, with a number of his men, killing* 700 *and putting the rest to flight.*

[5] The annexed fac-simile is after a copy of this print in the library of the American Antiquarian Society.

[6] Carter-Brown, iii. 1,068; Harvard Coll. lib., 4376.37.


A Part of LAKE GEORGE
Fort William Henry
Fort William Henry
Col Gilman & others
Col Hasted & others
Intrenchment
Intrenchment
Bridge
Bridge
Gate
No 4.
2
1
The Waggon Road 1 Inch to 100 Rods
Col Cockroft
Col Williams
Col Harris
Col Gutridge
Col Willard
Col Dyer
Gen Lyman
Col Chauncy
Col Blanchard
Col Bagley
Col Titcomb
Hudson's River
Part of
Col Lydius Bridge
Water Gate
Fort Edward
Magazine
Barrack
The Waggon Road half an Inch to a Mile
W
S
E
PART OF HUDSONS RIVER
Albany City
Mohawk Falls
River
Flatts
Mohawk Hill
A Rocky River & Quick Current
Still Water 8 miles
Saratoga
Camping Place
Falls
A Quick Current
Fort Edward
The Waggon Road to Lake George
Fort William Henry
LAKE GEORGE
South Bay
Gen Nicholson's Fort
Wood Creek
Otter Creek
Part of Lake Champlain or Iroquois
Crown Pt.
SCALES
Miles
Rods

NOTE.

The sketch on the other side of this leaf follows an engraving, unique so far as the editor knows, which is preserved in the library of the American Antiquarian Society. It is too defective to give good photographic results. The print was "engraved and printed by Thomas Johnston, Boston, New England, April, 1756."

The key at the top reads thus: "(1.) The place where the brave Coll. Williams was ambush'^{d} & killed, his men fighting in a retreat to the main body of our army. Also where Cap^t McGennes of York, and Cap^t Fulsom of New Hampshire bravely attack'd y^e enemy, killing many. The rest fled, leaving their packs and prisoners, and also (2.) shews the place where the valiant Col. Titcomb was killed, it being the westerly corner of the land defended in y^e general engagement, which is circumscribed with a double line, westerly and southerly; (3.) with the s^d double line, in y^e form of our army's entrenchments, which shows the Gen. and each Col. apartment. (4.) A Hill from which the enemy did us much harm and during the engagement the enemy had great advantage, they laying behind trees we had fell within gun-shot of our front. (W.) The place where the waggoners were killed."

On the lower map is: "The prick'^{d} line from South bay shews where Gen. Dieskau landed & y^e way he march'^{d} to attack our forces."

The two forts are described: "Fort Edward was built, 1755, of timber and earth, 16 feet high and 22 feet thick & has six cannon on its rampart."

"This fort [William Henry] is built of timber and earth, 22 feet high and 25 feet thick and part of it 32. Mounts 14 cannon, 33 & 18 pounders."

The dedication in the upper left-hand corner reads: "To his Excellency William Shirley, esq., Captain general and Gov^r-in-chief in and over his Majesty's Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, Major General and Commander-in-chief of all his Majesty's land forces in North America; and to the legislators of the several provinces concerned in the expeditions to Crown Point, — this plan of Hudson River from Albany to Fort Edward (and the road from thence to Lake George as surveyed), Lake George, the Narrows, Crown Point, part of Lake Champlain, with its South bay and Wood Creek, according to the best accounts from the French general's plan and other observations (by scale No. 1) & an exact plan of Fort Edward & William Henry (by scale No. 2) and the west end of Lake George and of the land defended on the 8th of Sept. last, and of the Army's Intrenchments afterward (by scale 3) and sundry particulars respecting y^e late Engagement with the distance and bearing of Crown Point and Wood Creek from No. 4, by your most devoted, humble servant, TIM^o CLEMENT, *Surv^r* Have^l Feb. 10, 1756."

Two letters to a friend on the present critical conjuncture of affairs in North America; with an account of the action at Lake George, Boston, 1755.[1]

The second is William Livingston's *Review of the military operations in North America from* . . . 1753 to . . . 1756, *interspersed with various observations, characters, and anecdotes, necessary to give light into the conduct of American transactions in general, and more especially into the political management of affairs in New York. In a letter to a nobleman*, London, 1757.[2]

The third is, like the tract last named, a defence of the commanding general of all the British forces in America, and is said to have been written by Shirley himself, and is called *The Conduct of Major-General Shirley, late General and Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's forces in North America, briefly stated*, London, 1758.[3]

Dwight, in his *Travels in New England and New York* (vol. iii. 361), and Hoyt, in his *Antiquarian Researches on the Indian Wars* (p. 279), wrote when some of the combatants were still living. Dwight was the earliest to do General Lyman justice. Stone claims that the official accounts discredit the story told by Dwight, that Dieskau was finally shot, after his army's flight, by a soldier, who thought the wounded general was feeling for a pistol, when he was searching for his watch.[4]

Daniel Dulany, in a MS. News-letter after the fashion of the day, gives the current accounts of the fight.[5]

The story of the fight had been early told (1851) by Parkman in his *Pontiac*, revised in his second edition; [6] and was again recast by him in the *Atlantic Monthly* (Oct., 1884), before the narrative finally appeared in ch. ix. of the first volume of his *Montcalm and Wolfe*.[7]

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[1] Haven (in Thomas), ii. 525, who assigns it to Samuel Cooper. It was reprinted in London, 1755. Brinley, i. no. 214.

[2] Thomson, *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 725. Other editions: Dublin, 1757; New England, 1758; New York, 1770. Cf. Carter-Brown, iii. nos. 1,166, 1,762; Cooke, no. 2,146; Barlow's *Rough List*, no. 944. It is reprinted in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vii. 67. Cf. estimate of the book in Tyler, *Amer. Literature*, ii. 222.

Stone, *Life of Johnson*, i. 202, says that the coincidences between passages in this letter and others in William Smith's *Hist. of New York* are so striking as to warrant the conclusion that Smith must have had a share in the *Review*.

Sedgwick (*Wm. Livingston*, p. 114) says: "Allowance is to be made for its bitter attacks upon the character of De Lancey, Pownall, and Johnson." William Smith, alleged to have been a party to its production, says: "No reply was ever made to it; it was universally read and talked of in London, and worked consequences of private and public utility. General Shirley emerged from a load of obloquy." De Lancey (Jones' *N. Y. during the Rev.*, i. 436) holds that, while Livingston was doubtless cognizant of its publication, its real author was probably William Smith.

[3] Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,196; Harv. Coll. lib., 4375.25. It is sometimes ascribed to William Alexander, Earl of Stirling.

[4] The histories have usually stated that Dieskau was mortally wounded, and Bancroft (*United States*, iv. 207), in his original edition speaking of him as "incurably wounded," has changed it in his final revision (vol. ii. 435) to "mortally wounded," — hardly true in the usual acceptation of the word, since Dieskau lived for a dozen years, though his wounds were indeed the ultimate cause of his death.

[5] *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, iii. p. 11.

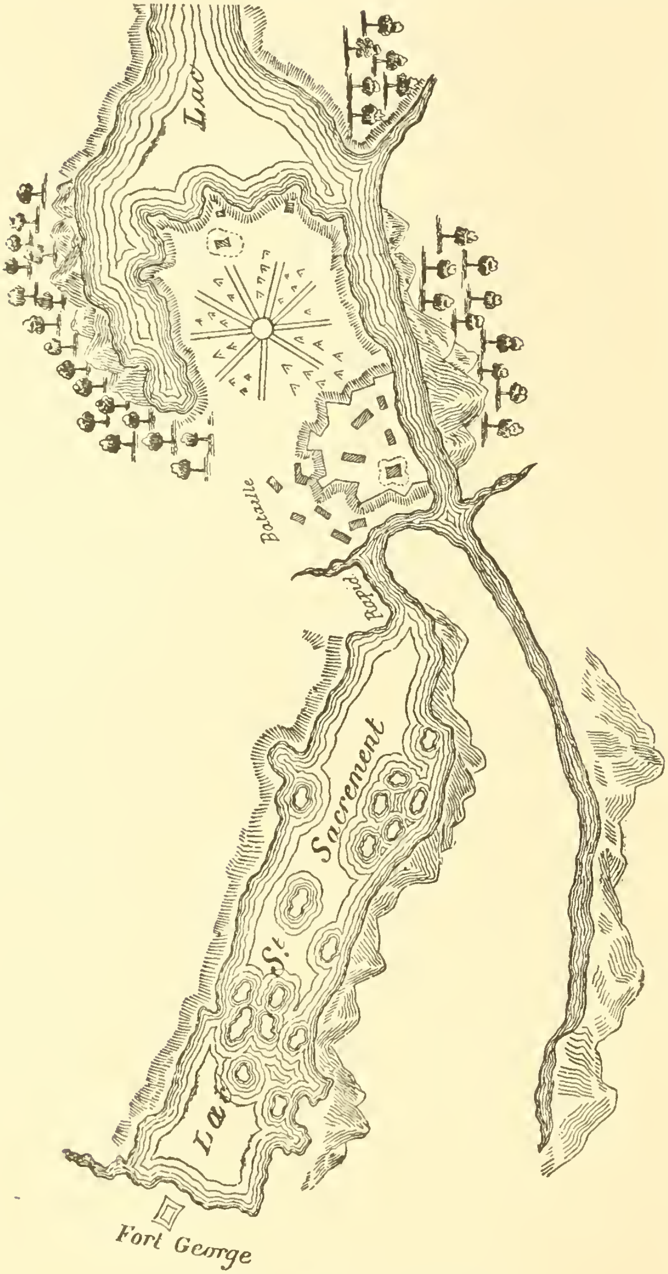
[6] Vol. i. 115.

[7] Cf. further Entick, i. 153; Hutchinson, iii. 35; Smith's *New York*, ii. 214; Minot, i. 251; Trumbull's *Conn.*, ii. 368; Palfrey, Compend. ed., iv. 217; Gay, iii. 283; Barry, ii. 191, etc.; and among local authorities, Holland's *Western Mass.*; Holden's *Queensbury*, p. 285; Palmer's *Lake Champlain*; Watson's *Essex County* (1869), ch. iv.; De Costa's *Hist. of Fort George* (New York, 1871; also Sabin's *Bibliopolist*, iii. *passim*, and ix. 39.)

As to Hendrick, see Schoolcraft's *Notes of the Iroquois*; Campbell's *Annals of Tryon County*; N. S. Benton's *Hist. of Herkimer County*, ch. i.

Rev. Cortlandt Van Rensselaer delivered a centennial address at Caldwell in 1855, which is in his *Sermons, Essays, and Addresses* (Philad., 1861), and Stone (i. 547) makes extracts regarding the grave and monument of Williams. Joseph White delivered a discourse on Williams before the alumni of Williams College in 1855. Cf. the histories of that college.

A Ballad concerning the fight between the English and French at Lake George, a broadside in double column, was published at Boston in 1755. (Haven, in Thomas, ii. 523.) Parkman (i. 317) cites another, "The Christian Hero," in *Tilden's Poems*, 1756.



FORT GEORGE AND TICONDEROGA.[5]

On the French side, the official report of Dieskau[1] was used by Parkman in a copy belonging to Sparks, obtained from the French war archives, and this with other letters of Dieskau — one to D'Argenson, Sept. 14; another to Vaudreuil, Sept. 15 — can be found in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vol. x. pp. 316, 318 (Paris Documents, 1745–78),[2] as can the reports of Dieskau's adjutant, Montreuil (p. 335), particularly those of Aug. 31 and Oct. 1, which, with other papers, are also preserved in the *Mass. Archives, documents collected in France* (MSS.), ix. 241, 265.[3] The report made by Vaudreuil,[4] as well as his strictures on Dieskau, is preserved in the Archives de la Marine, as is a long account by Bigot (Oct. 4, 1755), — both of which are used by Parkman. Cf. also the French narratives in the *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., vi. 320, 324, 330. There is also in this same collection (p. 316) a Journal of occurrences, July 23 to Sept. 30, 1755, which is also in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. p. 337, where are other contemporary accounts, like the letter of Doreil to D'Argenson (p. 360) and those of Lotbinière (pp. 365, 369). The *Mémoires* of Pouchot is the main early printed French source; though there was a contemporary *Gazette*, printed in Paris, which will be found in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. p. 383.

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[1] What he hoped of the campaign is expressed in his letter to Doreil, Aug. 16 (*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 311). Dieskau's commission and instructions (Aug. 15, 1755) from the home government, as well as Vaudreuil's instructions to him, are in *Ibid.*, x. 285, 286, 327, and in the original French in *Coll. de Manuscrits* (Quebec), iii. p. 548.

[2] Here also (pp. 381, 397), as well as in the *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., vi. 341, will be found the usual annual reports of "occurrences" transmitted to Paris.

[3] Printed in *Coll. de Manuscrits* (Quebec), iv. p. 1, as is also a letter of Dieskau from the English Camp (p. 5), and a letter of Montreuil of Sept. 18 (p. 6).

[4] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 318.

[5] After an inaccurate plan in the contempo-

A paper in the Archives de la Guerre is thought by Parkman to have been inspired by Dieskau himself, and, in spite of its fanciful form, to be a sober statement of the events of the campaign. It is called *Dialogue entre le Maréchal de Saxe et le Baron de Dieskau aux Champs Elysées.*[1] Some of the events subsequently related by Dieskau to Diderot are noticed in the latter's *Mémoires* (1830 ed.), i. 402.

Henry Stevens, of London, offered for sale in 1872, in his *Bibliotheca Geographica*, no. 553, a manuscript record of events between 1755 and 1760, which came from the family of the Chevalier de Levis. It purports to be the annual record of the French commanders in the field, beginning with Dieskau, for six successive campaigns. Stevens, comparing this record of Dieskau with such of the papers as are printed in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, where they were copied from the documents as they reached the government in France, says that the latter are shown by the collection to have been "cooked up for the home eye in France," and that "we lose all sympathy for the unfortunate Dieskau." Stevens refers particularly to two long letters of Dieskau, Sept. 1 and 4, sent to Vaudreuil.[2]

The feeling was rapidly growing that the next campaign should be a vigorous one. Gov. Belcher (Sept. 3, 1755) enforces his opinion to Sir John St. Clair, that "Canada must be rooted out."[3] The *Gentleman's Magazine* printed papers of similar import.

In November, 1755, Belcher had written to Shirley, "Things look to me as if the coming year will be the criterion whereby we shall be able to conclude whether the French shall drive us into the sea, or whether King George shall be emperour of North America."[4] In December, Shirley assembled a congress of governors at New York, and laid his plans before them.[5] When Shirley returned to Boston in Jan., 1756, the *Journal* of the Mass. House of Representatives discloses how active he was in preparing for his projects.[6] Stone[7] portrays the arrangements.

To Stone,[8] too, we must turn to learn the efforts of Johnson to propitiate the Indians,[9] in which he was perplexed by the movements in Pennsylvania and Virginia against the tribes in that region.[10] The printed contemporary source, showing Johnson's endeavors

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rary *Mémoires sur le Canada*, 1749–1760, as published by the Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Quebec (réimpression), 1873, p. 98. The French accounts often call Fort William Henry Fort George. Cf. the map in Moore's *Diary of the Amer. Revolution*, i. p. 79.

The *Catal. of the King's Maps* (Brit. Mus.), i. 424, shows a drawn map of the fort at the head of Lake George, under date of 1759, and (p. 425) another of the lake itself.

[1] It is translated in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 340, and is accompanied (p. 342) by a diagram of the *cul-de-sac* which received the English.

[2] This seems to be the document which Parkman quotes as *Livre d'Ordres*, now in the possession of Abbé Verreau. Parkman does not think it materially modifies the despatches as filed in Paris.

[3] *New Jersey Archives*, viii., Part 2d, 133; also see pp. 137, 149, 188.

[4] *New Jersey Archives*, viii., Pt. 2d, p. 168.

[5] Smith's *New York*, ii. 224; *N. H. Prov. Papers*, vi. 460, 463; *The Conduct of Gen^{l} Shirley*, pp. 53–56; Livingston's *Rev. of Mil. Operations*.

[6] One of his projects, which he had to abandon, was a winter attack on Ticonderoga. (*N. H. Prov. Papers*, vi. 461, 467.) He explained in Feb. to Gov. Morris, of Penna., his views of the campaign. (*Penna. Archives*, ii. 579.) Cf. also *N. H. Prov. Papers*, vi. 480.

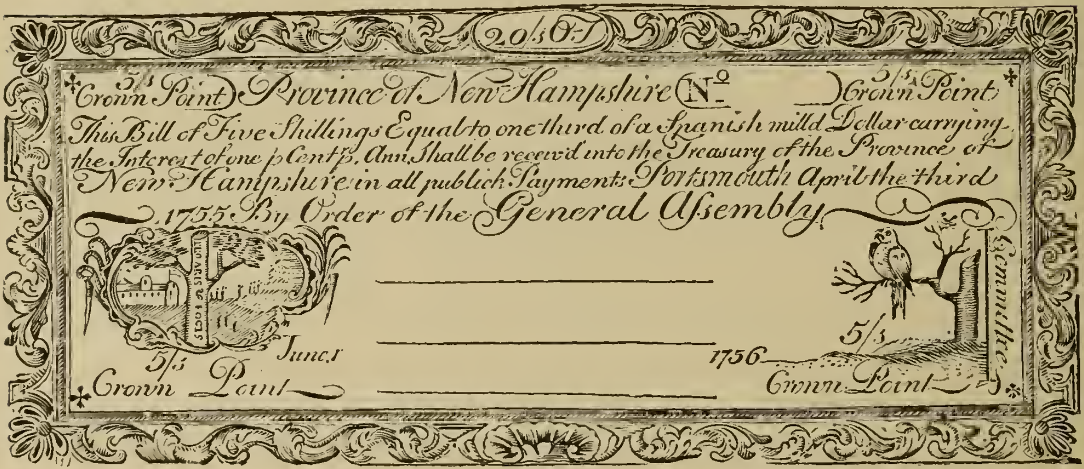
[7] *Johnson*, i. 536.

[8] Vol. ii. ch. i. Cf. also Parkman, i. 392–3.

[9] Johnson had held a conference with them at Lake George shortly after the fight (Sept. 11). *Penna. Archives*, ii. 407.

[10] Cf. L. C. Draper's "Expedition against the Shawanoes," in the *Virginia Historical Register* (vol. v. 61). Later in the season the Pennsylvanians (July and Nov., 1756) sought to quiet the tribes by conferences at Easton. Cf. *Penna. Archives*, ii. 722, etc., and Sparks' note in *Franklin's Works*, vii. 125, and the histories of Pennsylvania, and *Several Conferences of the Quakers and the deputies from the Six Indian Nations, in order to reclaim the Delaware Indians*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1756, noted in Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,118. Hildeburn, i. nos. 1,538, 1,539, 1,540, and the *Catal. of works relating to Franklin in*

with the Indians, is the *Account of Conferences*, London, 1756, which may be complemented by much in the *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, vols. i. and iv. Thomas Pownall published in New York, in 1756, *Proposals for securing the friendship of the Five Nations*. As the campaign went on, Johnson held conferences at Fort Johnson, July 21 (of which, under date of Aug. 12, he prepared a journal), and attended later meetings at German Flats, Aug. 24–Sept. 3, and again at Fort Johnson. These will be found in the *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., vi. 461–496;[1] and in the same volume, pp. 365–376, will be found the conference of deputies of the Five Nations, July 28, 1756, with Vaudreuil, at Montreal.[2]



20/s O.T

5/s Crown Point Province of New Hampshire No. 5/s Crown Point

This Bill of Five Shillings Equal to one third of a Spanish milld Dollar carrying the Interest of one p Cent p. Ann. Shall be receiv'd into the Treasury of the Province of New Hampshire in all publick Payments Portsmouth April the third 1755 By Order of the General Assembly

June 1 1756

5/s Crown Point

5/s Crown Point

Committee

CROWN POINT CURRENCY OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.[3]

The early events of the year, like the capture of Fort Bull,[4] find illustrations in various papers in the *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, vol. i. 509, and *N. Y. Col. Docs.* x. 403, with some local associations in Benton's *Herkimer County*.

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the Boston Public Library, p. 35, give these various publications. The opposition of the Quakers to the war was still an occasion of attacks upon them. Cf. *A true relation of a bloody battle fought between George and Lewis* (Philad., 1756), noted in Hildeburn, i. no. 1,476. In Jan., the New Jersey government had made a treaty at Croswicks, and the proceedings of the conference were printed at Philad. (Cf. Hildeburn, i. no. 1,504; Haven, in Thomas, ii. p. 530.) Governor Sharp erected Fort Frederick for the defence of the Maryland frontier. Its ruins are shown in Scharf's *Maryland*, i. 491.

Among the accounts of "captivities" which grew out of the frontier warfare of Pennsylvania, the *Narrative of the sufferings and surprising deliverance of William and Elizabeth Fleming* was one of the most popular. It was printed in Philadelphia, Lancaster (Pa.), and Boston, in 1756, in English, and at Lancaster in German. (Hildeburn, nos. 1,465–1,468.) The *Captivity of Hugh Gibson* among the Delawares, 1756–59, is printed in the *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxv. 141. A *Journal of the Captivity of Jean Lowry and her children, giving an account of her being taken by the Indians, April* 1, 1756, *in the Rocky Spring settlement in Pennsylvania*, was printed in Philadelphia in 1760. (Hildeburn, *Century of Printing*, i. no. 1,683.) On the Indian depredations at Juniata in 1756, see Egle's *Hist. Register*, iii. 54.

[1] In the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vii., these conferences of 1756 can be followed equally well, beginning with a long paper by the secretary of Indian affairs, Peter Wraxall, in which he examines the causes of the declension of British interests with the Six Nations (p. 15), with records of conferences from March through the season (pp. 44, 91, 130, 171, 229, 244).

[2] Cf. the instructions given to Vaudreuil, Apr. 1, 1755, touching his conduct towards the English, in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 295, and *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., vi. 239.

[3] From an original bill in an illustrated copy of *Historical Sketches of the Paper Currency of the American Colonies, by Henry Phillips, Jr.*, Roxbury, 1865, — in Harvard College library.

[4] *Conduct of Shirley*, etc., p. 76; Pouchot's *Mémoires*, i. 76; Parkman, i. 375.

The centre of preparation for the campaign during the winter was in Boston, and Parkman[1] shows the methods of military organization which the New England colonies, with some detriment to efficiency employed. He finds his material for the sketch in the manuscripts of the *Mass. Archives* ("Military"), vols. lxxv. and lxxvi., and in equivalent printed papers in *R. I. Colonial Records*, v., and *N. H. Provincial Papers*, vi. The latter colony issued bills this year, as they had the previous season, called Crown Point currency, in aid of the expedition, a fac-simile of one of which is annexed.[2]

Another main source for these preliminaries, as well as for the routine of the campaign later in Albany and at Lake George is the *Journal* of General John Winslow, who, after some coquetting with Pepperrell on Shirley's part, was finally selected for the command of the expedition against Crown Point.[3] The second volume of this journal, which is in the library of the Mass. Hist. Society, covers Feb.–Aug., and the third, Aug.–Dec., 1756. They consist of transcripts of letters, orders, etc., chronologically arranged.

The volumes labelled "Letters" in the *Massachusetts Archives* (MSS.) contain various letters, which depict the condition of the camps and the progress of the campaign. Parkman[4] refers to them, as well as to a report of Lieut.-Col. Burton to Loudon on the condition of the camps,[5] and to the journal of John Graham, a chaplain in Lyman's Connecticut regiment.[6]

Shirley rightfully understood the value of Oswego to the colonies. As Parkman[7] says, "No English settlement on the continent was of such ill omen to the French. It not only robbed them of the fur-trade, but threatened them with military and political, no less than commercial ruin." The previous French governor, Jonquière, had been particularly instructed to compass its destruction, above all by inciting the Iroquois to do it, if possible, for the post was a menace in the eyes of the Indians. Shirley hoped to redeem the failure of last year, and he had the satisfaction of hearing of Bradstreet's success in the midst of the personal detraction which assailed him.[8] The military interest of the year, however, centres in the siege and fall of Oswego (Aug. 14), introducing Montcalm on the scene.[9] Capt. John Vicars, a British officer who was with Bradstreet, gives an account of the fortifications, which Parkman[10] uses. The correspondence of Loudon and Shirley in the English archives marks the progress of events.[11] Respecting the siege itself there is a letter, from an officer present, in the *Boston Evening Post*, May 16, 1757. Stone[12] uses MS. depositions of two of the English prisoners who escaped from the French.[13] A declaration by soldiers of Shirley's regiment is printed in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vii. 126.

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[1] Vol. i. p. 357. Cf. Barry's *Mass.*, i. 211.

[2] The roll of the regiment which New Hampshire sent into the field is given in the *Rept. of the Adj.-Gen. of N. H.*, 1866, vol. ii. p. 159, etc.

[3] On Winslow's appointment, compare *Conduct of Shirley*, etc., p. 65; *Journal of Ho. of Rep. Mass.*, 1755–56; Winslow's letter in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vi. p. 34; Minot's *Mass.*, i. 265; Parsons's *Pepperrell*, 289.

[4] Vol. i. p. 405.

[5] *Ibid.*, i. pp. 401–2.

[6] Since printed in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* (March, 1882), viii. 206. It covers June 11–Aug. 18, 1756.

[7] Vol. i. p. 72.

[8] Parkman (vol. i. p. 394) tells the story of that success, and refers to a letter of J. Choate in the *Mass. Archives*, vol. lv.; letters from Albany, in the *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, i. 482, 505; Livingston's *Review*; Niles, in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxxv. 417; Mante, p. 60; Lossing's *Life of Philip Schuyler* (1872, vol. i. p. 130), who was Bradstreet's commissary.

[9] Montcalm's commission is given in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 394, and in *Coll. de Manuscrits* (Quebec), vol. iv. 19. It is dated at Versailles, Mar. 1, 1756.

[10] Vol. i. p. 398.

[11] Loudon was now directing affairs. The circular from Fox, secretary of state, to the governors of the colonies, directing them to afford assistance to Lord Loudon, is in *New Jersey Archives*, viii., Pt. ii., p. 209; with additional instructions, p. 218.

[12] *Life of Johnson*, ii. 22.

[13] Cf. *Coll. de Manuscrits* (Quebec), iv. 59. Robert Eastburn, who was captured by the Indians near Oswego and carried to Canada, published at Philadelphia and Boston, in 1758, a *Faithful narrative of many dangers and sufferings during his late captivity*. (Sabin, vi. no. 21,664; Hildeburn, i. no. 1,581.)

Of the contemporary printed sources, note must be made of the "State of facts" in the *Lond. Mag.*, 1757, p. 14; of the *Conduct of General Shirley*, etc., p. 110; of Livingston's *Review;* of *The military history of Great Britain for* 1756–57. *Containing a letter from an English officer at Canada, taken prisoner at Oswego, exhibiting the cruelty of the French. Also a Journal of the Siege of Oswego*, London, 1757.[1]

Of somewhat less authority is a popular book, *French and Indian cruelty exemplified in the life of Peter Wilkinson*, with "accurate detail of the operations of the French and English forces at the siege of Oswego."[2] Of a more general character are the accounts in Mante,[3] Smith,[4] and Hutchinson.[5]

Parkman, who sketches the early career of Montcalm,[6] surveys the chief French authorities on the siege, as gathered mainly from the Archives of the Marine and those of War, at Paris;[7] the *Livre des Ordres;* Vaudreuil's instructions to Montcalm, July 21; the journal of Bougainville; the letters of Vaudreuil, Bigot, and Montcalm. The *N. Y. Col. Docs.* (vol. x.) contain various translations of these,[8] including (p. 440) a journal of the siege transmitted by Montcalm; other versions are in the *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, vol. i.

There was printed at Grenoble, in 1756, a *Relation de la prise des forts de Choueguen, ou Oswego, & de ce qui s'est passée cette année en Canada.* A small edition was privately reprinted in 1882, from a copy belonging to Mr. S. L. M. Barlow, of New York.[9] Martin, in his *De Montcalm en Canada*, ch. iii., presents the modern French view, as also does Garneau, *Hist. du Canada*, 4th ed., vol. ii. 251. Maurault, in his *Hist. des Abénakis* (1866), tells the part of the Indians in the siege.

Of the partisan warfare conducted by Rogers and Putnam, we have the best accounts in the reports which the former made to his commanding officer.[10] These various reports constitute the volume which was published in London in 1765 "for the author," called *Journals of Major Robert Rogers, containing an account of the several excursions he made under the generals who commanded, during the late war.*[11] Rogers' *Journals* are written in a direct way, apparently without exaggeration, but sometimes veil the atrocities which he had not screened in the original reports.[1] Parkman points out that the account of his scout of Jan. 19, 1756, is much abridged in the composite *Journals*.

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[1] Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,163; Field, *Indian Bibliog.*, no. 1,064.

[2] Second ed., York, 1758; fourth ed., London, 1759. (Carter-Brown, iii. 1,200, 1,241.) Also, Dublin, 1766; and Stockbridge, Mass., 1796.

[3] Page 64.

[4] *New York* (to 1762), ii. 239.

[5] *Mass.*, vol. iii. The latest account and best to consult is Parkman's (vol. i. p. 413). Bancroft's is much the same in his final revision (vol. ii. 453) as in his original ed. (iv. 238). Warburton's *Conquest of Canada* (ch. ii.) is tolerably full. For local aspects, cf. Clark's *Onondaga*, and a paper by M. M. Jones in *Potter's American Monthly*, vii. 178.

[6] Vol. i. p. 356–360.

[7] The governors of Canada were in the habit of reporting to the Marine; but Montcalm sent his despatches to the department of War. Various ones are given in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x., and in *Coll. de Manuscrits* (Quebec), vol. v.

[8] Such are an officer's letter (p. 453), a journal (p. 457), Montcalm to D'Argenson (p. 461), an engineer's letter (p. 465), an account (p. 467), Vaudreuil to D'Argenson (p. 471), other narratives with enumeration of booty (pp. 484–85, 520, 537), Lotbinière's account (p. 494), etc. Cf. the French account, Aug. 28, 1756, in the *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., vi. 376, beside the letter of Claude Godfroy (p. 391). Pouchot's *Mémoires*, i. pp. 70, 81, gives the current French account.

[9] Boston Pub. Library; Murphy, no. 2,114. It is given in *Coll. de Manuscrits* (Quebec), iv. 48.

[10] They will be found in the *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, iv. pp. 169, 170 (Sept., 1755), 171, 175 (Oct.), 176 (Nov.), 184 (Jan., 1756), 185 (June), 286 (July), etc.

[11] It was reprinted at Dublin in 1769. (Thomson, *Bibliog. of Ohio*, nos. 996, 997; Field, *Ind. Bibliog.*, no. 1,315; Carter-Brown, iii. nos. 1,474, 1,702; Barlow's *Rough List*, nos. 983–84; Brinley, i. no. 256; Menzies, no. 1,716; H. C. lib., 4376.21.) In a condensed form it makes part of a book edited by Caleb Stark, and published at Concord, N. H., in 1831, called *Reminiscences of the French War*, and it also appears in an abridged form in Caleb Stark's *Memoir of John Stark*, Concord, 1860, p. 390. The best edition is that edited by Dr. F. B. Hough, with an Appendix, Albany, 1883. The *Journals* cover the interval from Sept. 24, 1755, to February 14, 1761. Haven (Thomas, ii. p. 560) cites from the *Boston News-Letter*, Apr. 15, 1762, proposals for printing at Charleston, S. C., in 4 vols., a "Memoir of Robert Rogers, containing his journals, 1755–1762," but the publication was not apparently undertaken.

The exploits of Rogers are frequently chronicled in Winslow's *Journal*, and there are other notes in the *Mass. Archives*, vol. lxxvi. Parkman cites Bougainville's *Journal* as giving the French record.[3] There is a contemporary account of one of Rogers' principal actions, in what Trumbull [3] calls "perhaps the rarest of all narratives of Indian captivities." The edition which is mentioned is a second one, published at Boston in 1760, and Sabin [4] does not record the first. It is called *A plain narrative of the uncommon sufferings and remarkable deliverance of Thomas Brown, of Charlestown in New England, who returned to his father's house the beginning of Jan.*, 1760, *after having been absent three years and about eight months; containing an account of the engagement, Jan.*, 1757, *in which Captain Spikeman was killed and the author left for dead.*

Of Putnam's exploits there is a report (Oct. 9, 1755) in the *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, iv. p. 172. The *Life* of Putnam by Humphreys chronicles his partisan career, while that by Tarbox passes it over hurriedly. Hollister's and other histories of Connecticut give it in outline.

The circulars of Pitt to the colonies, asking that assistance be rendered to Loudon, and (Feb. 4, 1757) urging the raising of additional troops, is in *New Jersey Archives*, viii. Pt. ii. pp. 209, 241. There are in the *Israel Williams MSS.* (Mass. Hist. Soc.) letters of Loudon, dated Boston, Jan. 29 and Feb., 1757, respecting the organization of the next campaign.

For the attack on Fort William Henry (1757) conducted by Rigaud, Parkman [5] cites, as usual, his MS. French documents,[6] but gives for the English side a letter from the fort (Mar. 26, 1757), in the *Boston Gazette*, no. 106, and in the *Boston Evening Post*, no. 1,128; with notes of other letters in the *Boston News-Letter*, no. 2,860.

The best account yet published of Montcalm's later campaign against Fort William Henry (the Fort George of the French) is contained in the last chapter of the first volume of Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*.[7]

On the French side there is the work of Pouchot, and Dr. Hough's translation of it (i. 101). The *Rough List* of Mr. Barlow's library (no. 941) shows, as the only copy known, a *Relation de la prise du Fort Georges, ou Guillaume Henry, situé sur le lac Saint-Sacrement, et de ce qui s'est passé cette année en Canada* (12 pp.), Paris, 1757.

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[1] Hough's ed., p. 9; Parkman, i. p. 437.

[2] The best later accounts are in Parkman (vol. i. 431), Stone's *Johnson* (ii. 20), and the papers by J. B. Walker in the *Granite Monthly*, viii. 19, and *Bay State Monthly*, Jan., 1885, p. 211. Sabine has a sketch of Rogers in his *Amer. Loyalists*, and more or less of local interest can be gathered from H. H. Saunderson's *Charlestown, N. H.*, ch. 5 and 6; N. Bouton's *Concord, N. H.*, ch. 6; Caleb Stark's *Dunbarton, N. H.*, p. 178; and Worcester's *Hollis, N. H.*, p. 98. Caleb Stark prints a sketch of Rogers in his *Memoir of Gen. Stark*. Cf. references in *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, Apr., 1885, p. 196.

The officers of Rogers' Rangers are given in the *Report of the Adj.-Gen. of N. H.*, vol. ii. p. 158, etc., but it is there stated that but few fragments remain of their rolls.

There is an account by Asa Fitch of the affair of Jan., 1757, in the *N. Y. State Agric. Soc. Trans.*, 1848, p. 917. The legend of "Rogers' slide," near the lower end of Lake George, has no stable foundation. Hough's ed. of *Journals*, p. 101.

[3] *Brinley Catal.*, i. no. 469.

[4] Vol. xv. no. 63,223.

[5] Vol. i. p. 451.

[6] Some of these are printed in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x., like Vaudreuil's letter (p. 542), enclosing an extended narrative (p. 544), Montcalm to D'Argenson (p. 548), to M. de Paulmy (p. 554), beside other statements (p. 570, etc.).

[7] The general accounts which had been earlier printed, and which were based on contemporary reports, were, on the English side, in John Knox's *Historical Journal of the Campaigns*, 1757–60 (London, 1769), Mante's *History of the Late War* (London, 1772, pp. 82–85), and Smith's *New York*, ii. 246. To these may be added the reports which were printed in the newspapers and magazines of the time, like the *Boston Gazette* and the *London Magazine*. An important letter of John Burk from the camp at Fort Edward, July 28, 1757, is in the *Israel Williams MSS.* (Mass. Hist. Soc.).

Of the documentary evidence of the time Parkman makes full use. He secured from the Public Record Office in London the correspondence of Webb and a letter and journal of Colonel Frye, who commanded the Massachusetts troops, and from these he gives extracts in his Appendix F.[1]

In the Paris documents as gathered (copies) in the archives at Albany,[2] and in the copies of other documents from France, supplementing these, and contained in the series of MSS. given by Mr. Parkman to the Mass. Historical Society, there are the *Journal* of Bougainville, "a document," says Parkman, "hardly to be commended too much," the diary of Malartic, the correspondence of Montcalm, Lévis, Vaudreuil, and Bigot. In adding to the graphic details of the theme, there is a long letter of the Jesuit Roubaud, which is printed in the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*.[3]

Jonathan Carver, who was a looker-on, has given an account in his *Travels*, which Parkman thinks is trustworthy so far as events came under Carver's eye.[4]

The journals of the Montresors, father and son, Colonels James and John, during their stay in 1757-59 in the neighborhood of Forts William Henry and Edward, throw light upon the spirit of the time.[5] They are preserved in the family in England, and, edited by G. D. Scull, have been printed in the *N. Y. Hist. Coll.*, 1881, accompanied by heliotypes of portraits of the two engineers.[6]

Living at the time, and enjoying good advantages for acquiring knowledge, Hutchinson, in his *Massachusetts* (vol. iii. p. 60), might have given us more than he does, but his purpose was mainly to show the effect of the campaign upon that colony. It is noticeable, however, that he says the victims of the massacre were not many in number. Most later writers on the English side add little or nothing not elsewhere obtainable.[7]

Bancroft[8] made use of a considerable part of the material available to Parkman; but his latest revision does not add to his earlier account.

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[1] Col. Frye's "Journal of an attack on Fort William Henry, Aug. 3-9" is printed in Oliver Oldschool's (Dennie's) *Portfolio*, xxi. 355 (May, 1819).

[2] Printed in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x.: Montcalm's letter (p. 596); Journal, July 12 to Aug. 16 (p. 598); Bougainville's letter to the ministry (p. 605); articles of capitulation (p. 617); other accounts (p. 640); number of the French forces (pp. 620, 625), of the English garrison (p. 621); account of the booty (p. 626), etc. The same volume contains (p. 645) a reprint of a current French pamphlet, dated Oct. 18, 1757. These and other documents are in the *Coll. de Manuscrits* (Quebec), vol. iv.: Montcalm's letters from Montreal; his instructions, July 9 (p. 100); his letters from Carillon (p. 110); his letter to Webb, Aug. 14 (p. 114); an account of the capture, dated at Albany, Aug., 1757 (p. 117); Munro's capitulation (p. 122).

[3] Vol. iv. Cf. Felix Martin's *De Montcalm en Canada*, p. 65. The letter is translated in Kip's *Jesuit Missions*, and is reprinted by J. M. Lemoine in his *La Mémoire de Montcalm vengée, ou le massacre au Fort George*, Quebec, 1864, 91 pp. (Field, *Ind. Bibliog.*, no. 906; Sabin, x. p. 205.) Cf., on Roubaud, "The deplorable case of Mr. Roubaud," in *Hist. Mag.*, 2d ser., viii. 282; and Verreau, *Report on Canadian Archives* (1874). A late writer, Maurault, in his *Histoire des Abénakis* (1866), has a chapter on these Indians in the wars. They are charged with beginning the massacre. The modern French view is in Garneau's *Canada*, 4th ed., vol. ii. 251.

[4] There is a letter on the capture, by N. Whiting, among the *Israel Williams MSS.* (ii. 42) in the Mass. Hist. Soc. library. Cf. a paper by M. A. Stickney in the *Essex Inst. Historical Collections*, iii. 79.

[5] Cf. Scull's *Evelyns in America*, p. 260.

[6] The Journals give a sketch of the intrenchment near Fort William Henry, laid out by James Montresor (p. 23), and describe how the firing was heard at Fort Edward (p. 26), and how the survivors of the massacre came in (p. 28). Webb's reports to the governor during this period are noted in Goldsbrow Banyar's diary (Aug. 5-20), in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, January, 1877. The *Journal of General Rufus Putnam, kept in Northern New York during four campaigns*, 1757-1760, *with notes and biog. sketch by E. C. Dawes* (Albany, 1886), shows (pp. 38-41) how the news came in from the lake, — the diarist, whose father was a cousin of Israel Putnam, being stationed at Fort Edward.

[7] Niles' *French and Indian Wars*; Minot's *Massachusetts* (ii. 21); Belknap's *New Hampshire* (ii. 298); Hoyt's *Antiq. Researches, Indian Wars*, (p. 288); Williams' *Vermont*, (i. 376). Chas. Carroll (*Journal to Canada*, 1876, p. 62) tells what he found to be the condition of Forts George and William Henry twenty years later.

[8] Orig. ed., iv. 258; final revision, ii. 463.

Dwight, in his *Travels in New England and New York*,[1] who remembered the event as a child, expresses the view which long prevailed in New England, that Montcalm made no reasonable effort to check the Indians, and emphasizes the timidity and imbecility of Webb, who lay at Fort Edward with 6,000 men, doing nothing. Dwight narrates as from Captain Noble, who was present, that when Sir William Johnson would gather volunteers from Webb's garrison to proceed to Munro's assistance Webb forbade it.[2]

Respecting the attack in the autumn (Nov. 28, 1757) on German Flats, there are the despatches of Vaudreuil, the *Journal* of Bougainville, and papers in *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, i. 520, and *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 672, the latter being a French summary of M. de Belêtre's campaign. Loudon's despatch to Pitt, Feb. 14, 1758, is the main English source.[3]

While Webb held the chief command at Albany, Stanwix was organizing, with the help of Washington, the defence along the Pennsylvania and Virginia borders, and Bouquet further south.[4] The lives of Washington and the histories of those provinces trace out the events of the summer in that direction. The main thread of this history is the precarious relation of the provinces with the Indians, and much illustrative of this connection is found in the *Penna. Col. Rec.*, vol. vii. Dr. Schweinitz's *Life of Zeisberger* and the various Moravian chronicles show how that people strove to act as intermediaries.

The Delawares had not forgotten the deceit practised upon them at Albany in 1754, in inveigling them into giving a deed of lands, and Sir William Johnson was known to be in favor of revoking that fraudulent purchase. Conferences with the Indians were numerous, even after the spring opened.[1] Johnson received the deputies of the Shawanese and Delawares at Fort Johnson in April, and concluded a treaty with them.[2]

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[1] Vol. iii. 376.

[2] Stone's *Johnson*, ii. 47. The admirer of Cooper will remember the interest with which he read the story of Fort William Henry as engrafted upon *The Last of the Mohicans*, but the novelist's rendering of the massacre is sharply criticised by Martin in his *De Montcalm en Canada*, chaps. 4 and 5. Cf. also Rameau, *La France aux Colonies*, ii. p. 306. Cooper, in fact, embodied the views which at once became current, that the French did nothing to prevent the massacre. The news of the fall of the fort reached the eastern colonies by way of Albany, where the fright was excessive, and it was coupled with the assurance that the massacre had been connived at by the French. (*N. H. Prov. Papers*, vi. 604, 605.) Montcalm had apprehensions that he would be reproached, and that the massacre might afford ground to the English for breaking the terms of the surrender. He wrote at once to Webb and to Loudon, and charged the furor of the Indians upon the English rum (*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 618, 619), and Vaudreuil wrote a letter (p. 631) of palliation. Some later writers, like Grahame (*United States*, iv. 7), do not acquit Montcalm; but the more considerate hardly go further than to question his prudence in not providing a larger escort. (Warburton, *Conquest of Canada*, ii. 67.) Potter (*Adj.-Gen. Rep. of N. H.*, 1866, ii. 190) says that of 200 men of that province, bringing up the rear of the line of retreating English, 80 were killed; and he reminds the apologists of Montcalm that, when the English were advised to defend themselves, the French general knew that they had not surrendered till their ammunition was expended. Stone (*Johnson*, ii. 49) says that thirty were killed. Parkman (i. p. 512) says it is impossible to tell with exactness how many were killed — about fifty, according to French accounts, not including those murdered in the hospitals. Of the six or seven hundred carried off by the Indians, a large part were redeemed by the French. The evidence, which is rather confusing, is examined also in Watson's *County of Essex, N. Y.*, p. 74. Cf. *Les Ursulines de Québec*, 1863, vol. ii. p. 295.

[3] Of the later writers, see Parkman, ii. 6; Stone's *Johnson*, ii. 54; Simms's *Frontiersmen of N. Y.*, 231; and Nath. S. Benton's *Herkimer County*, which rehearses the history of the Palatine community, 1709–1783. Parkman, referring to Loudon's despatches as he found them in the Public Record Office, says they were often tediously long. They were, it seems, in keeping with the provoking dilatoriness in coming to a point which characterized all his lordship's movements. Franklin gives some amusing instances. (Cf. Parton's *Franklin*, i. p. 383; Sparks' *Franklin*, i. 217–21.) "The miscarriages in all our enterprises," wrote Peter Fontaine in 1757, "have rendered us a reproach, and to the last degree contemptible in the eyes of our savage Indian and much more inhuman French enemies." (Maury's *Huguenot Family*, 366.)

Attached to a collection of papers in the *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, vol. i., relating to the Oneida country and the Mohawk Valley, 1756–57, is a sketch-plan of the Mohawk River and Wood Creek, showing the relative positions of Fort Bull, Fort Williams, and the German Flats.

[4] G. H. Fisher on Bouquet in *Penna. Mag. of Hist.*, iii. 121.

It boded no good that the Six Nations also, in April, had sent deputies to Vaudreuil, and all through the spring the region north of the Mohawk was the scene of rapine.[3] The truth was, the successes of the French had driven the westerly tribes of the Six Nations into a neutrality, which might turn easily into enmity, and to confirm them in their passiveness, and to incite the Mohawks and the easterly tribes into active alliance, Johnson, who knew his life to be in danger, summoned the deputies of the confederacy to meet him at Johnson Hall on the 10th of June. His journal for some time previous to the meeting is printed by Stone.[4] Johnson accomplished all he could hope for. His answer to the Senecas of June 16 is in the *Penna. Archives*, vi. 511. Under his counsel, the final conclusion with the Indians farther south was reached in a conference at Easton, in Pennsylvania, in July and August.[5]

Of the defeat of Rogers in March, which opened the campaign of 1758, his own report after he got into Fort Edward, printed at the time in the newspapers, is mainly given in his *Journals*, together with a long letter of two British regular officers who accompanied him, and who in the fight escaped capture, but wandered off in the woods, till hunger compelled them to seek the French fort, whence by a flag of truce they despatched (Mar. 28) their narrative. The French accounts are derived from the usual documentary sources as indicated by Parkman (ii. p. 16).

The English historians of the war in Europe all describe the change in political feeling which brought Pitt once more into power, with popular sympathy to sustain him.[6] The public had aroused to the incompetency of the English military rule in America, and upon the importance of making head there against the French, as a vantage for any satisfactory peace in Europe.[7] This revulsion is best described in Parkman [8] and in Bancroft.[9] The letter of Pitt recalling Loudon (who was not without his defenders [10]), as addressed to the governor of Connecticut, is in the Trumbull MSS., vol. i. p. 127.

The condition of the camp at Lake George in the spring and early summer is to be studied in the official papers, as well as in letters printed in the *Boston News-Letter* and in the *Boston Evening Post.*[1] Parkman describes from the best sources the fort and the outer entrenchments.[2]

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[1] *Minutes of Conferences with the Indians at Harris's ferry and at Lancaster, Mar., Apr., May*, 1757, fol., Philad. (Haven, in Thomas, ii. p. 535.)

[2] *A treaty with the Shawanese and Delaware Indians at Fort Johnson, by Sir Wm. Johnson, with a preface*, N. Y., 1757. (Harv. Coll. lib., 5321.30.) It was also printed at Boston. (Haven, p. 535.) Cf. *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., vi. 499, 511.

[3] Stone's *Johnson*, ii. 26.

[4] *Johnson*, ii. 28.

[5] *Minutes of Conference held with the Indians at Easton, July and Aug.*, 1757, Philad. (Haven, p. 535.) A journal of Capt. George Croghan during its continuance and Croghan's report to Johnson are in *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., vi. 527–538, and in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vii. 280. In a sale of Americana at Langs's in New York, Feb. 27, 1854, no. 1,307 of the *Catalogue* shows MS. minutes of this conference, which is endorsed by Benj. Franklin, "This is Mr. [Chas.] Thomson's copy, who was secretary to King Teedyuskung," who was the Delaware chief. No. 1,308 of the same *Catalogue* is the MS. Report of the council. An account of Johnson's proceedings with the Indians from July to Sept., 1757, is in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vii. 324; and in the same volume are various letters of Johnson to the Lords of Trade.

[6] It is told graphically in Macaulay's *Essay on Chatham*. Cf. also J. C. Earle's *English Premiers*, Lond., 1871, vol. i.

[7] Cf. *Occasional reflections on the importance of the war in America, in a letter to a member of Parliament*, Lond., 1758. (H. C. lib., 4375.34.) The *Carter-Brown Catal.* (iii. 1,201) assigns this to Peter Williamson, who published at York, in 1758, *Some considerations on the present state of affairs wherein the defenceless condition of Great Britain is pointed out.* (H. C. lib., 6374.19.) Cf. also *Proposals for uniting the English Colonies . . . so as to enable them to act with force and vigour against their enemies*, London, 1757. (Carter-Brown, iii. 1,165; Harv Coll. library, 6374.14.)

[8] Vol. ii. ch. xviii.

[9] Orig. ed., iv. 144; final revision, ii. 457.

[10] *Conduct of a noble commander in America impartially reviewed*, Lond., 1758, pp. 45. (Carter-Brown, iii. 1,176; Sabin, iv. 15,197.)

The official reports on the English side of the fight on July 8th are in the Public Record Office. The letter which Abercrombie addressed to Pitt from Lake George, July 12, as it appeared in the *London Gazette Extraordinary*, Aug. 22, is printed in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 728. Dwight represents the opinions of Abercrombie's generalship as current in the colonies,[3] and we read in Smith's *New York*, vol. ii. p. 264, that the difficulty "appeared to be more in the head than the body." The diary of William Parkman, a youth of seventeen, who was in a Massachusetts regiment, reflects the charitable criticism of his troops, when the diarist calls their commander "an aged gentleman, infirm in body and mind." [4] We have various other descriptions and diaries from officers engaged.[5]

Parkman [6] collates the different authorities as respects the losses on the two sides,[7] and his details are the best of all the later historians.[1] Of the French contemporary accounts, which are numerous, there are several from the Paris Archives in the Parkman MSS., which have been used for the first time in his *Montcalm and Wolfe.* Some of the more important ones are printed in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.* x.[2]

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[1] In June, 1758, Simon Stevens, who commanded a reconnoitring party from Fort William Henry, was captured by the enemy, and an account of his experiences, till he escaped from Quebec, was printed in Boston in 1760.

[2] Cf. letter in *Penna. Archives*, iii. 472. Later historians have followed Dwight (*Travels*, iii. 383) in supposing the earthworks still remaining to represent the work of Montcalm in preparation for the fight. Hough (ed. of *Rogers' Journal*, p. 118) so accounts them. Parkman says, however, that these mounds are relics of the strengthened works that Montcalm threw up later, his protection at the fight being of logs mainly.

[3] *Travels*, iii. 384.

[4] Items from this diary are quoted in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, vol. xvii. (1879), p. 243. The original is in the cabinet of that society.

[5] Parkman refers (ii. 432) to letters of Colonel Woolsey and others in the *Bouquet and Haldimand Papers* in the British Museum. A letter of Sir William Grant is given in Maclachlan's *Highlands* (1875), ii. 340. Knox (i. 148) gives a letter from an officer. Dwight refers to a letter in the *New Amer. Magazine.* There are among the letters of Chas. Lee to his sister (*N. Y. Hist. Coll.*, 1871) one from Schenectady, June 18, and one from Albany, Sept. 16, 1758. He describes his being wounded at Ticonderoga, and is very severe on the "Booby-in-chief." Other letters are in the *Boston Gazette*, 1758. The *Boston Evening Post*, July 24, 1758, has "the latest advices from Lake George, published by authority," in which, speaking of Montcalm's lines, it is said that "the ease with which they might be forced proved a mistake; for it was not possible with the utmost exaction of bravery to carry them." It gives a table of losses as then reported; and adds extracts from a letter dated Saratoga, July 12, "which are not authenticated." There is in the *Israel Williams MSS.*, in the Mass. Hist. Soc. library, a letter from Col William Williams, dated July 11, 1758, at Lake George, as at "a sorrowful situation." The same papers contain also a letter from Oliver Partridge, Lake George, July 12, 1758; a detailed account of the campaign, by Col. Israel Williams; a letter of his nephew, Col. William Williams, Aug. 21, 1758; a rough draft of a narrative of the campaign by Colonel Israel Williams, dated at Hatfield, Aug. 7, 1758; a letter from Timothy Woodbridge, Lake George, July 24, 1758; and others from the camp, Lake George, Sept. 26 and 28, by William Williams.

Several diaries have been printed: Chaplain Shute's is in the *Essex Inst. Hist. Coll.*, xii. 132. In the same, vol. xviii. pp. 81, 177 (April, July, 1881), is another by Caleb Rea, published separately as *Journal, written during the expedition against Ticonderoga in 1758. Edited by F. M. Ray, Salem, Mass.*, 1881.

In the *Historical Mag.*, Aug., 1871 (p. 113), is the journal of a provincial officer, beginning at Falmouth (Me.), May 21, 1758, and ending on his return to the same place, Nov. 15.

The journal of Lemuel Lyon, during this expedition, makes part (pp. 11–45) of *The military journals of two private soldiers*, with illustrative notes by B. J. Lossing, published at Poughkeepsie in 1855. (Field, no. 963; Sabin, x. no. 42,860.) An account by Dr. James Searing is given in the *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1847, p. 112, and Rufus Putnam's journal, 1757–1760, edited by E. C. Dawes (Albany, 1885), covers the campaign. A Scottish story of second sight, — a legend of Inverawe, — in reference to the death of Major Duncan Campbell in the fight, is given in *Fraser's Mag.*, vol. cii. p. 501, by A. P. Stanley; in the *Atlantic Monthly*, Apr., 1884, by C. F. Gordon-Cumming; and by Parkman (vol. ii., app., p. 433).

[6] Vol. ii. p. 432.

[7] A list of the killed and wounded of the English, from the *London Mag.*, xxvii. p. 427, is in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 728. In a volume of miscel. MSS., 1632–1795, in the Mass. Hist. Society, there is a list of officers and soldiers killed and wounded in the attack on Ticonderoga, July 8, 1758, "from papers of Richard Peters, secretary of the governor of Pennsylvania."

There is an account in Pouchot, and Chevalier Johnstone's "Dialogue in Hades" is in the *Transactions* of the Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Quebec, and summarized accounts in Martin's *De Montcalm en Canada*, ch. vii., and in Garneau's *Canada*, p. 279.[3] For the life of the camp later established at the head of Lake George, there are items to be drawn, not only from the official reports, but from the *Israel Williams MSS.* Parkman (ii. 117) uses a diary of Chaplain Cleaveland. An orderly book of Col. Jonathan Bagley, of a Connecticut regiment, covering Aug. 20–Sept. 11, 1758, is in the library of the American Antiq. Society.[4] It indicates that the celebration at Lake George of the victory at Louisbourg took place Aug. 28, as does an orderly book of Rogers' Rangers, covering Aug.–Nov., 1758, at Lake George and Fort Edward.[5]

Of the autumn scouting, there are letters in the *Boston Weekly Advertiser*, the centre of interest being the fight between Rogers and Morin.[6]

Of the Frontenac expedition, Bradstreet's own report to Abercrombie is in the Public Record Office. Parkman uses it, as well as letters in the *Boston Gazette*, no. 182; *Boston Evening Post*, no. 1,203; *Boston News-Letter*, no. 2,932; *N. H. Gazette*, no. 104. The articles of capitulation are in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 826. Smith (*New York*, ii. 266), speaking of Bradstreet's expedition, says he "rather flew than marched."[7]

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[1] Other general sources: Entick; Hutchinson, iii. 70; Smith's *New York* (1830), ii. 265; Trumbull's *Connecticut;* Bancroft, orig. ed., iv. 298, final revision, ii. 486; Williams' *Vermont;* Warburton's *Conquest of Canada*, ii. ch. 5, who accuses Grahame (*United States*, ii. 279) of undue predilection for the provincial troops; Watson's *County of Essex*, ch. 6; Stone, ii. 173, who neglects to say what part Johnson's braves took in the fight; beside the general English historians, Smollett, Belsham, Mahon, etc.

[2] Such are Montcalm's letter to the Marshal de Belle Isle, July 12 (p. 732), his report to the same (p. 737), and his letter to Vaudreuil (p. 748). The governor made the victory the occasion of casting reproaches upon the general (p. 757), and Vaudreuil's spirit of crimination is shown in his letter to De Massiac, Aug. 4 (p. 779), and in his observations on Montcalm's account of the fight (p. 788, etc.), as well as in Vaudreuil's letter to Montcalm, and the latter's observations upon it (p. 800). The *Coll. de Manuscrits* (Quebec), vol. iv., has several documents, like Montcalm's letters to Vaudreuil of July 9 and Oct. 21 (pp. 168, 201).

A letter of Doreil, dated at Quebec, July 28, is also in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.* (pp. 744, 753), as well as a reprint of an account printed at Rouen, Dec. 23, 1758 (p. 741). A *Journal de l'affaire du Canada, passée le* 8 *Juillet*, 1758, *imprimé à Paris*, 1758, is in the *Coll. de Manuscrits* (Quebec), iv. 219. There is a French letter (July 14) in the *Penna. Archives*, iii. 472, of which a translation is given in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. p. 734. (Cf. also pp. 747 and 892.) The journal of military operations before Ticonderoga from June 30 to July 10 is in *Ibid.*, p. 721, as well as a journal of occurrences, Oct. 20, 1757, to Oct. 20, 1758, which also rehearses the details of the fight (p. 844).

M. Daine, in a letter to Marshal de Belle Isle, dated Quebec, 31 July, 1758, gives him the details of the victory at Carillon, as he had collected them from the letters of different officers who were in the action. (*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 813.) It resembles Montcalm's own letter to Vaudreuil.

[3] On the part of the Indians in the battle, see Joseph Tassé, "Sur un point d'histoire," in *Revue Canadienne*, v. 664. Ernest Gagnon has a paper, "Sur le drapeau de Carillon," in *Ibid.*, new series, ii. 129.

[4] *Proceedings*, 2d ser., i. p. 134.

[5] *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1862, p. 217.

[6] Called "Molong" by the early chroniclers on the English side, and even by Tarbox, in his *Life of Putnam.* Parkman says Humphreys' account of the battle is erroneous at several points. There are details in Rogers' *Journals;* in a record by Thomson Maxwell in the *Hist. Coll. of the Essex Institute*, vii. 97; in *Gentleman's Mag.*, 1758, p. 498; in *Boston Gazette*, no. 117; in *N. H. Gazette*, no. 104; beside, on the French side, in the Paris documents of the Parkman MSS. Cf. account of the ground in Lossing's *Field-Book of the Rev.*, i. 140, and Holden's *Queensbury*, p. 325. A letter of Oliver Partridge, Sept., 1758 (*Israel Williams MSS.*), describes the movements of Rogers.

[7] Bradstreet himself is thought to have had a hand in *An Impartial Account of Lieut.-Col. Bradstreet's Expedition to Fort Frontenac, by a*

On the French side, there are the official documents, the *Mémoire sur la Canada*, 1749–60 (published by the Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Quebec), and Pouchot, i. 162.

The loss of Frontenac gave rise to a disagreement between Vaudreuil and Montcalm as to the dispositions to be made upon Lake Ontario, and the papers which passed between them are in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 866, etc., as well as others on the conflict of their opinions respecting the defence of Ticonderoga (*Ibid.*, p. 873, etc.).

The main sources for the Duquesne expedition of 1758 are in the Public Record Office, *America and West Indies*, including the correspondence of Forbes.[1] There are also papers in the *Col. Records of Penna.* and *Pennsylvania Archives.* The letters of Washington in Sparks' *Washington* (vol. ii.) may be supplemented by the fuller text of the same, and by others, in *Bouquet and Haldimand Papers*, in the British Museum. Washington's letters to Bouquet are in *Additional MSS.*, vol. 21,641, of the British Museum, and there is a copy of them among the Parkman MSS.[2] There is a letter of a British officer in the *Gent. Mag.*, xxix. 171. For the new route made by Forbes, see Lowdermilk's *Cumberland*, p. 238. The routes of Braddock and Forbes are marked on the map given in Sparks' *Washington*, ii. 38, and Washington's opinion of their respective advantages is in *Ibid.*, ii. 302.

Of Grant's defeat, the principal fight of the campaign, there are contemporary accounts in the *Penna. Gazette*,[3] *Boston Evening Post*, *Boston Weekly Advertiser*, *Boston News-Letter*, etc.; in Hazard's *Penna. Reg.*, viii. 141; in *Olden Time*, i. p. 179. Grant's imprudence met with little consideration in England. (*Grenville Correspondence*, i. 274.)

The account of Post's embassy, July 15 to Sept., 1758, appeared in London in 1759, as the *Second Journal of Christian Frederick Post.*[4]

Parkman,[5] Bancroft,[6] and Irving,[7] of course, tell the story of Forbes's campaign, — the first with the best help to sources.[8]

The concomitants of the winter of 1758–59 in Canada must be studied in order to comprehend the inequality of the two sides in the signal campaign which was to follow. Parkman finds the material of this study in the documents of the Archives de la Marine et de la Guerre in Paris; in the correspondence of Montcalm, of which he procured copies from the present representative of his family, including the letters of Bougainville [9] and

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Volunteer on the Expedition, London, 1759. (Carter-Brown, iii. 1,203; Field, *Indian Bibliog.*, no. 171; Bost. Pub. Library, H. 95.74; Brinley, i. 210.) There is in Harvard College library a copy of a MS. which belonged in 1848 to Lyman Watkins, of Walpole, N. H., and is called *A Journal of the Expedition against Fort Frontenac in 1758, by Lieut. Benjamin Bass, with lists of officers*, etc. (H. C., 5325.51.) Fort Frontenac, after its capture, is described in a *Letter to the Right Hon. William Pitt, Esq., from an officer at Fort Frontenac*, London, 1759. (Carter-Brown, iii. 1,223; Sabin, x. 40,533.)

[1] His letter announcing the occupation is in *Penna. Archives*, viii. 232, and *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 905.

[2] Parkman's notes on these indicate that in Sparks, ii. p. 293, the letter is abbreviated and altered; p. 295 is altered; p. 297 is varied; p. 299 has great variations; p. 302 has variations; p. 307 is shortened and changed; p. 310 has variations.

[3] This is reprinted in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 902. Cf. *Penna Archives*, 2d ser., vi. 429.

[4] *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 939; Sabin, xv. 64,453; Field, no. 1,233. It is reprinted in Proud's *Hist. of Penna.*, ii., app.; Rupp's *Early Hist. of Western Penna.*, p. 99; *Olden Time*, i. 98; *Penna. Archives*, iii. 520 (cf. also pp. 412, 560). Stone, *Life of Johnson*, ii. ch. 4, magnifies Johnson's influence in this pacification of the Indians. Cf. Parkman's *Pontiac*, i. 143.

[5] Vol. ii. ch. 22.

[6] Orig. ed., iv. 308; final revision, ii. 490.

[7] Vol. i. ch. 24.

[8] Cf. Sargent's *Braddock's Exped.*, introd.; Darlington's ed. of Smith's *Remarkable Occurrences*, p. 102; A. W. Loomis' *Centennial Address* (1858), published at Pittsburgh, 1859; Gordon's *Hist. of Pennsylvania; The American Pioneer* (periodical). A sketch of Fort Pitt, as Mr. Samuel Vaughan found it in 1787, is given in his MS. journal, owned by Mr. Chas. Deane.

[9] The Parkman MSS. contain letters of Bougainville dated July 25, 1758; Paris, Dec. 22, Versailles, Dec. 29; Paris, Jan. 16, 1759; Versailles, Jan. 28, Feb. 1, 16; Bordeaux, March 5; Paris. Dec. 10.

Doreil[1] on their Paris mission; and in the letters of Vaudreuil, in the Archives Nationales.[2] Much throwing light on the strained relations between the general and the governor will be found in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vol. x.[3] French representations of the situation in Canada are given in the *Considérations sur l'État présent du Canada*, published by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec in 1840, sometimes cited as Faribault's *Collection de Mémoires*, no. 3. Further use may be made of *Mémoire sur le Canada*, 1749–1760, *en trois parties*, Quebec, 1838.[4]

The comparative inequality of the two combatants was a fruitful subject of inquiry then, especially upon the French side. There is in the *Penna. Archives*, 2d series, vi. 554, a French *Mémoire*, setting forth their respective positions, needs, and resources, dated January, 1759, and similar documents are given in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 897, 925, 930.

Later writers, with the advantage of remoteness, have found much for comment in the several characteristics, experiences, aims, and abilities of the two warring forces. These are contrasted in Warburton's *Conquest of Canada.*[5] Judge Haliburton[6] points out the great military advantages of the paternal and despotic government of Canada. Viscount Bury, in his *Exodus of the Western Nations*,[7] compares the outcome of their opposing systems. Parkman gives the last chapter of his *Old Régime in Canada* to a vigorous exposition of the subject. The institutional character of the English colonists, developed from the circumstances of their life, is compared with the purpose of the French colonists to reproduce France, in E. G. Scott's *Development of Constitutional Liberty in the English Colonies of America.*[8]

Among the later French authors, Rameau, in his *France aux Colonies* (Paris, 1859), writes in full consciousness of the limitations and errors of policy which deprived France of her American colonies.[9] The efforts which were made to propitiate the Indians before the campaign opened are explained in Stone's *Life of Johnson*, ii. ch. v., and in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vii. 378.

Upon the movement to render secure the new fort at Pittsburgh, Parkman found in the Public Record Office, in London, letters of Col. Hugh Mercer (who commanded), January–June, 1759; letters of Brigadier Stanwix, May–July;[10] and a narrative of John Ormsby, beside a letter in the *Boston News-Letter*, no. 3,023. In the Wilkes Papers, in the *Historical MSS. Commission Report, No. IV.*, p. 400, are long and interesting accounts of affairs at this time in Pennsylvania, written from Philadelphia to Wilkes by Thomas Barrow (May 1, 1759).

The Niagara expedition was a mistake, in the judgment of some military critics, since the troops diverted to accomplish it had been used more effectually in Amherst's direct march to Montreal. More expedition on that general's part in completing his direct march would have rendered the fall of Niagara a necessity without attack. Perhaps the risk of leaving French forces still west of Niagara, ready for a siege of Fort Pitt, is not sufficiently considered in this view.[1]

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[1] Some letters of Doreil on his Paris mission (1760) are among the Parkman MSS.

[2] The disheartening began early, as shown by Doreil's letter of Aug. 31, 1758 (*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 828), and Montcalm, addressing Belle Isle in the spring (Apr. 12, 1759), had to depict but a sorry outlook. (*Ibid.*, x. 960.)

[3] Particularly (p. 857) in the abstracts of the despatches in the war office, complaining of Vaudreuil.

[4] Sabin, xii. 47,556. Cf. the address of J. M. Lemoine, *Glimpses of Quebec*, 1749–1759, made in Dec., 1879, and printed in the *Transactions* of the Lit. and Hist. Soc., 1879–80; Martin's *De Montcalm en Canada*, ch. 9; and Viscount Bury's *Exodus of the Western Nations* (vol. ii. ch. 9), who seems to have used French documentary sources.

[5] N. Y. ed., ii. ch. 6 and 7.

[6] *Rule and Misrule of the English in America*, N. Y., 1851, p. 209.

[7] Vol. ii. ch. 1.

[8] New York, 1882, p. 51.

[9] See his introduction; also Part ii. p. 59. Various characteristics of French colonization in Canada are developed by Rameau in the *Revue Canadienne: e. g.*, "La race française en Canada" (x. 296); "L'administration de la justice sous la domination française" (xvi. 105); "La langue française en Canada" (new ser., i. 259); "Immigration et colonisation sous la domination française" (iv. 593).

[10] Stanwix worked hard to put Pittsburgh into a defensible condition. Maury's *Huguenot Family*, 416.

The Public Record Office yields Amherst's instructions and letters to Prideaux, and the letters of Johnson to Amherst. Stone[2] prints Johnson's diary of the expedition, and the Haldimand Papers in the British Museum throw much light.[3] Letters of Amherst are in the N. Y. State Library at Albany.

On the French side, the account in Pouchot's *Mémoires sur la dernière guerre*[4] is that of the builder and defender of the fort.[5] His narrative is given in English in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 977, etc., as well as in Hough's ed. of Pouchot. The letters of Vaudreuil from the French Archives are in the Parkman MSS. The English found in the fort a French journal (July 6–July 24, 1759), of which an English version was printed in the *N. Y. Mercury*, Aug. 20, 1759. It is also given in English in the *Hist. Mag.* (March, 1869), xv. p. 199.

For the Oswego episode, beside Pouchot,[6] see *Mémoire sur le Canada*, 1749–60, and a letter in the *Boston Evening Post*, no. 1,248.

The best recent accounts are in Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, ii. ch. 26; Warburton's *Conquest of Canada*, ii. ch. 9, and Stone's *Life of Johnson*, vol. ii.

Johnson's diary, as given by Stone,[7] shows how undecided, under Amherst's instructions, Gage was about attacking the French at La Galette, on the St. Lawrence.

Gage, who, in August and September, 1759, was at Oswego, was much perplexed with the commissary and transportation service, but got relief when Bradstreet undertook to regulate matters at Albany.[8]

While the expeditions of Stanwix and Prideaux constituted the left wing of the grand forward movement, that conducted by Amherst himself was the centre.

The letters of Amherst to Pitt and Wolfe are in the Public Record Office in London,[9] as well as a journal of Colonel Amherst, a brother of the general. Mante and Knox afford good contemporary narratives.[1]

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[1] Indeed, military critics have questioned the general multiform plan of Pitt's campaign as a serious error. Cf. Smollett's *England*, and Viscount Bury's *Exodus*, ii. 288. Pitt's letter of Dec. 9, 1758, to the colonial governors on the coming campaign is in the *New Hampshire Prov. Papers*, vi. 703; and his letter of Dec. 29, 1758, to Amherst on the conduct of it is in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vii. 355. Cf. also *Chatham Correspondence*. Jared Ingersoll's account of the character and appearance of Pitt in 1759 is given in E. E. Beardsley's *Life and Times of William Samuel Johnson*, Boston, 2d ed., 1886, p. 21.

Col. Montresor submitted a plan for amendments which, in its main features, was like Pitt's. Cf. *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., vi. 433, and *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 907. (Cf. *Collection de Manuscrits*, Quebec, iv. 208.) The plan of Vaudreuil, Apr. 1, 1759, on the French side, is in *Ibid.*, x. 952. In Dec., 1758, Gen. Winslow was in England, and William Beckford was urging Pitt to have recourse to him for information. *Chatham Correspondence*, i. 378.

[2] *Life of Johnson*, ii. 394, etc.

[3] There is a contemporary letter in the *Boston Evening Post*, no. 1,250, a composite account in the *Annual Register*, 1759, and another in Knox's *Hist. Journal*, vol. ii. Papers from the London Archives are in the *New York Col. Docs.*, vii. 395. There are among Charles Lee's letters two (July 30 and Aug. 9, 1759) describing the siege of Niagara, and his subsequent route towards Duquesne is defined in another (March 1, 1760). *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1871, p. 9.

[4] Vol. ii. 42; vol. iii. 165.

[5] Cf. on Pouchot, *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 668, note. In the same (p. 990) are the articles of capitulation.

[6] Vol. ii. p. 130.

[7] Vol. ii. p. 104, etc.

[8] Gage's Letters, 1759–1773 (MS.), in Harvard College library. In one of them he says to Bradstreet: "You must not conclude that all the oxen that leave Schenectady reach this; and in your calculation of provisions make allowance for what may be lost, taken by and left at the Indian castles, beside what are used at the several posts."

[9] Amherst's letters chronicling progress are in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vii. 400, etc. Early in Nov., 1758, it had been rumored in Albany that Amherst was to supersede Abercrombie. (C. V. R. Bonney's *Legacy of Hist. Gleanings*, Albany, 1875, p. 26.) A large number of letters addressed to Amherst are in the *Bernard Papers* (Sparks MSS.), 1759. On Amherst's family connections, cf. James E. Doyle's *Official Baronage of England* (London, 1886), i. p. 38.

The best general historians are Parkman (ii. 235, etc.), Bancroft (orig. ed., iv. 322 ; final revision, ii. 498) ; Warburton's *Conquest of Canada*, ii. ch. 8. For local associations, see Holden's *Hist. of Queensbury*, p. 343.[2]

Bourlamaque's account of his retreat is in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 1,054. Pitt's letter, when he learned that Amherst had abandoned the pursuit, is in *Ibid.*, vii. 417.

Rogers sent to Amherst a letter about his raid upon the St. Francis village, which was written the day after he reached the settlements on the Upper Connecticut, and it makes part of his *Journals*. The story was the subject of recitals at the time in the provincial newspapers, like the *New Hampshire Gazette* and the *Boston Evening Post*. Hoyt, in his *Antiquarian Researches* (p. 302), adds a few particulars from the recollections of survivors.[3]

In coming to the great victory which virtually closed the war on the Heights of Abraham, we can but be conscious of the domination which the character of Wolfe holds over all the recitals of its events, and the best source of that influence is in the letters which Wright has introduced into his life of Wolfe.[4]

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[1] An *Orderly Book* of Commissary Wilson, in the possession of Gen. J. Watts De Peyster, was printed as no. 1 of *Munsell's Historical Series*, at Albany, in 1857, with notes by Dr. O'Callaghan, which in the main concern persons mentioned in the record.

A journal of Samuel Warner, a Massachusetts soldier, is printed in the *Wilbraham Centennial*, and is quoted in De Costa's *Lake George*. Parkman was favored by Mr. Wm. L. Stone with the use of a diary of Sergeant Merriman, of Ruggles' regiment, and with a MS. book of general and regimental orders of the campaign. The *Journal of Rufus Putnam* covers this forward movement. A MS. "Project for the attack on Ticonderoga, May 29, 1759, W. B. delt.," is among the Faden maps, no. 24, Library of Congress.

[2] A centennial address of the capture of Ticonderoga, delivered in 1859, is in Cortlandt Van Rensselaer's *Sermons, Essays, and Addresses*, Phil., 1861.

[3] Parkman refers to an account by Thompson Maxwell as of doubtful authenticity, as it is not sure that the writer was one of Rogers's party. A hearsay story of equal uncertainty, respecting an ambush laid by Rogers for the Indians, as told by one Jesse Pennoyer, is given by Mrs. C. M. Day, in her *Hist. of the Eastern Townships*. Stone (*Life of Johnson*, ii. 107) says he could not find any tradition of the raid among the present descendants of the St. Francis tribe. Maurault, in his *Histoire des Abénakis*, gives an account. Vaudreuil refers to it in his letters in the *Parkman MSS*. Cf. Watson's *County of Essex*, p. 106.

[4] The first attempt to recount the exploits of Wolfe in the shape of a regular biography was made by a weak and florid writer, who, in 1760, "according to the rules of eloquence," as he professed, got out a brief *Life of General James Wolfe*, which was in the same year reprinted in Boston. (Carter-Brown, iii. 1,280 ; Haven in Thomas, p. 557.) Nothing adequate was done, however, for a long time after, and the reader had to gather what he could from the *Annual Register*, Smollett's *England*, Walpole's *George II.*, or from the contemporary histories of Entick and Mante. (Cf. various expressions in Walpole's *Letters*.)

The letters of Wolfe to his parents were not used till Thomas Streatfeild made an abstract of a part of them for a proposed history of Kent; but his project falling through, the papers passed by Mahon's influence (*Hist. of England*, 3d ed., iv. 151) to the Rev. G. R. Gleig, who used them in his *Lives of the Most Eminent British Military Commanders* (1832). About 1827, such of the Wolfe papers as had descended from General Warde, the executor of Wolfe's mother, to his nephew, Admiral George Warde, were placed in Robert Southey's hands, but a life of Wolfe which he had designed was not prepared, and the papers were lost sight of until they appeared as lots 531, 532 of the *Catalogue of the Dawson Turner Sale* in 1858, which also contained an independent collection of "Wolfiana." Upon due presentation of the facts, the lots above named were restored to the Warde family, together with the "Wolfiana," as it was not deemed desirable to separate the two collections. This enlarged accumulation was submitted to Mr. Robert Wright, who produced the *Life of Major-General James Wolfe*, which was published in London in 1864. To the domestic correspondence of Wolfe above referred to, which ceases to be full when the period of his greatest fame is reached, Mr. Wright added other more purely military papers, which opportunely came in his way. Some of these had belonged to Col. Rickson, a friend of Wolfe, and being filed in an old chest, in whose rusty lock the key had been

To the store of letters in Wright, Parkman sought to add others from the Public Record Office, beside the secret instructions given by the king to Wolfe and Saunders. The despatches of Wolfe, as well as those of Saunders, Monckton, and Townshend, are found, of course, in the contemporary magazines. A few letters of Wolfe, not before known, preserved among the Sackville Papers, have recently been printed in the *Ninth Report* of the Hist. MSS. Commission, Part iii. pp. 74–78. (*Brit. Doc. Reports*, 1883, vol. xxxvii.)[1]

There is a printed volume which is known as *Wolfe's instructions to young officers* (2d ed., London, 1780), which contains his orders during the time of his service in Canada. Manuscript copies of it, seemingly of contemporary date, are occasionally met with, and usually begin with orders in Scotland in 1748, and close with his last order on the "Sutherland," Sept. 12, 1759.[2] The general orders of the Quebec campaign, given at greater length than in these *Instructions*, have been printed in the *Hist. Docs.*, *4th ser.*, published by the Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Quebec. Various orders are given in the *Address* of Lorenzo Sabine, on the centennial of the battle.[3]

A large number of contemporary journals and narratives of the siege of Quebec, both on the English and French sides, have been preserved, most of which have now been printed.[4]

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broken, they had remained undisturbed till about forty years ago, when the chest was broken open, and the papers were used by Mr. John Buchanan in a sketch of Wolfe, which he printed in *Tait's Magazine* in 1849, and reprinted in his *Glasgow Past and Present* in 1856. Wright found the originals in the Museum of the Antiquarian Society of Scotland, at Edinburgh, and he says they, better than the letters addressed to his mother, exhibit the tone and bent of Wolfe's mind. The letters which passed between Wolfe and Amherst during the siege of Louisbourg (1758) were submitted to Wright by Earl Amherst, and from these, from the "Wolfiana" of Dawson Turner, from the *Chatham* and *Bedford Correspondence*, he gathered much unused material to illustrate the campaigns which closed the struggle for Canada. See particularly a letter of Wolfe, from Halifax, May 1, 1759, detailing the progress of preparations, which is in the *Chatham Correspondence*, i. 403, as is one of Sept. 9, dated on board the "Sutherland," off Cape Rouge (p. 425). Walpole speaks of the last letter received from Wolfe before news came of his success, and of that letter's desponding character. "In the most artful terms that could be framed, he left the nation uncertain whether he meant to prepare an excuse for desisting, or to claim the melancholy merit of having sacrificed himself without a prospect of success." (*Mem. of the Reign of George II.*, 2d ed., iii. p. 218.) Mr. Wright, from a residence in Canada, became familiar with the scenes of Wolfe's later life, and was incited thereby to the task which he has very creditably performed.

[1] Cf. also, on Wolfe, James' *Memoirs of Great Commanders*, new ed., 1858; *Bentley's Mag.*, xxxi. 353; *Eclectic Mag.*, lxii. 376; *Canadian Monthly*, vii. 105, by D. Wilson. Mahon (*England*, iv. ch. 35) tells some striking stories of the way in which Wolfe's shyness sometimes took refuge in an almost crazy dash.

[2] The Abbé Verreau is said to have one. I note another in a sale catalogue (Bangs, N. Y., 1854, no. 1,319), and a third is cited in the *Third Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission*, p. 124, as being among the Northumberland Papers at Alnwick Castle.

[3] This address was delivered before the N. E. Hist. Geneal. Soc. in Boston. It was not so much a narrative of events as a critical examination of various phases of the history of the siege.

Mr. W. S. Appleton describes the medal struck to commemorate the capture of Quebec and Montreal, in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, xi. 298, and in the *Amer. Journal of Numismatics*, July, 1874. A cut of it is given on the title of the present volume. Cf. *Quebec Lit. and Hist. Soc. Transactions*, 1872–73, p. 80.

[4] Those on the English side are as follows: —

1. *Journal of the expedition up the river St. Lawrence from the embarkation at Louisbourg 'til after the surrender of Quebeck, by the sergeant-major of Gen. Hopson's Grenadiers*, Boston, 1759. (Sabin, ix. 36,723.) This appeared originally in the *N. Y. Mercury*, Dec. 31, 1759, and is reprinted in the second series of the *Hist. Docs. of the Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Quebec.*

2. *Journal of the expedition up the river St. Lawrence*, beginning at Perth Amboy, May 8, 1759. The original was found among the papers of George Allsop, secretary to Sir Guy Carleton, Wolfe's quartermaster-general. It has been printed in the *Hist. Docs.*, 4th ser., of the Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Quebec.

3. Capt. Richard Gardiner's *Memoirs of the siege of Quebec, and of the retreat of M. de Bourlamaque from Carillon to the Isle aux Noix on Lake Champlain, from the Journal of a French*

The letters of Montcalm in the Archives de la Marine mostly pertain to events antecedent to the investment of Quebec.[1] The letters of Vaudreuil are in the Archives Na-

officer on board the Chezine frigate . . . compared with the accounts transmitted home by Maj.-Gen. Wolfe, London, 1761.

4. *An accurate and authentic Journal of the siege of Quebec*, 1759, *by a gentleman in an eminent station on the spot*, London, 1759. (Brinley, i. 207; H. C. library, 4376.29; Carter-Brown, iii. 1,233.)

5. *Genuine letters from a volunteer in the British service at Quebec*, London [1760]. (Carter-Brown, iii. 1,257.)

6. "Journal of the particular transactions during the siege of Quebec," by an officer of light infantry, printed in *Notes and Queries*, xx. 370. It is reprinted in the *Hist. Mag.* (Nov., 1860), iv. 321. It extends from June 26 to Aug. 8, 1759, purports to be penned "at anchor opposite the island of Orleans." The original is said to have been in the possession of G. Galloway, of Inverness, and is supposed to have been written by an officer of Fraser's regiment.

7. *A short, authentic account of the expedition against Quebec, by a volunteer upon that expedition*, Quebec, 1872. It is ascribed to one James Thompson.

8. *Memoirs of the siege of Quebec and total reduction of Canada, by John Johnson, clerk and quartermaster-sergeant to the Fifty-Eighth Regiment.* A MS. of 176 pages, cited by Parkman (ii. 440) as by a pensioner at Chelsea (England) Hospital. It belongs to Geo. Francis Parkman, Esq.

9. *A short account of the expedition against Quebec . . . by an engineer upon that expedition* (*Maj. Moncrief*), *with a plan of the town and basin of Quebec, and part of the adjacent country, showing the principal encampments and works of the British army, and those of the French army during the attack of* 1759. *Catal. of Lib. of Parliament* (Toronto, 1858), p. 1277. There is, or was, a MS. copy in the Royal Engineers' office at Quebec. The original is without signature, but is marked with the initials "P. M." (Miles, *Canada*, p. 493.)

10. Col. Malcolm Fraser's *Journal of the siege of Quebec.* This officer was of the Seventy-Eighth Highlanders. It is printed in the *Hist. Docs. of the Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Quebec*, 2d series. Cf. "Fraser's Highlanders before Quebec, 1759," in Lemoine's *Maple Leaves*, new series, p. 141.

11. In the *N. Y. Hist. Coll.* (1881), p. 196, is a journal of the siege of Quebec, beginning June 4, 1759, and extending to Sept. 13, accompanied (p. 217) by letters of its author, Col. John Montresor, to his father (with enclosed diaries of events), dated Montmorency, Aug. 10; Quebec, Oct. 5 and Oct. 18.

12. In Akins' *Pub. Doc. of Nova Scotia*, p. 452, is a long letter (July–Aug.) from James Gibson respecting the progress of the siege.

13. In the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Register* (1872), p. 237, is a brief journal of the siege, beginning July 8th, kept by Daniel Lane.

14. A letter dated at Quebec, Oct. 22, 1759, written by Alexander Campbell, in the *Hist. Mag.*, iv. 149.

15. Joseph Grove's *Letter on the glorious success at Quebec . . . and particularly an account of the manner of General Wolfe's death*, London, 1759.

16. Timothy Nichols was a private in the company of John Williams, of Marblehead, and reached Wolfe's army, by transport, July 19. He notes the daily occurrences of cannonading, fires in the town, skirmishes, fire-rafts, the attack near Montmorency, ceasing his entries Aug. 22, and dying Sept. 9. The MS., which is defective, belongs to Dr. Arthur H. Nichols, of Boston, to whom the editor is indebted for extracts.

On the French side we have: —

1. The *Second Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission* (p. 30) notes, as among the Earl of Cathcart papers, a folio MS., "Journal de la expédition contre Québec, 1759." It has 34½ pages, and extends from May 1 to May 10, according to the report.

2. Martin, in his *De Montcalm en Canada*, p. 239, describes an English MS. in the Bibliothèque du Ministère de la Guerre (Paris), called for a general title *Memoirs of a French Officer*, and divided into two parts: —

(1.) Begins with a narrative of the Scottish rebellion in 1745, and then gives "An account of the war in Canada to the capitulation of Montreal in 1760, with an account of the siege of Louisbourg in 1758, and an exact and impartial account of the hostilities committed in Acadia and Cape Breton before the declaration of war."

(2.) *a.* Dialogue in Hades between Montcalm and Wolfe, reviewing, in the spirit of a military critic, the mistakes of both generals in the conduct of the campaign, not only of Quebec, but of the other converging forces of the English. This portion is given in English in the *Hist. Docs. of the Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Quebec.* Martin has a French translation of it.

b. "A critical, impartial, and military history of the war in Canada until the capitulation signed in 1760." Published by the Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Quebec in 1867.

The whole MS. is attributed to a Scotch Jacobite, Chevalier Johnston, who after the suppression of the Scotch revolt went to France, and tionales,[1] while those of Bigot, Lévis, and Montreuil are in the Archives de la Marine et de la Guerre.[2]

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[1] Parkman, ii. 439.

Parkman has a note [3] on the contemporary accounts of Montcalm's death [4] and burial. and in the *Mercure Français* is an *éloge* on the French general, which is attributed to Doreil. Some recollections of Montcalm in his last hours are given in a story credited to Joseph Trahan, as told in the *Revue Canadienne*, vol. iv. (1867, p. 850) by J. M. Le-

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served in the campaign of this year in Canada as aid to Lévis, and afterwards as aid to Montcalm.

3. In the first series (1840) of the *Hist. Docs. of the Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Quebec* there is a "Relation de ce qui s'est passé au siége de Québec, et de la prise du Canada, par une Religieuse de l'Hôpital Général de Québec: addressée à une communauté de son ordre en France." It is thought to have been written in 1765; and the original belongs to the Séminaire de Québec. It was again printed at Quebec in 1855.

There was also published at Quebec, about 1827, an English version, *The siege of Quebec, and conquest of Canada: in* 1759. *By a nun of the general hospital of Quebec. Appended an account of the laying of the first stone of the monument to Wolfe and Montcalm.*

4. Parkman (ii. 438) considers one of the most important unpublished documents to be the narrative of M. de Foligny, a naval officer commanding one of the batteries in the town, namely a *Journal mémoratif de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable pendant qu'a duré le siége de la ville de Québec.* It is preserved in the Archives de la Marine at Paris.

5. In the *Hist. Docs. of the Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Quebec*, 4th series, there is a paper, "Siége de Québec en 1759 — journal tenu par M. Jean Claude Panet, ancien notaire de Québec." It is the work of an eye-witness, and begins May 10.

6. "Journal tenu à l'armée que commandait feu M. le Marquis de Montcalm" is also printed in the *Hist. Docs. of the Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Quebec.* Parkman calls it minute and valuable.

7. Parkman cites, as from the Archives de la Marine, *Mémoires sur la Campagne de* 1759, *par M. de Joannès, major de Québec.*

8. *Siége de Québec, en* 1759. *Copie d'après un manuscrit apporté de Londres, par l'honorable D. B. Viger, lors de son retour en Canada, en septembre* 1834–*mai* 1835. *Copie d'un manuscrit déposé à la bibliothèque de Hartwell en Angleterre.* This was printed in a small edition at Quebec in 1836, and Parkman (ii. 438) calls it a very valuable diary of a citizen of Quebec.

9. In the first series of the *Hist. Docs. of the Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Quebec* is a "Jugement impartial sur les opérations militaires de la campagne en 1759, par Mgr de Pontbriand, Évêque de Québec." It aims only to touch controverted points. It is translated in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 1059. Cf. "Lettres de Mgr Pontbriand," in *Revue Canadienne*, viii. 438.

10. Leclerc, in his *Bibliotheca Americana* (Maisonneuve, Paris), 1878, no. 770, describes a manuscript, *Mémoires sur les affaires du Canada*, 1756–1760, *par Potot de Montbeillard, Commandant d'Artillerie*, as a daily journal, written on the spot, never printed, and one of three copies known. Priced at 400 francs. This has been secured by Mr. Parkman since the publication of his book.

11. The Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Quebec has also printed a document, the original of which was found in the Archives du département de la Guerre at Paris, entitled: *Événements de la Guerre en Canada durant les années* 1759 *et* 1760: *Relation du Siége de Québec du* 27 *Mai au* 8 *Août*, 1759: *Campagne du Canada depuis le* 1er *Juin jusqu'au* 15 *Septembre*, 1759. These are followed by other documents, including no. 6 (*ante*).

[1] The Parkman MSS. contain transcripts from these archives, 1666–1759.

[2] These are translated in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x., with others: such as a published narrative of the French, ending Aug. 8 (p. 993); an account, June 1 to Sept. 15 (p. 1001); Montreuil's letter (p. 1013); a journal of operations with Montcalm's army (p. 1016); and Bigot's letter to Belle Isle on the closing movements of the siege (p. 1051).

The collection of Montcalm letters in the Parkman MSS., copied from the originals in the possession of the present Marquis of Montcalm, begins in America, May 19 (Quebec), 1756, when he says that he had arrived on the 12th. The others are from Montreal, June 16, 19, July 20, Aug. 30; from Carillon, Sept. 18; from Montreal, Nov. 3, 9, Apr. 1 (1757), 16, 24, June 6, July 1, 4, 8, Aug. 19; from Quebec, Sept. 13, Feb. 19 (1758); from Montreal, Apr. 10, 18, 20, June 2; from Carillon, July 14, 21, Aug. 20, 24, Sept. 25, Oct. 16, 27; from Montreal, Nov. 21, 29, Apr. 12 (1759), May 16, 19.

The Parkman MSS. also contain letters of Montcalm to Bourlamaque, copied from the Bourlamaque papers, beginning with one from Montreal, June 25, 1756, and they are continued to his death; to which are added letters of Bougainville and Bernetz, written after the death of Montcalm.

[3] Vol. ii. 441.

[4] Cf. "Où est mort Montcalm?" by J. M. Lemoine, in *Revue Canadienne*, 1867, p. 630; and the document given in the *Coll. de Manuscrits* (Quebec), iv. 231.

moine, in a paper called "Le régiment des montagnards écossais devant Quebec, en 1759," which in an English form, as "Fraser's Highlanders before Quebec," is given in Lemoine's *Maple Leaves*, new series, p. 141.

There is a story, told with some contradictions, that Montcalm entrusted some of his letters to the Jesuit Roubaud. Parkman, in referring to the matter, cites [1] Verreau's report on the Canadian Archives (1874, p. 183), and the "Deplorable Case of M. Roubaud," in *Hist. Mag.*, xviii. 283.[2]

Referring to the principal English contemporary printed sources, Parkman (ii. 194) says that Knox, Mante, and Entick are the best. Knox's account is reprinted by Sabine in an appendix. Using these and other sources then made public, Smollett has told the story very intelligently in his *History of England*, giving a commensurate narrative in a general way, and has indicated the military risks which the plan of the campaign implied. The summary of the *Annual Register* [3] is well digested.

In the *Public Documents of Nova Scotia* there are papers useful to the understanding of the fitting out of the expedition.

Jefferys intercalated in 1760, in his *French Dominions in North America*, sundry pages, to include such a story of the siege as he could make at that time.[4]

Of the later English writers on the siege, it is enough barely to mention some of them.[5]

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[1] Vol. ii. 325.

[2] In this last there seems to be an allusion to a book which appeared in London in 1777, in French and English, published by Almon, called *Lettres de Monsieur le Marquis de Montcalm à Messieurs de Berryer et de la Molé, écrites dans les années* 1757, 1758, *et* 1759. (Sabin, xii. p. 305; Barlow's *Rough List*, no. 1,095.) The letters were early suspected to be forgeries, intended to help the argument of the American cause in 1777 by prognosticating the resistance and independency of the English colonists, to follow upon the conquest of Canada and the enforced taxation of the colonies by the crown. These views came out in what purported to be a letter from Boston, signed "S. J.," to Montcalm, and by him cited and accepted. The alleged letters were apparently passed round in manuscript in London as early as Dec., 1775, when Hutchinson (*Diary and Letters*, p. 575) records that Lord Hardwicke sent them to him, "which I doubt not," adds the diarist, "are fictitious, as they agree in no circumstance with the true state of the colonies at the time." Despite the doubt attaching to them, they have been quoted by many writers as indicating the prescience of Montcalm; and the essential letter to Molé is printed, for instance, without qualification by Warburton in his *Conquest of Canada* (vol. ii.), and is used by Bury in his *Exodus of the Western Nations*, by Barry in his *Hist. of Mass.*, by Miles in his *Canada* (p. 425), and by various others. Lord Mahon gave credence to it in his *Hist. of England* (orig. ed., vi. 143; but see 5th ed., vi. 95). Carlyle came across this letter in a pamphlet by Lieut.-Col. Beatson, *The Plains of Abraham*, published at Gibraltar in 1858, and citing it thence embodied it in his *Frederick the Great*. Ten years later Parkman found a copy of the letter among the papers of the present Marquis de Montcalm, but inquiry established the fact that it was not in the autograph of the alleged writer. This, with certain internal evidences, constitutes the present grounds for rejecting the letters as spurious, and Parkman further points out (vol. ii. 326) that Verreau identifies the handwriting of the suspected copy of the letter as that of Roubaud.

Mr. Parkman first made a communication respecting the matter to the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, June, 1869 (vol. xi. pp. 112–128), where the editor, Dr. Charles Deane, appended notes on the vicissitudes of the opinions upon the genuineness of the letters; and these data were added to by Henry Stevens in a long note in his *Bibliotheca Historica*, no. 1,336. Carlyle finally accepted the arguments against them. (*M. H. Soc. Proc.*, Jan., 1870, vol. xi. 199.)

[3] This periodical was begun in 1758, and Mahon speaks of its narratives as "written with great spirit and compiled with great care."

[4] The victory of Quebec, as well as British successes in Germany, induced the formation in England of a "Society for the Encouragement of the British Troops," of which Jonas Hanway printed at London, in 1760, an *Account*, detailing the assistance which had been rendered to soldiers' widows, etc. (Sabin, viii. no. 30,276. There is a copy in Harv. Coll. Library.)

[5] Smith's *Hist. of New York* (1830, vol. ii.); the younger Smith's *Hist. of Canada* (vol. i. ch. 2); Chalmers' *Revolt*, etc. (vol. ii.); Grahame's *United States* (vol. ii.); Mortimer's *England* (vol. iii.); Mahon's *England*, 5th ed. (vol. iv. ch. 35), erroneous in some details; Warburton's *Conquest of Canada* (vol. ii. ch. 10–12); Bancroft, *United States*, orig. ed., iv.; final revision, vol. ii.; Gay's *Pop. Hist. U S.* (vol. iii. 305); a paper by Sydney Robjohns, in the *Roy Hist. Soc. Trans.*, v.

Parkman first told the story in his *Pontiac* (vol. i. 126), erring in some minor details, which he later corrected when he gave it more elaborate form in the *Atlantic Monthly* (1884), and engrafted it (1885) in final shape in his *Montcalm and Wolfe* (vol. ii.).

The recent histories of Canada, like Miles', etc., and such general works as Beatson's *Naval and Mil. Memoirs* (ii. 300–308), necessarily cover the story; and there is an essay on Montcalm by E. S. Creasy, which originally appeared in *Bentley's Magazine* (vol. xxxii. 133).[1] Carlyle repeats the tale briefly, but with characteristic touches, in his *Friedrich II.* (vol. v. p. 555).

On the French side the later writers of most significance, beside the general historian of Canada, Garneau,[2] are Felix Martin in his *De Montcalm en Canada* (1867), ch. 10, which was called, in a second edition, *Le Marquis de Montcalm et les dernières années de la colonie Française au Canada*, 1756–1760 (3d ed., Paris, 1879); and Charles de Bonnechose in his *Montcalm et le Canada Français*, which appeared in a fifth edition in 1882.[3]

As to the forces in the opposing armies, and the numbers which the respective generals brought into opposition on the Heights of Abraham, there are conflicting opinions. Parkman [4] collates the varying sources. Cf. also Martin's *De Montcalm en Canada*, p. 196; Miles' *Hist. of Canada*, app., etc.; *Collection de Manuscrits* (Quebec), iv. 229, 230.

The record of the council of war (Sept. 15) which Ramezay held after he found he had been left to his fate by Vaudreuil is given in Martin's *De Montcalm en Canada* (p. 317), and in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 1007. Ramezay prepared a defence against charges of too easily succumbing to the enemy, and this was printed in 1861 by the Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Quebec, as *Mémoire du Sieur de Ramezay, Commandant à Québec, au sujet de la reddition de cette ville, le* 18 *septembre*, 1759, *d'après un manuscrit aux Archives du Bureau de la Marine à Paris.* The paper is accompanied by an appendix of documentary proofs, including the articles of capitulation, which are also to be found in the appendix of Warburton's *Conquest of Canada* (vol. ii. p. 362), *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 1011, and in Martin (p. 317).

It has been kept in controversy whether Vaudreuil really directed Ramezay to surrender,[5] but the note sent by Vaudreuil to Ramezay at nine in the evening, Sept. 13, instructing him to hoist the white flag when his provisions failed, is in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 1004.

General Townshend returned to England, and when he claimed more than his share of the honors [6] a *Letter to an Honourable Brigadier General* (London, 1760) took him sharply to task for it, and rehearsed the story of the fight.[7] This tract was charged by some upon Charles Lee, but when it was edited by N. W. Simons, in 1841, an attempt by parallelisms of language, etc., was made to prove the authorship of Junius in it. It was answered by *A refutation of a letter to an Hon. Brigadier by an officer*.[8] Parkman calls it "angry, but not conclusive." There were other replies in the *Imperial Magazine*, 1760. Sabine, in his address, epitomizes the statements of both sides.

TOWNSHEND.[9]

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[1] It is reprinted in the *Eclectic Mag.*, xxvii. 121, and in *Littell's Living Age*, xxxiv. 551.

[2] Fourth ed., vol. ii. p. 313.

[3] Cf. also his papers on Montcalm in the *Revue Canadienne*, xiii. 822, 906; xiv. 31, 93, 173. Thomas Chapais' "Montcalm et le Canada," in *Nouvelles Soirées Canadiennes*, i. 418, 543, is a review of Bonnechose's fifth edition.

[4] Vol. ii. 298, 305, 436.

[5] Miles' *Canada*, 418.

[6] Parkman, ii. 317. Walpole (*Mem. of the Reign of George II.*, 2d ed., iii. p. 218) says that "Townshend and other officers had crossed Wolfe in his plans, but he had not yielded."

[7] Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,267.

[8] Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,268.

[9] From Doyle's *Official Baronage*, iii. 543.

On the 17th of January, 1760, Pitt addressed Amherst respecting the campaign of the following season,[1] and on April 27th Amherst addressed the Indians in a paper dated Fort George, N. Y., April 27.[2] Letters had passed between Amherst and Johnson in March, about the efforts which were making by a conference at Fort Pitt to quiet the Indians in that direction.[3] Later there were movements to scour the country lying between Fort Pitt and Presqu'isle, as shown in the Aspinwall Papers,[4] where [5] there is a fac-simile of a sketch of the route from Fort Pitt, passing Venango and Le Bœuf, which Bouquet sent to Monckton in August, 1760.

The earliest description of this country after it came into English hands is in a journal (July 7–17, 1760) by Capt. Thomas Hutchins, of the Sixtieth Regiment, describing a march from Fort Pitt to Venango, and from thence to Presqu'isle, which is printed in the *Penna. Mag. of Hist.* (ii. 149).

Bourlamaque, in a *Mémoire sur Canada*, which he wrote in 1762, presents Quebec as the key to the military strength of the province.[6]

The interest of the winter and spring lies in the vigorous efforts of Lévis to recover Quebec. The English commander, Murray, kept a journal from the 18th of September till the 25th of May. The original was in the London War Office, and Miles used a copy from that source. Parkman records it as now being in the Public Record Office,[7] and says it ends May 17; and the reprint of the Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Quebec credits it to the same source, in their third series (1871).

Parkman [8] refers to a plan among the King's Maps (Brit. Mus.) of the battle and situation of the British and French on the Heights of Abraham, 28 April, 1760.

This engagement is sometimes called the battle of Sillery, though the more common designation is the battle of Ste. Foy.

Murray's despatch to Amherst, April 30, is among the Parkman Papers, and that to Pitt, dated May 25, 1760, is in Hawkins' *Picture of Quebec*, and in W. J. Anderson's *Military Operations at Quebec from Sept.* 18, 1759, *to May* 18, 1760, published by the Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Quebec (1869–70), and also separately. It is a critical examination of the sources of information respecting the battle, particularly as to the forces engaged. Parkman (ii., app., p. 442) examines this aspect also.

We have on the English side the recitals of several eye-witnesses. Knox [9] was such. So were Mante, Fraser, and Johnson; the journals of the last two are those mentioned on a preceding page. Parkman, who gives a list of authorities,[10] refers to a letter of an officer of the Royal Americans at Quebec, May 24, 1760, printed in the *London Magazine*, and other contemporary accounts are in the *Gentleman's* and *English Magazine* (1760). There is also a letter in the *N. Y. Geneal. and Biog. Record*, April, 1872, p. 94.

The principal French contemporary account is that of Lévis, *Guerre du Canada, Rela-*

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[1] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vii. 422.

[2] Aspinwall Papers, in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, xxxix. 241.

[3] Stone's *Life of Johnson*, ii. 122, etc.

[4] *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xxxix. 249, etc.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 302.

[6] *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 1139. There are letters received by Bourlamaque between June 28, 1756, and the end of the contest in Canada (1760), preserved in the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps. They are from Vaudreuil, De Lévis (after 1759), Berniers, Bougainville, Murray, Malartic, D'Hébécourt, etc. Copies of them are in the Parkman MSS. (Mass. Hist. Soc.).

There is a summary of the strategical movements of the war in a *Précis of the Wars in Canada*, 1755–1814, prepared, by order of the Duke of Wellington in 1826, by Maj.-Gen. Sir James Carmichael-Smyth, "for the use and convenience of official people only." During the American civil war (1862) a public edition was issued, edited by the younger Sir James Carmichael, with the thought that some entanglement of Great Britain in the American civil war (1861–1865) might render the teachings of the book convenient. The editor, in an introduction, undertakes to say "that the State of Maine has exhibited an unmistakable desire for annexation to the British Crown," which, if carried out, would enable Great Britain better to maintain military connection between Canada and New Brunswick.

[7] *America and West Indies*, vol. xcix.

[8] Vol. ii. 359.

[9] Vol. ii. 292–322.

[10] Vol. ii. 359.

tion de la seconde Bataille de Québec et du Siége de cette ville, — a manuscript which, according to Parkman, has different titles in different copies, and some variations in text. Vaudreuil's instructions to Lévis are in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 1069. There is a journal of the battle annexed to Vaudreuil's letter to Berryer, May 3, 1760, in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 1075, 1077. The Parkman MSS. have also letters of Bourlamaque and Lévis, and there is something to be gleaned from Chevalier Johnston and the *Relation* of the hospital nun, already referred to.

Of the modern accounts by the Canadian historians, Lemoine[1] calls that of Garneau[2] the best, and speaks of it as collated from documents, many of which had never then (1876) seen the light. Smith takes a view quite opposite to Garneau's, and Lemoine[3] charges him with glossing over the subject "with striking levity."[4]

Col. John Montresor was in the force which Murray led up the river to Montreal, and we have his journal, July 14–Sept. 8, 1760, in the *N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1881, p. 236.

For the progress of the converging armies of Amherst and Haviland, there are the histories of Mante and Knox and the journals of Rogers. Parkman adds a tract printed in Boston (1760), *All Canada in the hands of the English.* Beside the official documents of the Parkman MSS., he also cites a *Diary of a sergeant in the army of Haviland*, and a *Journal of Colonel Nathaniel Woodhull.*[5] There is a glimpse of the condition of the country to be got from the *Travels and Adventures of Alexander Henry in Canada and the Indian territory*, 1760–1776 (New York, 1809).

Amherst's letter to Monckton on the capture of Fort Lévis is in the Aspinwall Papers (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xxxix. 307), and reference may be made to Pouchot (ii. 264), Mante (303), and Knox (ii. 405).[6]

Parkman uses the *Procès verbal* of the council of war which Vaudreuil held in Montreal; and the terms of the capitulation (Sept. 8, 1760) can be found in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 1107; Miles' *Canada*, 502; Bonnechose's *Montcalm et le Canada* (app.); and Martin's *De Montcalm en Canada* (p. 327), and his *Marquis de Montcalm* (p. 321).

The protest which Lévis uttered against the terms of the capitulation is in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 1106, with his reasons for it (p. 1123).

The circular letter about the capitulation which Amherst sent to the governors of the colonies is in the *Aspinwall Papers.*[7]

Parkman's[8] is the best recent account of this campaign, though it is dwelt upon at some length by Smith and Warburton.

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[1] *Quebec Past and Present*, p. 177.

[2] *Canada*, 4th ed., vol. ii. 351.

[3] *Picturesque Quebec*, 305.

[4] Cf. Martin, *De Montcalm en Canada*, ch. 14; Philippe Aubert de Gaspé's *Anciens Canadiens* (Quebec, 1863), p. 277. In 1854 E. P. Tache delivered a discourse at a ceremonial held by the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Québec, on the occasion of "l'inhumation solennelle des ossements trouvés sur le champ de bataille de Sainte-Foye." There is an account of the monument on the ground in Lemoine's *Quebec Past and Present*, p. 295.

For the winter in Quebec, see *Les Ursulines de Québec*, vol. iii.

On the 26th of January Col. John Montresor was sent by way of the Chaudière and Kennebec to carry despatches to Amherst in New York. His journal till his return to Quebec, May 20, is in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1882, p. 29, and in the library of the N. E. Hist. Geneal. Soc. is the map which he made of his route. (*Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, Oct., 1882, p. 709.) Cf. also *Maine Hist. Coll.*, vol. i.; *N. Y. Hist. Coll.*, 1881, pp. 117, 524.

[5] Woodhull was the colonel of the Third Regiment of N. Y. Provincials, and was with Amherst. The journal begins at Albany, June 11, and ends Sept. 27, 1760. It is in the *Hist. Mag.*, v. 257.

[6] Mante's account is copied in Hough's *St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties*, p. 89, where the passage down the St. Lawrence is treated at length. Dr. Hough judges the account of the taking of Fort Lévis, as given by David Humphrey in his *Works* (New York, 1804, p. 280), to be mostly fabulous. Hough (p. 704) also prints Governor Colden's proclamation on the capture. Pouchot gives a plan of the attack. There are various documents, French and English, in *Collection de documents* (Quebec), iv. 245, 283, 297.

[7] Vol. xxxix. p. 316.

[8] Vol. ii. p. 360.

Gage was left in command at Montreal; Murray returned to Quebec with 4,000 men, while Amherst, by the last of September, was in New York.[1]

Rogers's own *Journals* make the best account of his expeditions westward [2] to receive the surrender of Detroit and the extremer posts. Parkman, who tells the story in his *Pontiac* (ch. 6), speaks of the journals as showing "the incidents of each day, minuted down in a dry, unambitious style, bearing the clear impress of truth." Rogers also describes the interview with Pontiac in his *Concise Account of North America*, Lond., 1765. Cf. *Aspinwall Papers* (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, xxxix. 362) for Croghan's journal [3] and (*Ibid.*, pp. 357, 387) for letters on the surrender of Detroit.[4]

Later Lieutenant Brehm was sent as a scout from Montreal to Lake Huron, thence to Fort Pitt, and his report to Amherst, dated Feb. 23, 1761, is in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, 1883, p. 22.

Philippe Aubert de Gaspé, in *Les Anciens Canadiens* (1863), attempts, as he says, to portray the misfortunes which the conquest brought on the greater portion of the Canadian *noblesse*.[5] There is a sad story of the shipwreck on Cape Breton of the "Auguste," which in 1761 was bearing a company of these expatriated Canadians to France, and one of them, M. de la Corne Saint-Luc, has left a *Journal du Naufrage de l'Auguste*, which has been printed in Quebec.[6]

The trials of Bigot and the others in Paris elicited a large amount of details respecting the enormities which had characterized the commissary affairs of Canada during the war. Cf. "Observations on certain peculations in New France," in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 1129. There is in Harvard College library a series of the printed reports and judgments in the matter.[7]

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[1] The success of the campaign made Amherst a Knight of the Bath, and his investiture with the insignia took place at Staten Island in Oct., 1761, and is described in the *Mag. of Amer. Hist.*, ii. 502.

Charles Carroll (*Journal to Canada*, ed. 1876, p. 86) seems to give it as a belief current in his time (1776) that Amherst took the route by Oswego and the St. Lawrence because he feared being foiled by obstructions at Isle-aux-Noix. The correspondence of Amherst and the Nova Scotia authorities is noted in T. B. Akins's *List of MS. Docs. in the government offices at Halifax* (1886), p. 12.

[2] Amherst's order to Rogers is in Lanman's *Michigan*, p. 85. Rogers made a detour from Presqu'isle to Fort Pitt to deliver orders to Monckton.

[3] Cf. Rupp's *Early Penna.*, p. 50.

[4] Cf. also Blanchard's *Discovery and Conquests of the Northwest*, ch. vi.

[5] Cf. Lemoine, *Maple Leaves*, new ser., 79.

[6] Lemoine, p. 115. See also *Les Anciens Canadiens*, ii. p. 5.

[7] Moreau's *Principales requêtes du Procureur-Général en la commission établie dans l'affaire du Canada* [1763].

Mémoire pour le Marquis de Vaudreuil, ci-devant Gouverneur et Lieutenant-Général de la Nouvelle France, Paris, 1763.

Mémoire pour Messire François Bigot . . . accusé, contre Monsieur le Procureur-Général . . . contenant l'histoire de l'administration du Sieur Bigot, Paris, 1763, 2 vols. This is signed by Dupont and others, with a "Suite de la seconde Partie," "contenant la discussion et le détail des chefs d'accusation."

Mémoire pour Michel-Jean-Hugues Péan contre M. le Procureur-Général accusateur, Paris, 1763.

Réponse du Sieur Breard, ci-devant contrôleur de la marine à Québec, aux mémoires de M. Bigot et du Sieur Péan [par Clos], Paris, 1763.

Mémoire pour D. de Joncaire Chabert, ci-devant commandant au pepit Fort de Niagara, contre M. le Procureur-Général [par Clos], in three parts.

Mémoire pour le Sieur de la Bourdonnais and *supplément.*

Mémoire pour le Sieur Duverger de Saint Blin, lieutenant d'enfantrie dans les troupes étant ci-devant en Canada, contre M. le Procureur-Général, Paris, 1763.

Mémoire pour [Charles Deschamps] *le Sieur de Boishebert ci-devant commandant à l'Acadie* [par Clos].

Mémoire du Sieur [Jean-Baptiste] *Martel* [de Saint-Antoine] *dans l'affaire du Canada*, 1763.

Jean-Baptiste-Jacques-Elie de Beaumont's *Observations sur les profits prétendus indûment faits par la Société Lemoine des Pins*, 1763.

Sufflet de Berville's *Jugement rendu souverainement et en dernier ressort dans l'affaire du Canada du* 10 *Decembre*, 1763, [contre Bigot, etc.], Paris, 1763.

Some of these are mentioned in Stevens' *Bibl. Geographica*, nos. 546–551.

On Bigot, cf. Lemoine, "Sur les dernières années de la domination française en Canada," in *Revue Canadienne*, 1866, p. 165.

Mr. Parkman has published in *The Nation* (Apr. 15, 1886) an account of a MS. lately acquired by the national library at Paris, *Voyage au Canada dans le Nord de l'Amérique Septentrionale fait depuis l'an* 1751 *à* 1761 *par T. C. B.*, who participated in some of the battles of the war; but the account seems to add little of consequence to existing knowledge, having been written (as he says, from notes) thirty or forty years after his return. It shows, however, how the army store-keepers of the French made large fortunes and lost them in the depreciation of the Canadian paper money.

NOTES.

A. INTERCOLONIAL CONGRESSES AND PLANS OF UNION. — The confederacy which had been formed among the New England colonies in 1643 had lasted, with more or less effect, during the continuance of the colonial charter of Massachusetts.[1] As early as 1682 Culpepper, of Virginia, had proposed that no colony should make war without the concurrence of Virginia, and Nicholson, eight or ten years later, had advocated a federation. In 1684 there had been a convention at Albany, at which representatives of Massachusetts, New York, Maryland, and Virginia had met the sachems of the Five Nations.[2] In 1693 Governor Fletcher, by order of the king, had called at New York a meeting of commissioners of the colonies, which proved abortive. Those who came would not act, because others did not come. In 1694 commissioners met at Albany to frame a treaty with the Five Nations, and Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey were represented. A journal of Benjamin Wadsworth, who accompanied the Massachusetts delegates, is printed in the *Mass. Hist. Collections*, xxxi. 102. This journal was used by Holmes in his *Amer. Annals*, 2d ed., i. p. 451.

Such were the practical efforts at consolidating power for the common defence, which the colonies had taken part in up to the end of the seventeenth century. We now begin to encounter various theoretical plans for more permanent unions. In 1698 William Penn devised a scheme which is printed in the *New York Colonial Documents*, iv. 296. In the same year Charles Davenant prepared a plan which is found in Davenant's *Political and Commercial Works*, vol. ii. p. 11.[4] In 1701 we find a plan, by a Virginian, set forth in an *Essay upon the government of the English plantations;*[5] and one of the same year (May 13, 1701) by Robert Livingston, suggesting three different unions, is noted in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, iv. 874.

In 1709 another temporary emergency revived the subject. Colonel Vetch convened the governors of New England at New London (Oct. 14) for a concert of action in a proposed expedition against Canada, but the failure of the fleet to arrive from England cut short all effort.[6] Again in 1711 (June 21) the governors of New England assembled at the same place, to determine the quotas of their respective colonies for the Canada expedition, planned by Nicholson; and later in the year, the same New England governments invited New York to another conference, but it came to naught.

In 1721 there was a plan to place a captain-general over the colonies. (Cf. a Representation of the Lords of Trade to the King, in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, v. p. 591.)

On Sept. 10, 1722, Albany was the scene of another congress, at which Pennsylvania and New York joined to renew a league with the Five Nations; and a few days later (Sept. 14), Virginia having joined them, they renewed the conference. (Cf. *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, v. 567.)

The same year, 1722, Daniel Coxe,[7] in his *Carolana*, offered another theory of union.

In June, 1744, George Clinton, of New York, submitted to a convocation of deputies from Massachusetts a plan of union something like the early New England confederacy. The Six Nations sent their sachems.

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[1] See Vol. III., Index.

[2] Frothingham, *Rise of the Republic*, p. 86. Bancroft makes a brief summary of movements towards union in the opening chapter of vol. viii. of his final revision.

[3] Cf. also *Rise of the Republic*, p. 111.

[4] Cf. *Rise of the Republic*, p. 111.

[5] *Rise of the Republic*, p. 112.

[6] *Hist. Mag.*, iii. 123.

[7] Cf., on Coxe, G. M. Hills' *Hist. of the Church in Burlington, N. J.* (2d ed.), where there is a portrait of Coxe.

On July 23, 1748, there was another conference for mutual support at Albany, at which the Six Nations met the deputies of New York and Massachusetts.

In 1751, Clinton, of New York, invited representatives of all the colonies from New Hampshire to South Carolina to meet the Six Nations for compacting a league. The journal of the commissioners is in the *Mass. Archives*, xxxviii. 160.[1]

In 1751, Archibald Kennedy, in his tract *The importance of gaining and preserving the friendship of the Indians to the British interest considered*, N. Y., 1751, and London, 1752 (Carter-Brown, iii. 955, 975), developed a plan of his own.[2]

In 1752 Governor Dinwiddie advocated distinct northern and southern confederacies.

In June, 1754, the most important of all these congresses convened at Albany,[3] under an order from the home government. The chief instigator of a union was Shirley,[4] and the most important personage in the congress was Benjamin Franklin, who was chiefly instrumental in framing the plan finally adopted, though it failed in the end of the royal sanction as too subversive of the royal prerogative, while it lost the support of the several assemblies in the colonies because too careful of the same prerogative. Franklin himself later thought it must have hit a happy and practicable mean, from this diversity of view in the crown and in the subject.

This plan, as it originally lay in Franklin's mind, is embodied in his "Short Hints towards a Scheme for uniting the Northern Colonies," which is printed in *Franklin's Works*.[5] This draft Franklin submitted to James Alexander and Cadwallader Colden, and their comments are given in *Ibid.*, pp. 28, 30, as well as Franklin's own incomplete paper (p. 32) in explanation.

It was Franklin's plan, amended a little, which finally met with the approval of all the commissioners except those from Connecticut.

This final plan is printed, accompanied by "reasons and motives for each article," in Sparks's ed. of *Franklin's Works*, i. 36.[6]

An original MS. journal of the congress is noted in the *Carter-Brown Catalogue*, iii. no. 1,067. The proceedings have been printed in O'Callaghan's *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, ii. 545; in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi. 853; in *Pennsylvania Col. Records*, vi. 57; and in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections*, xxv. p. 5, but this last lacks the last day's proceedings. Cf. rough drafts of plans in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vii. 203, and *Penna. Archives*, ii. 197; also see *Penna. Col. Rec.*, v. 30–97. There are some contemporary extracts from the proceedings of the congress of 1754 in a volume of *Letters and Papers*, iv. (1721–1760), in Mass. Hist. Soc. Library.

We have four accounts of the congress from those who were members.[7]

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[1] No attempt is made to enumerate all the conferences with the Indians in which several colonies joined. They often resulted in records or treaties, of which many are given in the *Brinley Catalogue* (vol. iii. no. 5,486, etc.). Records of many such will also be found in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.* and in *Penna. Archives.* Cf. Stone's *Sir William Johnson.* See chapters ii. and viii. of the present volume.

[2] *Rise of the Republic*, 116. Cf. also Kennedy's *Serious Considerations on the Present State of the Affairs of the Northern Colonies*, New York, 1754. James Maury was writing about this time: "It is our common misfortune that there is no mutual dependence, no close connection between these several colonies: they are quite disunited by separate views and distinct interests, and like a bold and rapid river, which, though resistless when included in one channel, is yet easily resistible when subdivided into several inferior streams." Maury's (*Huguenot Family*, 382.) In March, 1754, Shirley urged a union upon the governor of New Hampshire. (*N. H. Prov. Papers*, vi. 279.)

[3] The commissions of the deputies are printed in *Penna. Archives*, ii. 137, etc.

[4] Cf. Shirley to Gov. Wentworth, in *N. H. Prov. Papers*, vi. 279.

[5] Sparks's ed., iii. 26. The "Short Hints," with Alexander's and Colden's notes, are preserved in a MS. in the N. Y. Hist. Soc. Library; and from this paper they were first printed in Sedgwick's *Life of William Livingston*, Appendix. A MS. in Colden's handwriting is among the *Sparks MSS.* (no. xxxix.).

[6] It can also be found in *Penna. Col. Rec.*, vi. 105; *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi. 889; Minot's *Massachusetts*, i. 191; Pownall's *Administration of the Colonies*, 1768, app. iv.; Trumbull's *Connecticut*, app. i.; Haliburton's *Rule and Misrule of the English in America*, p. 253, — not to name other places.

There is a MS. copy among the Shelburne Papers, as shown in the *Hist. MSS. Commission's Report*, no. 5, p. 55.

[7] The first of these is by Franklin, in his *Autobiography*. It will be found in Sparks's ed., p. 176, and in Bigelow's edition, p. 295. Cf. also Bigelow's *Life of Franklin, written by himself*, i. 308, and Parton's *Life of Franklin*, i. 337.

The second is that by Thomas Hutchinson, contained in his *Hist. of Mass. Bay* (iii. p. 20).

The third is William Smith's, in his *History of New York* (ed. of 1830), ii. p. 180, etc.

The fourth is in Stephen Hopkins's *A true representation of the plan formed at Albany* [*in* 1754], *for uniting all the British northern colonies, in order to their common safety and defence.* It is dated at Providence, Mar. 29, 1755. (Carter-Brown, iii. 1,065.) It was included in 1880 as no. 9, with introduction and

Pownall read (July 11, 1754) at the congress a paper embracing "Considerations towards a general plan of measures for the colonies," which is printed in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi. 893, and in *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., vi. 197.

At the same time William Johnson brought forward a paper suggesting "Measures necessary to be taken with the Six Nations for defeating the designs of the French." It is printed in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi. 897; *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., vi. 203.

Shirley (Oct. 21, 1754) wrote to Morris, of Pennsylvania, urging him to press acquiescence in the plan of union. (*Penna. Archives*, ii. 181.)

Shirley's own comments on the Albany plan are found in his letter, dated Boston, Dec. 24, 1754, and directed to Sir Thos. Robinson, which is printed in the *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., vi. 213, and in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi. 930. During this December Franklin was in Boston, and Shirley showed to him the plan, which the government had proposed, looking to taxing the colonies for the expense of maintaining the proposed union. Franklin met the scheme with some letters, afterwards brought into prominence when taxation without representation was practically enforced. These Franklin letters were printed in a London periodical in 1766, and again in *Almon's Remembrancer* in 1776. They can best be found in Sparks's ed. of *Franklin's Works*, vol. iii. p. 56.[1]

Livingston's references to the congress are in his *Review of Military Operations* (*Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vii. 76, 77).

A list of the delegates to the congress is given in *Franklin's Works*, iii. 28, in Foster's *Stephen Hopkins*, ii. 226, and elsewhere.

The report of the commissioners on the part of Rhode Island is printed in the *R. I. Col. Records*, v. 393. The report of the commissioners of Connecticut, with the reasons for rejecting the plan of the congress, is in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vii. 207, 210.

There is much about the congress in the *Doc. Hist. New York*, i. 553-54; ii. 545, 564, 570-71, 589-91, 605, 611-15, 672.

Of the later accounts, that given by Richard Frothingham in his *Rise of the Republic* is the most extensive and most satisfactory.[2]

After the Albany plan had been rejected by the Massachusetts assembly, another plan, the MS. of which in Hutchinson's hand exists in the *Mass. Archives*, vi. 171,[3] was brought forward in the legislature. It was intended to include all the colonies except Nova Scotia and Georgia. It failed of acceptance. It is printed in the appendix of Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*.

Pownall suggested, in his *Administration of the Colonies*, a plan for establishing barrier colonies beyond the Alleghanies, settling them with a population inured to danger, so that they could serve as protectors of the older colonies, in averting the enemy's attacks. Franklin shared his views in this respect. (Cf. *Franklin's Works*, iii. 69, and also *Pennsylvania Archives*, ii. 301, vi. 197.)

Among the Shelburne Papers (*Hist. MSS. Commissioners' Report*, no. 5, p. 218) is a paper dated at Whitehall, Oct. 29, 1754, commenting upon the Albany congress, and called "A Representation[4] to the King of the State of the Colonies," and "A Plan for the Union of the Colonies," signed August 9, 1754, by Halifax and others.[5] This was the plan already referred to, presented by the ministry in lieu of the one proposed at Albany, which had been denied. Bancroft (*United States*, orig. ed., iv. 166) calls it "despotic, complicated, and impracticable." It is named in the draft printed in the *New Jersey Archives*, 1st ser., viii., Part 2d, p. 1, as a "Plan by the Lords of Trade of general concert and mutual defence to be entered into by the colonies in America."

In the interval before it became a serious question of combining against the mother country, two other plans for union were urged. John Mitchell (*Contest in America*) in 1757 proposed triple confederacies, and in 1760 a plan

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notes by S. S. Rider, in the *Rhode Island Historical Tracts*. Cf. William E. Foster's "Statesmanship of the Albany Congress" in his *Stephen Hopkins* (*R. I. Hist. Tracts*), i. p. 155, and his examination of current errors regarding the congress (ii. p. 249). This account by Hopkins is the amplest of the contemporary narratives which we have.

[1] Cf. John Adams' *Novanglus* in his *Works*, iv. 19; Parton's *Franklin*, i. 340; John Almon's *Biog., Lit., and Polit. Anecdotes* (London, 1797), vol. ii.

[2] This subject, however, is examined with greater or less fulness — not mentioning works already referred to — in William Pulteney's *Thoughts on the present state of affairs with America* (4th ed., London, 1778); Chalmers' *Revolt of the American Colonies*, ii. 271; Trumbull's *Connecticut*, ii. 355-57, 541-44; Belknap's *New Hampshire*, ii. 284; Minot's *Massachusetts*, i. 188-198; Sparks's edition of *Franklin*, iii. p. 22; Pitkin's *Civil and Political Hist. of the U. States*, i. 143; Bancroft's *United States* (final revision), ii. 385, 389; Barry's *Massachusetts*, ii. 176 (with references); Palfrey's *Compendious Hist. New England*, iv. 200; Weise's *Hist. of Albany*, p. 313; Stone's *Sir William Johnson*, i. ch. 14; Munsell's *Annals of Albany*, vol. iii., 2d ed. (1871); Greene's *Hist. View Amer. Revolution* (lecture iii.).

[3] Another MS. is in the *Trumbull MSS.*, i. 97.

[4] It is printed in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi. 917; *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., vi. 206.

[5] It is printed in *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vi. 903; *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., vi. 206.

was brought forward by Samuel Johnson. (*N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vii. 438.)

B. CARTOGRAPHY OF THE ST. LAWRENCE AND THE LAKES IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. — Various extensive maps of the St. Lawrence River were made in the eighteenth century. Chief among them may be named the following: —

There is noted in the *Catal. of the Lib. of Parliament* (Toronto, 1858, p. 1619, no. 65) a MS. map of the St. Lawrence from below Montreal to Lake Erie, which is called "excellent à consulter," and dated 1728.

Popple's, in 1730, of which a reduction is given in Cassell's *United States*, i. 420.

A "Carte des lacs du Canada, par N. Bellin, 1744," is in Charlevoix, iii. 276.

A map of Lake Ontario by Labroguerie (1757) is noted in the *Catal. of the King's Maps* (Brit. Mus.), ii. 112.

General Amherst caused sectional maps to be made by Captain Holland and others, which are noted in the *Catal. of the King's Maps* (Brit. Mus.), i. 608.

Subsequent to the conquest of 1760, General Murray directed Montresor to make a map of the St. Lawrence from Montreal to St. Barnaby Island. This is preserved. (*Trans. Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Quebec*, 1872–73, p. 99.)

Maps in Bellin's *Petit Atlas Maritime*, 1764 (nos. 4 to 8).

Jefferys' map of the river from Quebec down, added to a section above Quebec, based on D'Anville's map of 1755, is in Jefferys' *Gen. Topog. of North America, etc.*, 1768, nos. 16, 17.

The edition of 1775 is called *An exact Chart of the River St. Lawrence from Fort Frontenac to Anticosti* (*and Part of the Western Coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence*), *showing the Soundings, Rocks, and Shoals, with all necessary Instructions for navigating the River, with Views of the Land, etc., by T. Jefferys.* It measures 24×37 inches, and has particular Charts of the Seven Islands; St. Nicholas, or English Harbor; the Road of Tadoussac; Traverse, or Passage from Cape Torment.

A map engraved by T. Kitchin, in Mante's *Hist. of the Late War*, London, 1772, p. 30, shows the river from Lake Ontario to its mouth, defining on the lake the positions of Forts Niagara, Oswego, and Frontenac; and (p. 333) is one giving the course of the river below Montreal.

In the *Atlantic Neptune* of Des Barres, 1781, Part ii. no. 1, is the St. Lawrence in three sheets, from Quebec to the gulf; Part ii., no. 16, has the same extent, on a larger scale, in four sheets; Part ii., Additional Charts, no. 8, gives the river from the Chaudière to Lake St. Francis, in six sheets, as surveyed by Samuel Holland.

Moll made a survey of the Gulf of St. Lawrence in 1729. The most elaborate map is that of Jefferys (1775), which measures 20×24 inches, and is called *Chart of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, composed from a great number of Actual Surveys and other Materials, regulated and connected by Astronomical Observations.*

There is a chart of Chaleur Bay in the *North American Pilot* (1760), nos. 14, 15; and of the Saguenay River, by N. Bellin, in Charlevoix, iii. 64.

C. THE PEACE OF 1763. — The events in Europe which led to the downfall of Pitt and to the negotiations for peace are best portrayed among American historians in Parkman[1] and Bancroft.[2]

The leading English historians (Stanhope, etc.) can be supplemented by the *Bedford Correspondence*, vol. iii. Various claims and concessions, made respectively by the English and French governments, are printed from the official records in Mills' *Boundaries of Ontario* (App., p. 209, etc.). See also the *Mémoire historique sur la négociation de la France et de l'Angleterre depuis le 26 Mars, 1761, jusqu'au 20 septembre de la même année, avec les pièces justificatives*, Paris, 1761.[3]

As soon as Quebec had surrendered there grew a party in England who put Canada as a light weight in the scales, in comparison with Guadaloupe, in balancing the territorial claims to be settled in defining the terms of a peace. The controversy which followed produced numerous pamphlets, some of which may be mentioned.[4]

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[1] *Montcalm and Wolfe*, ii. 383, etc.

[2] Orig. ed., iv. ch. 17; and final revision, ii.

[3] There was an English version issued in London the same year. Carter-Brown, iii. nos. 1,294–95. The tract is known to be the production of Jean François Bastide. Both editions are in Harvard College library [4376.34 and 35].

[4] *Considerations on the importance of Canada . . . addressed to Pitt*, London, 1759. (Harv. Coll. lib., 4376.39).

The superior gain to Great Britain from the retention, not of Canada, but of the sugar and other West India islands, is expressed in a *Letter to a Great M——r on the prospect of peace, wherein the demolition of the fortifications of Louisbourg is shewn to be absurd, the importance of Canada fully refuted, the proper barrier pointed out in North America, etc.*, London, 1761. (Carter-Brown, iii. 1,299.)

Examination of the Commercial Principles of the late Negotiation, etc., London, 1762. (Two editions Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,321.)

The surrender of Canada was insisted upon in 1760 in a *Letter addressed to two great men on the prospect of peace, and on the terms necessary to be insisted upon in the negotiation* (London); and the arguments were largely sustained in William Burke's *Remarks on the Letter addressed to two great men* (London, 1760), both of which pamphlets passed to later editions.[1]

Franklin, then in London, complimented the writers of these tracts on the unusual "decency and politeness" which they exhibited amid the party rancor of the time. This was in a voluminous tract, which he then issued, called *Interest of Great Britain considered with regard to her colonies and the acquisition of Canada and Guadaloupe*, London, 1760.[2] In this he repelled the intimation that there was any disposition on the part of the Americans to combine to throw off their allegiance to the crown, though such views were not wholly unrife in England or in the colonies.[3] He also advocated, in a way that Burke called "the ablest, the most ingenious, the most dexterous on that side," for the retention of Canada, insisting that peace in North America, if not in Europe, could only be made secure by British occupancy of that region.[4]

The preliminaries of peace having been agreed upon in November, 1762, and laid before Parliament, the discussion was revived.[5] The ratification, however, came in due course,[6] and the royal proclamation was made Oct. 7, 1763.[7]

D. THE GENERAL CONTEMPORARY SOURCES OF THE WAR, 1754–1760. — During the war and immediately following it, there were a number of English reviews of its progress and estimates of its effects, which either reflect the current opinions or give contemporary record of its events.

Such are the following: —

John Mitchell's *Contest in America between Great Britain and France, with its consequences and importance*, London, 1757.[8] It was published as by "an impartial hand."

W. H. Dilworth's *History of the present War to the conclusion of the year* 1759, London, 1760.[9]

Peter Williamson's *Brief account of the War in North America, containing several very remarkable particulars relative to the natural dispositions, tempers, and inclinations of the unpolished savages, not taken notice of in any other his-*

Comparative importance of our acquisitions from France in America, with remarks on a pamphlet, intitled An Examination of the Commercial Principles of the late Negotiation in 1761, London, 1762. There was a second edition the same year. (Carter-Brown, iii. nos. 1,317–18.)

Burke was held to be the author of a tract, *Comparative importance of the commercial principles of the late negotiation between Great Britain and France in* 1761, *in which the system of that negotiation with regard to our colonies and commerce is considered*, London, 1762. (Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,319.)

[1] Carter-Brown, iii. 1,263–1,266. The two great men were Pitt and Newcastle. The *Letter* was reprinted in Boston, 1760. As to its authorship, Halkett and Laing say that it "was generally attributed to William Pulteney, Earl of Bath, and is so attributed in Lord Stanhope's *History of England;* but according to Chalmers' *Biographical Dictionary* it was really written by John Douglas, D. D., Bishop of Salisbury." Sabin says that it has been attributed to Junius. Cf. Bancroft, orig. ed., iv. p. 364.

[2] There were editions in Dublin, Boston, and Philadelphia the same year. (Carter-Brown, iii. nos. 1,251–55. Cf. *Franklin's Works*, Sparks's ed., iv. p. 1.)

[3] Cf. Bancroft, orig. ed. iv. pp. 369, 460. "After the surrender of Montreal in 1759, rumors were everywhere spread that the English would now new-model the colonies, demolish the charters, and reduce all to royal governments." John Adams, preface to *Novanglus*, ed. 1819, in *Works*, iv. 6.

[4] Sparks's *Franklin*, i. p. 255; Parton's *Franklin*, i. 422. It is also held that Franklin's connection with this pamphlet was that of a helper of Richard Jackson. *Catal. of Works relating to Franklin in the Boston Pub. Library*, p. 8. Lecky (*England in the XVIIth Century*, iii. ch. 12) traces the controversy over the retention of Canada. Various papers on the peace are noted in the *Fifth Report of the Hist. MSS. Commission* as being among the Shelburne Papers.

[5] Among other tracts see *Appeal to Knowledge, or candid discussions of the preliminaries of peace signed at Fontainebleau, Nov.* 3, 1762, *and laid before both houses of Parliament*, London, 1763. (Carter-Brown, iii. 1,340.) There is a paper on the treaty in *Dublin University Mag.*, vol. l. 641. Cf. "The Treaty of Paris, 1763, and the Catholics in American Colonies," by D. A. O'Sullivan, in *Amer. Cath. Quart. Rev.*, x. 240 (1885).

[6] The treaty is printed in the *Gent. Mag.*, xxxiii. 121–126.

[7] It is given in the *Annual Register* (1763); in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (Oct., 1763, p. 479), with a map (p. 476) defining the boundaries of the acquired provinces; in Sparks's *Franklin*, iv. 374; in Mills' *Boundaries of Ontario*, pp. 192–98, and elsewhere. For other maps of the new American acquisitions, see the *London Magazine* (Feb., 1763); Kitchen's map of the Province of Quebec, in *Ibid.* (1764, p. 496); maps of the Floridas, in *Gent. Mag.* (1763, p. 552); of Louisiana, *Ibid.* (1763, p. 284), and *London Mag.* (1765, June).

[8] Thomson, *Bibliog. of Ohio*, no. 838; Sabin, xii. 49,693; Harv. Coll. lib., 4375.29; Rich, *Bib. Am. Nova* (after 1700), p. 121.

[9] Brinley, i. 221.

tory, Edinburgh, 1760,[1] — a book of no value, except as incidentally illustrating the dangers of partisan warfare.

A review of Mr. Pitt's Administration, second edition, with alterations and additions, London, 1763. This particularly concerns that minister's policy in America.

John Dobson's *Chronological Annals of the War* (Apr. 2, 1755, to the signing of the preliminaries of peace), Oxford, 1763.[2]

John Entick's *General History of the late War . . . in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America*, London, 1764, 5 vols.[3] The author was a schoolmaster and maker of books. Some contemporary critics speak disparagingly of the book. It includes numerous portraits and maps.

History of the late War from 1749 *to* 1763. Glasgow, 1765.

J. Wright's *Complete History of the late War, or Annual Register of its rise, progress, and events in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America. Illustrated with heads, plans, maps, and charts.* London, 1765.[4]

Capt. John Knox's *Historical Journal of the campaigns in North America for the years* 1757, 1758, 1759, *and* 1760, *containing the most remarkable occurrences, the orders of the admirals and general officers, descriptions of the country, diaries of the weather, manifestos, the French orders and disposition for the defence of the colony*, London, 1769, 2 vols.[5]

The beginning, progress, and conclusion of the late War, London, 1770.[6]

Thomas Mante's *History of the late War in North America, including the campaign of* 1763 *and* 1764 *against his Majesty's Indian enemies*, London, 1772. Mante was an engineer officer in the service, but he did not share in the war till the last year of it.[7] The book has eighteen large maps and plates. It has been praised by Bancroft and Sparks.

As a supplement to the accounts of the war, we may place Major Robert Rogers's *Concise account of North America*, London, 1765;[8] a description of the country, particularly of use as regards the region beyond the Alleghanies, with accounts of the Indians.

The best contemporary English monthly record before 1758 is to be found in the *Gentleman's Mag.*, but occasional references should be made to other magazines.[9] After 1758 the monthly accounts yield in value to the yearly summary of Dodsley's *Annual Register*.

Respecting the French territory of North America, the readiest English account is Thomas Jefferys' *Natural and Civil History of the French Dominions in North and South America*, London, 1760.[10] Charlevoix is largely used in the compilation of this work, without acknowledgment

Foremost among the special histories of the war, which were contemporary on the French side, is the *Mémoires sur la dernière guerre de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, written by Pouchot, of the regiment of Bearn, who twice surrendered his post, at Niagara and Lévis. The book bears the imprint of Yverdon, 1781,[11] is in three volumes, and has been published in an English version with the following title: —

Memoir upon the late war in North America, between the French and English, 1755–60, *followed by observations upon the theatre of actual war, and by new details concerning the manners and customs of the Indians, with topographical maps, by M. Pouchot, translated by Franklin B. Hough, with additional notes and illustrations.* Roxbury, Massachusetts. 1866.[12] 2 vols.

The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec[13] published in 1838 contemporary *Mémoires sur le Canada*, 1749–1760, *avec cartes et plans.* It was reprinted in 1876. The original MS. has a secondary title, "Mémoires du S—— de C——, contenant l'histoire du Canada durant la guerre et sous le gouvernement anglais." The introduction to it as printed suggests that its author was M. de Vauclain, an officer of marine in 1759.

Concerning the *Histoire de la guerre contre les Anglois*, Geneva, 1759–60, two volumes, Rich[14] says it relates almost entirely to the war in America, and cites Barbier as giving the authorship to Poullin de Lumina.[1]

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[1] Rich, *Bib. Am. Nov.* (after 1700), p. 134.

[2] Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,351; Stevens, *Bibl. Geog.*, no. 891.

[3] Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,389; Rich, *Bib. Am. Nova* (after 1700), p. 144.

[4] Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,483. Cf similar titles in Sabin, iv. 15,056–58, but given anonymously.

[5] Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,680; Sabin, ix. p. 529; Rich, *Bib. Am. Nova* (after 1700), p. 168.

[6] Rich, *Bib. Am. Nov.* (after 1770), p. 180.

[7] Field, *Ind. Bibliog.*, no. 1,003; Brinley, i. no. 241; Rich, *Bib. Am. Nova* (after 1770), p. 188; Sabin, xi 44,396. It is worth about $75 or more.

[8] Rich, *Bib. Am. Nov.* (after 1700), p. 146; Barlow's *Rough List*, nos. 985, 986.

[9] In the vol. for 1757 (xxvii. p. 74) there is a map of the seat of war.

[10] Rich, *Bib. Am. Nova* (since 1700), p. 135.

[11] Sabin, xv. 64,707.

[12] Sabin, xv. 64,708. Part (57) of the edition (200) is in large quarto. Field, *Indian Bibliog.*, no. 1,236.

[13] On the publications and MS. collections of the Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Quebec, covering the period in question, see *Revue Canadienne*, vi. 402. The society was founded in 1834 by the Earl of Dalhousie.

[14] *Bib. Am. Nova* (after 1700), p. 131.

There is a contemporary account of the campaigns, 1754–58, preserved in the Archives de la Guerre at Paris, which is ascribed to the Chevalier de Montreuil, and is given in English in the *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, x. 912. In the *Penna. Archives*, 2d ser., vi. 439, it is made a part of an extensive series of documents relating to the period of the French occupation of western Pennsylvania.

Among the Parkman MSS. is a series called *New France*, 1748–1763, in twelve volumes, mainly transcripts from the French Archives, with copies of some private papers, all supplementing the selection which Dr. O'Callaghan printed in his *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vol. x.

The papers of this period make a part of the review given by Edmond Lareau in his "Nos Archives," in the *Revue Canadienne*, xii. 208, 295, 347. A paper on the "Archives of Canada," by a former president of the Lit. and Hist. Society of Quebec, Dr. W. J. Anderson, describes the labors of that society, which have been aided by an appropriation from the government to collect and arrange the historical records.[2] Of a collection made by Papineau from the Paris Archives, in ten volumes, six were burned in the destruction of the Parliament House in 1849. The transcripts of Paris documents in the Mass. Archives, having been copied for the Province of Quebec, have been included in the publication, issued in four quarto volumes, under the auspices of that province, and called *Collection de manuscrits contenant lettres, mémoires, et autres documents historiques relatifs à la Novvelle-France, recueillis aux archives de la province de Québec, ou copiés à l'étranger. Mis en ordre et édités sous les auspices de la législature de Québec.* [Edited by J. Blanchet.] (Quebec. 1883–85.)[3]

It was a stipulation of the capitulation at Montreal in 1760 that all papers held by the French which were necessary for the prosecution of the government should be handed over by the French officials to the victors. These are now supposed to be at Ottawa.[4]

The papers from the Public Record Office (London) from 1748 to 1763, and referring to Canada, occupy five volumes of the Parkman MSS., in the cabinet of the Mass. Historical Society.[5]

The State of New York, in its *Documentary Hist. of New York* and its *New York Col. Docs.*; New Jersey, in its *New Jersey Archives*; and Pennsylvania in its *Colonial Records* and *Pennsylvania Archives*, have done much to help the student by printing their important documents of the eighteenth century.

In New England, Massachusetts has done nothing in printing; but a large part of her important papers are arranged and indexed, and a commission has been appointed, with an appropriation of $5,000 a year,[6] to complete the arrangement, and render her documents accessible to the student, and carry out the plan recommended by the same commission,[7] whose report (Jan., 1885) was printed by the legislature. It gives a synopsis of the mass of papers constituting the archives of Massachusetts. Dr. Geo. H. Moore, in Appendix 5 of his *Final Notes on Witchcraft*, details what legislative action has taken place in the past respecting the care of these archives.

The other New England States have better cared for their records of the provincial period; New Hampshire having printed her *Provincial Papers*, Rhode Island and Connecticut their *Colonial Records*.[8]

Certain historical summaries — contemporary or nearly so — of the English colonies are necessary to the study of their conditions at the outbreak and during the progress of the war.

First, we have an early French view in George Marie Butel-Dumont's *Histoire et Commerce des Colonies Angloises dans l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 1755. A portion of it was issued in London in a translation, as *The Present State of North America*, Part i.[9]

The *Summary* of Douglass has been mentioned elsewhere,[1] and it ends at too early a date to include the later years of the wars now under consideration.

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[1] Leclerc, *Bibl. Americana*, no. 771; Stevens, *Bibl. Geog.*, no. 1,122; Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,221.

[2] *Transactions Lit. and Hist. Soc. Quebec*, 1871–72, p. 117.

[3] A letter from Mr. Parkman, cited in vol. ii. p. xv., explains the gaps which provokingly occur in the Poore collection. See *ante*, p. 165, and Vol. IV. p. 366.

[4] Mr. J. M. Lemoine has a paper, "Les Archives du Canada," in the *Transactions of the Royal Soc. of Canada*, vol. i. p. 107.

[5] Various documents relating to the war, particularly letters received by the governor of Maryland, are in the cabinet of the Maryland Hist. Soc., an account of which is given in Lewis Meyer's Description of the MSS. in that society's possession (1884), pp. 8, 13, etc. The printed index to the MSS. in the British Museum yields a key to the progress of the war under such heads as Abercrombie, Amherst, Bouquet, etc.

[6] *Laws and Resolves*, 1885, ch. 337.

[7] *Resolves*, 1884, ch. 60. See *ante*, p 165.

[8] See *ante*, p. 166.

[9] Rich, *Bib. Amer. Nova* (after 1700), pp. 108, 114.

The work of Edmund Burke, *An Account of the European Settlements in America*, though published in 1757, was not able to chronicle much of the effects of the war. It has passed through many editions.[2]

M. Wynne's *General History of the British Empire in America*, London, 1770,[3] 2 vols., is in some parts a compilation not always skilfully done.

Smith's *History of the British Dominions in America* was issued anonymously, and Grahame (ii. 253) says of it that it "contains more ample and precise information than the composition of Wynne, and, like it, brings down the history and state of the colonies to the middle of the eighteenth century. It is more of a statistical than a historical work."

A History of the British Dominions in North America (London, 1773, 2 vols. in quarto) was a bookseller's speculation, of no great authority, as Rich determined.[4]

William Russell, the author of a *History of America from its discovery to the conclusion of the late war* [1763], London, 1778, 2 vols. in quarto, was of Gray's Inn,[5] — the same who wrote the *History of Modern Europe*, which, despite grave defects, has had a long lease of life at the hand of continuators. His *America* has had a trade success, and has passed through later editions.

A New and Complete History of the British Empire in America (London) is the running-title of a work issued in numbers in London about 1756. It was never completed, and has no title-page.[6]

Jefferys' *General Topography of North America and the West Indies*, London, 1768, has a double title, French and English. It is the earliest publication of what came later to be known as *Jefferys' Atlas*, in the issues of which the plates are inferior to the impression in this book.[7]

The special histories of two of the colonies deserve mention, because their authors lived during the war, and they wrote with authority on some of its aspects. These are Thomas Hutchinson's *Hist. of Massachusetts Bay*,[8] and William Smith's *History of the Province of New York*.[9] The latter book, as published by its author, came down only to 1736, though, being written during the war, he anticipated in his narrative some of its events. He, however, prepared a continuation to 1762, and this was for the first time printed as the second volume of an edition of the work published by the New York Hist. Society in 1829–30. In editing this second volume, the son of the author says that his father was "a prominent actor in the scenes described," which are in large part, however, the endless quarrels of the executive part of the government of the province with its assembly. Parkman characterizes Smith as a partisan in his views. Smith acknowledges his obligations to Colden for "affairs with the French and Indians, antecedent to the Peace of Ryswick;" and while he follows Colden in matters relating to the English, he appeals to Charlevoix for the French transactions.[10]

Wm Smith

Two special eclectic maps of the campaigns of the war may be mentioned: —

Bonnechose, in his *Montcalm et le Canada Français*, 5th ed., Paris, 1882, gives a "Carte au théâtre des opérations militaires du Mr. de Montcalm, d'après les documents de l'époque."

In L. Dussieux's *Le Canada sous la domination française* (Paris, 1855) is a general map "pour servir a l'histoire de la Nouvelle France, ou du Canada, jusqu'en 1763, dressées principalement d'après des matériaux inédits conservés dans les Archives du ministère de la Marine, par L. Dussieux, 1851."

As an instance of the curious, perverse error which could be made to do duty for cartographical aids, reference may be made to a publication of Georg Cristoph Kilian, of Augsburg, in 1760, entitled *Americanische Urquelle derer innerlichen Kriege des bedrängten Teutschlands . . . historisch verfasset durch L. F. v. d. H.*

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[1] See *ante*, p. 158.

[2] London (1757, 1758, 1760, 1765, 1766, 1770, 1777, 1808, two), Dublin (1762, 1777), Boston (1835, 1851); beside making part of editions of Burke's *Works*. Its authorship was for some time in doubt. (Sabin, iii. 9,282, 9,283, who also enumerates various translations, 9,284, etc.)

[3] Carter-Brown, iii. no. 1,767; Rich, *Bib. Am. Nova*, after 1700, p. 178.

[4] Rich, *Bib. Am. Nov.*, after 1770, p. 192.

[5] Rich, *Bib. Am. Nov.*, after 1700, p. 262.

[6] Rich (*Bib. Am. Nov.*, after 1700, p. 118) describes it. There is a copy in Harvard College library.

[7] Sabin, ix. 35,962–63.

[8] See *ante*, p. 162.

[9] London, 1757. Harv. Coll. library; Barlow's *Rough List*, 939, etc. The Beckford copy on large paper, with the original view of Oswego, was priced by Quaritch in 1885 at £63. An octavo ed. was printed in 1776. A French version, *Histoire de la Nouvelle-York*, was published at London in 1767.

[10] *New York* (1814), pp. xii., 135. Cf. Cadwallader Colden on Smith's *New York* (*N. Y. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, ii. 203, etc.).

E. The General Historians of the French and English Colonies. — The bibliography of the general histories of Canada has been already attempted,[1] and to the sources of such bibliography then given may be added M. Edmond Lareau's *Histoire de la Littérature Canadienne* (Montreal, 1874), for its chapter (4th) on Canadian historians; and Mr. J. C. Dent's *Last forty years of Canada* (1881), for its review of the historians in its chapter on "Literature and Journalism." New France and her New England historians is the subject of a paper in the *Southern Review* (new series, xviii. 337).

It is not necessary here to repeat in detail the enumeration of the historians, both French and English, which have been thus referred to.

The leading historian of Canada in the French interests is, without question, François Xavier Garneau, the earlier editions of whose *Histoire du Canada depuis sa découverte jusqu'à nos jours* have been mentioned elsewhere;[3] the final revision of which, however, has since appeared at Montreal (1882–83) in a fourth edition in four volumes, accompanied by a "notice biographique" by Chauveau.[4] English writers question his clearness of vision, when his national sympathies are evoked by his story, and there are some instances in which they accuse him of garbling his authorities. It must be confessed, however, that the disasters of the French do not always elicit Garneau's sympathy, and his own compatriots have not all approved his reflections upon Montcalm for his last campaign.

GARNEAU.[2]

Among the later of the French writers on the closing years of the French domination, Mr. J. M. Lemoine, of Quebec, is conspicuous. Such of his writings as are in English have been gathered in part from periodicals, and principal among them are his *Quebec Past and Present*, and its sequel, *Picturesque Quebec*, beside his collection of *Maple Leaves*, in two series (Quebec, 1863, 1873).[5]

Jean Langevin delivered at the Canadian Institute, in Quebec, a series of lectures on "Canada sous la domination française" (1659–1759), which have appeared in the *Journal de Québec*.

The latest of the French chronicles are Eugène Réveillaud's *Histoire du Canada et des Canadiens français de la découverte jusqu'à nos jours*, Paris, 1884 (pp. 551, with map), and Benjamin Sulte's *Histoire des Canadiens français*, 1608–1880 (Montreal, 1882–1884), in eight thin quarto volumes, with illustrations, including portraits of the Canadian historians and antiquaries, Pierre Boucher, Jacques Viger, Garneau, L. J. Papineau, Michel Bibaud, Aubert de Gaspé, Ferland, Abbé Casgrain, and E. Rameau.

The Abbé J. A. Maurault's *Histoire des Abénakis depuis 1605 jusqu'à nos jours*, Quebec, 1866, covers portions of the wars of Canada in which those Indians took part.

The *American Annals* of Dr. Abiel Holmes was published in Cambridge (Mass.) in 1805. It is a book still to inspire confidence, and "the first authoritative work from an American pen which covered the whole field of American history."[6] Libraries in America were then scant, but the annalist traced where he could his facts to original sources, and when he issued his second edition, in 1829, its revision and continuation showed how he had availed himself of the stores of the Ebeling and other collections which in the interval had enriched the libraries of Harvard College and Boston. Grahame[7] gives the book no more than just praise when he calls it perhaps "the most excellent chronological digest that any nation has ever possessed."

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[1] Vol. IV. p. 367.

[2] After a likeness in Daniel's *Nos Gloires Nationales*, ii. p. 107. There is another portrait in his *Hist. du Canada*, 4th ed., Montreal, 1883, in connection with a memoir of its author.

[3] Vol. IV. pp. 157, 367.

[4] Cf. a "Discours" at Garneau's tomb by Chauveau, in the *Revue Canadienne*, 1867, p. 694; and an account of Garneau's life in *Ibid.*, new series, iv. 199. Cf. J. M. Lemoine (*Maple Leaves*, 2d ser., p. 175) on the "Grave of Garneau." Cf. Lareau's *Littérature Canadienne*, p. 157, and J. M. Lemoine's "Nos quatre historiens modernes, — Bibaud, Garneau, Ferland, Faillon," in *Trans. Roy. Soc. Canada*, i. p. 1.

[5] Lareau's *Littérature Canadienne*, p. 230.

[6] G. W. Greene, in *Putnam's Mag.*, 1870, p. 171.

[7] *United States*, i. 263.

The history of the colonies, which formed an introduction to Marshall's *Life of Washington*, was republished in Philadelphia in 1824, as *History of the Colonies planted by the English on the Continent of North America to the commencement of that war which terminated in their independence.*

James Grahame was a Scotchman, born in 1790, an advocate at the Scottish bar, and a writer for the reviews. By his religious and political training he had the spirit of the Covenanters and the ideas of a republican. In 1824 he began to think of writing the history of the United States, and soon after entered upon the work, the progress of which a journal kept by him, and now in the library of Harvard College, records. In Feb., 1827, the first two volumes, bringing the story down to the period of the English revolution, were published,[2] and met with neglect from the chief English reviews. As he went on he had access to the material which George Chalmers had collected. He finished the work in Dec., 1829; but before he published these closing sections a considerate notice of the earlier two volumes appeared in January, 1831, in the *North American Review*, the first considerable recognition which he had received. It encouraged him in the more careful revision of the later volumes, which he was now engaged upon, and in Jan., 1836, they were published.[3] His health prevented his continuing his studies into the period of the American Revolution. In 1837 Mr. Bancroft had in his *History* (ii. 64) animadverted on the term "baseness," which Grahame in his earliest volumes had applied to John Clarke, who had procured for Rhode Island its charter of 1663, charging Grahame with having invented the allegations which induced him to be so severe on Clarke. Mr. Robert Walsh and Mr. Grahame himself repelled the insinuation in *The New York American*, and a later edition of Mr. Bancroft's volume changed the expression from "invention" to "unwarranted misapprehension," and Mr. Grahame subsequently withdrew the term "base-

JAMES GRAHAME.[1]

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[1] After the engraving in the Boston ed. of his *History*.

[2] *History of the Rise and Progress of the United States.* Lond., 1827; N. Y., 1830; Boston, 1833. Sabin, vii. no. 28,244.

[3] *History of the United States to the Declaration of Independence.* Lond., 1836; 2d ed., enlarged, Philad., 1845; but some copies have Boston, 1845; Philad., again in 1846 and 1852. Sabin, vii. 28,245.

ness," which had offended the local pride of the Rhode Islanders, and wrote "with a suppleness of adroit servility." It is not apparent that either historian sacrificed much of his original intention. Josiah Quincy defends Grahame's view in a note to his memoir of the historian prefixed to the Boston edition of his *History*, in which Grahame had said he was incapable of such dishonesty as Bancroft had charged upon him. Bancroft wrote in March, 1846, a letter to the *Boston Courier*, calling the retort of Grahame a "groundless attack," and charging Quincy, who had edited the new edition of Grahame, with giving publicity to Grahame's personal criminations. Quincy replied in a pamphlet, *The Memory of the late James Grahame, Historian, vindicated from the charges of Detraction and Calumny, preferred against him by Mr. George Bancroft, and the Conduct of Mr. Bancroft towards that Historian stated and exposed*, in which use was also made of material furnished by the Grahame family, and thought to implicate Mr. Bancroft in literary jealousy of his rival.[1] Grahame was not better satisfied with the view which Mr. Quincy had taken of the character of the Mathers in his *History of Harvard University*. "The Mathers are very dear to me," Grahame wrote to Quincy, "and you attack them with a severity the more painful to me that I am unable to demur to its justice. I would fain think that you do not make sufficient allowance for the spirit of their times." This difference, however, did not disturb the literary amenities of their relations; and Grahame, in 1839, demurred against Walsh's proposition to republish his *History* in Philadelphia, for fear he might be seeming to seek a rivalry with Mr. Bancroft on his own soil. Three years later, July 3, 1842, Mr. Grahame died, leaving behind him a corrected and enlarged copy of his *History*. Subsequently this copy was sent by his family for deposit in the library of Harvard College, and from it, under the main supervision of Josiah Quincy, but with the friendly countenance of Judge Story and of Messrs. James Savage, Jared Sparks, and William H. Prescott, an American edition of *The History of the United States of North America, from the Plantation of the British Colonies till their Assumption of National Independence*, in four volumes, was published in Boston in 1845, accompanied by an engraved portrait after Healy.

Excluding Parkman's series of histories, upon which it is not necessary to enlarge here after the constant use made of them in the critical parts of the present volume, the most considerable English work to be compared with his is Major George Warburton's *Conquest of Canada*, edited by Eliot Warburton, and published in London in two volumes in 1849, and reprinted in New York in 1850. He surveys the whole course of Canadian history, but was content with its printed sources, as they were accessible forty years ago.

Among the other general American historians it is enough to mention in addition Bancroft,[2] Hildreth,[3] and Gay;[4] and among the English, Smollett,[5] who had little but the published despatches, as they reached England at the time, and Mahon (Stanhope), who availed himself of more deliberate research, but his field did not admit of great enlargement.[6] The *Exodus of the Western Nations*, by Viscount Bury, is not wholly satisfactory in its treatment of authorities.[7]

Henry Cabot Lodge's *Short History of the English Colonies* (N. Y., 1881) has for its main purpose a presentation of the social and institutional condition of the English colonies at the period of the Stamp Act Congress in 1765; and the condensed sketches of the earlier history of each colony, which he has introduced, were imposed on the general plan, rather unadvisedly, to fill the requirements of the title. He says of these chapters: "They make no pretence to original research, but are merely my own presentation of facts, which ought to be familiar to every one."

F. BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE NORTHWEST. — Concerning the historical literature of the States of the upper lake region and the upper Mississippi, a statement is made in Vol. IV. p. 198, etc. Since that was written some additions of importance have been made. The *Northwest Review, a biographical and historical monthly*, was begun at Minneapolis in March, 1883; but it ceased after the second number. In Nov., 1884, there appeared the first number of the *Magazine of Western History*, at Cleveland.

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[1] Edmund Quincy's *Life of Josiah Quincy*, p. 479. In the present History, Vol. III. p. 378.

[2] *Hist. of the United States of America.*

[3] *Hist. of the United States of America.*

[4] *Popular Hist. of the United States.*

[5] *History of England.*

[6] *History of England from the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Versailles*, 1713–1783, *by Lord Mahon*, 5th ed., London, 1858.

[7] In review of this book, Gen. J. Watts de Peyster gives a military critique on the campaigns of the war in the *Hist. Mag.*, May, 1869 (vol. xv. p. 297).

The two most important monographs to be added to the list are: —

S. Breese's *Early history of Illinois, from* 1673 *to* 1763, *including the narrative of Marquette's discovery of the Mississippi. With a biographical memoir by M. W. Fuller. Edited by T. Hoyne.* Chicago, 1884; and Silas Farmer's *History of Detroit and Michigan: a chronological cyclopædia of the past and present, including a record of the territorial days in Michigan and the annals of Wayne county.* Detroit, 1884, — the latter the most important local history yet produced in the West. The first volume of the *Final Report of the Geological Survey of Minnesota*, by Winchell, adds something to the early cartography of the region, and gives an historical chart of Minnesota, showing the geographical names and their dates, since 1841. The Historical Society of Minnesota has added a fifth volume (1885) to the *Collections*, which is largely given to the history of the Ojibways.

The Historical Society of Iowa having ceased to publish the *Annals of Iowa* in 1874 (1863-1874, in 12 vols.), a new series was begun in 1882 by S. S. Howe, but the society declined to make it an official publication, and began the issue of a quarterly *Iowa Historical Record* in 1885.

On the Canada side the Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba have been issuing since 1882, at Winnipeg, its Reports, Publications, and Transactions.

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